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THE  
NATIVES OF SARAWAK  
AND  
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO

*Based chiefly on the MSS. of the late Hugh Brooke Low  
Sarawak Government Service*

BY  
HENRY LING ROTH

AUTHOR OF  
"The Aborigines of Tasmania," "The Peasantry of Eastern Russia," &c.

WITH A PREFACE BY  
ANDREW LANG

OVER 550 ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL I

NEW YORK  
TRUSLOVE & COMBA  
65 FIFTH AVENUE

1896

PRINTED BY  
TRUSLOVE AND BRAY  
WEST NORWOOD S.E

To  
**HARRIETTE,**  
MY DEAR WIFE.

## ERRATA.

### VOL. I.

- p. 19, bottom line for *infra* read: *supra*.
- p. 29, for B. N. Vigors read: B. U. Vigors.
- p. 53, line 15, for beads read: heads.
- p. 79, line 27, for ii., iii. read: ii. III.
- p. 94, in first paragraph relating to the Muruts, omit: inverted commas.
- p. 24, end of second paragraph, separate: andarrows.
- p. 125, end of fourth paragraph, after word father-in-law omit: (F. W. Leggatt.)
- p. 161, for Kapolas Moeroeng read: Kapuas Murung.
- p. 169, bottom line, for Straits Asiatic Journal read: Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.
- p. 223, foot note 49, last line, omit: inverted commas.
- p. 248, line 7, for hauk read: hawk.
- p. 273, line 19 from bottom, for belian read: pelian.
- p. 274, line 11, for grank read: grand.

### VOL. II.

- p. 18, end of fourth paragraph, for Hose read: De Crespigny.
- p. 28, bottom line, for see p. 241 read: see i. 241.
- p. 32 bottom line, omit: (*ibid.*)
- p. 147, line 9, for D. N. Vigors read: B. U. Vigors.
- p. 151, second line from bottom, for Negritoe read: Negrito.
- p. 166, fifth line from bottom, for *ibid* read: Dalton.
- p. 199, top line for . read: ,
- p. 199, eighth line, for *akat* read: *adat*.

## PREFACE.

ABOUT the origin and primitive purposes of Prefaces, the learned may dispute, basing their results on historical research into prefaces at large. It is a probable opinion that the Preface was, at first, intended to inform the reader as to what he might expect to find in the book before him. In our own day, when nobody reads, and critics read least of all, a glance at the Preface (only a glance) furnishes the newspaper reviewer with his two or three inches of "copy." Into the actual book he very seldom dips, and the anxious author receives, in criticism, what he has, in a Preface, himself set forth.

If our modern critics had lived and laboured in the time of Homer, they would have penned their reviews thus, out of the poet's prefaces :—

"In his rather prolix Iliad, Mr. Homer sings of the destructive anger of Achilles, which send down to Hades many strong souls of heroes. The origin of these sorrows to the Greeks Mr. Homer very piously assigns to the will of Zeus. How that will was executed, Mr. Homer narrates at no inconsiderable length, and, doubtless, in a manner pleasing to his friends and relatives. For our part we prefer this author in his *Hymns*, or when, as in *Margites*, he exposes the foibles of an unlucky townsman, only too easily recognised. There is room, however, for all tastes, and we trust that people interested in Mr. Homer's heroes, Achilles and Agamemnon, will be pleased with this new study of a somewhat worn subject."

That is the modern manner : it is not difficult. Or again,

"The indefatigable Mr. Homer obliges the town with a new epic. His hero is Odysseus, who, it appears, was acquainted with the mind and manners of humanity at large. The adventures of this wanderer, in attempting to secure his own life, and the return of his company, are narrated in hexameter verse, and in no less than twenty-four books. Mr. Homer has a fatal fluency, and a romantic fancy. We are not entirely certain that this work is fitted to lie on the drawing-room table, but few, we think, will be at the trouble to verify the justice of our surmise."

The author, from these examples of criticism "as she is wrote" in our age of popular education, may estimate the value of a preface. That I should write a preface for Mr. Ling Roth's admirable compilation I can only excuse in one way : Mr. Ling Roth asked me to do so. He knows his subject thoroughly : I only know what he tells me about the subject. As in

his valuable work on the extinct Tasmanians, Mr. Roth has collected from every side what is essential to a knowledge of the habits, and history, and ethnology of the people of British Borneo. My own humble studies have been occupied with comparisons between the manners and customs of the races who, in various grades of culture, are generally called savages. To examine these, and to set them beside analogous rudiments among civilised races, is the business of anthropology. Mr. Ling Roth has chosen the task of collecting and assorting, out of vast and widely scattered sources, the materials of the anthropologist.

One turns with interest to a few examples. In Chapter V., Mr. Ling Roth describes the "Couvade" among the Dyaks. As we know, Dr. Murray, the Editor of the New English Dictionary, objects to the term "Couvade." I am not aware that he has suggested another name for the superstitions which impede and harass a savage who is about to become a father. The Land Dyaks, under these circumstances, must not tie anything tight. Obviously the idea is that of sympathetic magic. The deserted Simaetha, in the second idyll of Theocritus, ties knots against her faithless lover; the rite is *nouer l'anguille* in French, and the purpose is to prevent the victim from continuing his infidelities. In the ballad of Willie's Lady "nine witch "knots" are "tied among that lady's locks" (!) to hinder her delivery; so the Dyak husband, if he ties things tight, will hinder his wife's parturition. His food is regulated, as hers would be, by virtue of the doctrine of sympathy between him and her. Of such sympathy the Psychical Society has published a striking example. A gentleman, boating on Ullswater, was smitten on the mouth by the boom of the sail. At the same moment his wife, in bed, was similarly affected, as if by a blow on the mouth. If this kind of telepathy was at one time common in early human experience, the Couvade would be a salutary institution. But it seems, on the whole, more probable that it is the result of a mere imaginative theory of sympathy, the basis of all sympathetic magic. Sir Kenelm Digby, anointed not the wound, but the sword that dealt the wound, with sympathetic powder, and with favourable results. The Couvade rests on a similar hypothesis. Man, woman, and unborn or new born babe, are all in a concatenation accordingly, and must put up with the same treatment and taboos.

As to marriage the Dyaks appear to have ideas very like those of rural Scotland, perhaps of rural people generally. The chief interest to the student is in the forbidden degrees. Many persons of liberal ideas will regret to hear that a Dyak may not marry his Deceased Wife's Sister, a compliment to the lady's family which a free-born Briton is also prevented from paying. The Sea Dyaks are said to be more fertile, because they have more prohibited degrees. Cousins are, as a rule, barren, and the origin of this kind of exogamy is

just what we seem unlikely to discover. The widest and earliest prohibition seems to be refusal of leave to marry within the Totem kindred; the rest of the rules of prohibited degrees are gradual modifications of this, the origin of which is unknown. Mr. MacLennan, who first introduced these questions of science, had his own hypothesis, for which his *Studies in Ancient History* (Second Series), may be consulted. Westermarck criticises MacLennan, Lubbock, and others, deciding that the cause of repugnance to marriage with near kin is an instinct! \* But the earliest and widest form of the prohibition merely taboos marriage between persons akin in the bond of Totem union. Thus a man might make love to his half-sister, by the father's side, and instinct would have nothing to say. Yet he would flee the embraces of a woman of his own Totem, no way related to him, and be a Joseph as Falstaff was a coward, "on instinct." To introduce instinct here is like appealing to innate ideas. Unluckily the customs of Borneo, as far as Mr. Ling Roth knows, fail to illustrate this topic. Even of Totemism (so widely spread either in actual customary law, or in various forms of survival), he scarcely discovers a trace in Borneo. A Bornean Sea Dyak may not marry his first cousin, and he does not know why! The act is not a crime, but a sin, supernaturally punished by the blasting of his neighbours' fields. However, like Orestes when he killed his mother, the Dyak who marries his first cousin may try the off-chance of being purified in the blood of pigs. (p. 123). The penalty for marriage within forbidden degrees is occasionally secular, more frequently, or more notably, Heaven punishes the sins, in the usual indiscriminate way, *Divom injuriarum, dis curae*. (p. 122). But why are such marriages sins? In my opinion they were originally breaches of the Totem taboo, just as killing a beast or bird of the Totem kind was, and they were punished by the offended nature of things. As Totemism died out, the sense of *sin* remained: the Church punished Incest. But it seems very plain to me that there is still much to be learned about Bornean prohibited degrees. The writers quoted by Mr Ling Roth were not, or not usually, anthropologists who knew what to look for. And the worst of it is, that inquirers who know what to look for, are only too likely to find it, whether it is there or not. This is the dilemma of anthropological evidence. When a totally unprejudiced observer, like my own kinsman, Mr. Gideon Scott Lang, found Totemism and exogamy in Australia, before the very words were invented, then we feel safe. But if any anthropologist now discovers these institutions in Borneo, he must look to be suspected of reading his knowledge into the actual facts.

The disposal of the dead shows great variety, and does not, so far, favour the idea that stones were originally worshipped as grave stones; memorials of, and inspired by, the spirits of the deceased.

\* *History of Human Marriage*. Second edition. p. 319.

In Religion, we find the usual absurdities of European observers. Mr. Chalmers thinks the Dyaks "have none worthy of the name," a remark purely illustrative of Mr. Chalmers' notions of the connotation of the name. There is a creator, Tüpa—a Blacksmith. He is like the Finnish Ilmarinen, who forged "the iron vault of mother heaven." The very name is borrowed from the Malay, and the God is described exactly as God *must* be described, and yet the Dyaks "have no religion worthy of the name." The whole arrangement of four heavenly Rajahs is made on the usual departmental lines of Polytheism. Mr. Chalmers knew an intelligent Dyak who described the four Rajahs as mere aspects, or powers, or names of one God. (p. 165). Polytheism is becoming monotheism, perhaps, under Islamite or European influences. The same phenomenon is found in old Aztec speculation.

Archdeacon Perham's papers are of more scientific character. (p. 168). The best sources are traditional hymns, as among the Maoris—Vedas, in fact. The *Petara* answer well enough to the *Elohim*; they are divine beings, and any Dyak who likes can assume the position of a Jehovist, and recognise gods all as aspects of, or names for One God. The Hymns (*Pengap*) appear very beautiful to me, though the Archdeacon finds the style odd and ludicrous. The hymn of *Ini Andau* contains excellent morality: "All alike be clean of heart." Ethics and the dread and love of the divine are blended; morals are penetrated by emotion, and *there* is Religion. The "spirits" are of the usual sort, good or bad, forest haunting, or household brownies. There is little of novelty in the medicine practice. Apparently (pp. 269 and 273), "scrying," or crystal gazing, is in use. The men-women (p. 270) were common among the North American Indians. The *manangs* or *pow-wows*, or whatever name medicine-men prefer, like their counterparts elsewhere, aim at becoming ecstatic. We hear of no hypnotism or clairvoyance worth mentioning, yet I doubt not that such things exist, in fact or fancy, among the Dyaks. The magic of the Maoris and many other races, if it is found in Borneo, has not here been chronicled. I find no reference to rapping and writing house-spirits, mentioned by Mr. Tylor, as current in Dutch Bornean belief.

With time, and space, any student of anthropology might comment on every department of Mr. Ling Roth's valuable compilation. It is a mine from which everybody can draw, in accordance with his needs. Every department of life and thought is illustrated. But each student of the book can supply his commentary for himself, and I have only touched on a few of the topics most interesting to myself. It is probable that anthropologists in Borneo will yet make many additions to the present state of our knowledge.

ANDREW LANG.

# INTRODUCTION.

## I.

THIS book has its origin in the following circumstances. Some years ago my friend, Prof. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., placed in my hands a parcel of MSS., the writing of which was so fine and obliterated that I was obliged throughout to use a strong magnifying glass in order to be able to read it. The papers, which were largely written in pencil, were partly destroyed by moisture and by insects. These very incomplete MSS. were the posthumous papers of an eccentric young gentleman named Hugh Brooke Low, who, however, possessed a very intimate knowledge of the natives and who died shortly after his second arrival in England in 1887. "He was the son of Mr. (now Sir) Hugh Low, Secretary to the Governor of Labuan, a small

colony established for the suppression of piracy by Her Majesty's Government in 1848. Hugh was born at Labuan on the 12th May, 1849, his mother being Catherine, daughter of Wm. Napier, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of Labuan. He was baptized on the 13th June, 1849, by Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., the Governor of the Island. He was sent home at an early age and received his education partly in Germany, at Neuwied, and partly in England where he was for two years a resident pupil of Professor Seeley, attending at the same time the classes at University College. He failed to pass the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1869, and accepted

an appointment which was offered to him by the present Raja of Sarawak, Sir Charles Brooke, G.C.M.G. He died in London on the 12th July, 1887, of pneumonia, and was buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Mortlake, having been received into the Roman Catholic Church shortly before his death. His sister, Lady Pope Hennessy, who attended him with the utmost devotion during his illness, had long been devoted to that faith. During the eighteen years of his service under the Government of Sarawak, he was stationed principally on the Rejang river, which gave him great

opportunities of studying the Dyak and Kayan races inhabiting the banks of this noble river, but he had also experience of many other parts of the territory of the Raja of Sarawak, and his death was much regretted by their Highnesses the Raja and Raneé of Sarawak and by all the native tribes with whom he had so long been in close contact." These notes were worked up and a fair portion of them published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, but while doing this I was much hampered by the want of a general work dealing with the subject. I therefore determined to prepare such a work, which was not intended to be a comparative study, and this is the book now placed before the reader. In the course of the investigations I found that some of Mr. Brooke Low's notes had been taken *verbatim* from other books and from some of the missionary publications—especially from those by the Rev. W. Crossland—and on going back to Mr. Low's MSS. I found I had in transcribing omitted to notice inverted commas and other signs indicating that these were not original. This is mentioned in fairness to both parties, but I was glad to find that such an authority as Mr. Low evidently regarded missionary knowledge as worthy of consideration.

Originally it was intended to limit the work to Sarawak only, but coming across several little known papers about British North Borneo it was deemed advisable to include that portion of Borneo—this change of plan will account for some anomalies. To give English speaking readers a general idea of what the people are like in other parts of Borneo, various foot notes extracted from Dutch authors where such seemed suitable, have been inserted, and these have been supplemented by an appendix containing a complete translation of Dr. Schwaner's excellent ethnological notes. It was intended also to publish Mr. Carl Hupé's notes, as these describe the people of another part of the country (Pontianak and its neighbourhood); unfortunately, after the translation was made, space did not permit of its being printed.

The spelling of the native names has been a stumbling block, but as the Ven. Archd. Perham has explained this difficulty it need not be repeated here. As for myself, I have endeavoured to adhere to one system, but I now see that I have not always succeeded; in all extracts the spelling of the respective authors has been strictly adhered to. All travellers' statements are given as much as possible in their own words: condensing has been resorted to only in exceptional cases. This method has, however, the slight disadvantage of occasional repetitions. In the general grouping of the facts it has not always been possible to include all that belongs to the group, but an attempt has been made to overcome this difficulty by means of the Index.

The reader is especially requested to remember that in almost every river basin, or even on individual tributaries, the customs of the natives are not the same; this fact will help to explain what might possibly otherwise

look like contradictions. It is also well to bear in mind that large as this book has grown it is by no manner of means complete, great as was my idea to make it such when I first contemplated the work. I wish also to point out that when a negative statement is made about a custom in one district it is not intended to refer to other than that district, and at the same time it does not mean the contrary elsewhere. Occasionally, too, where different tribes are in close neighbourhood, travellers in their narratives run on without stating to which tribes their remarks apply, and hence confusion; thus, for example, by Lundu the Sibuyau are often meant, and so on.

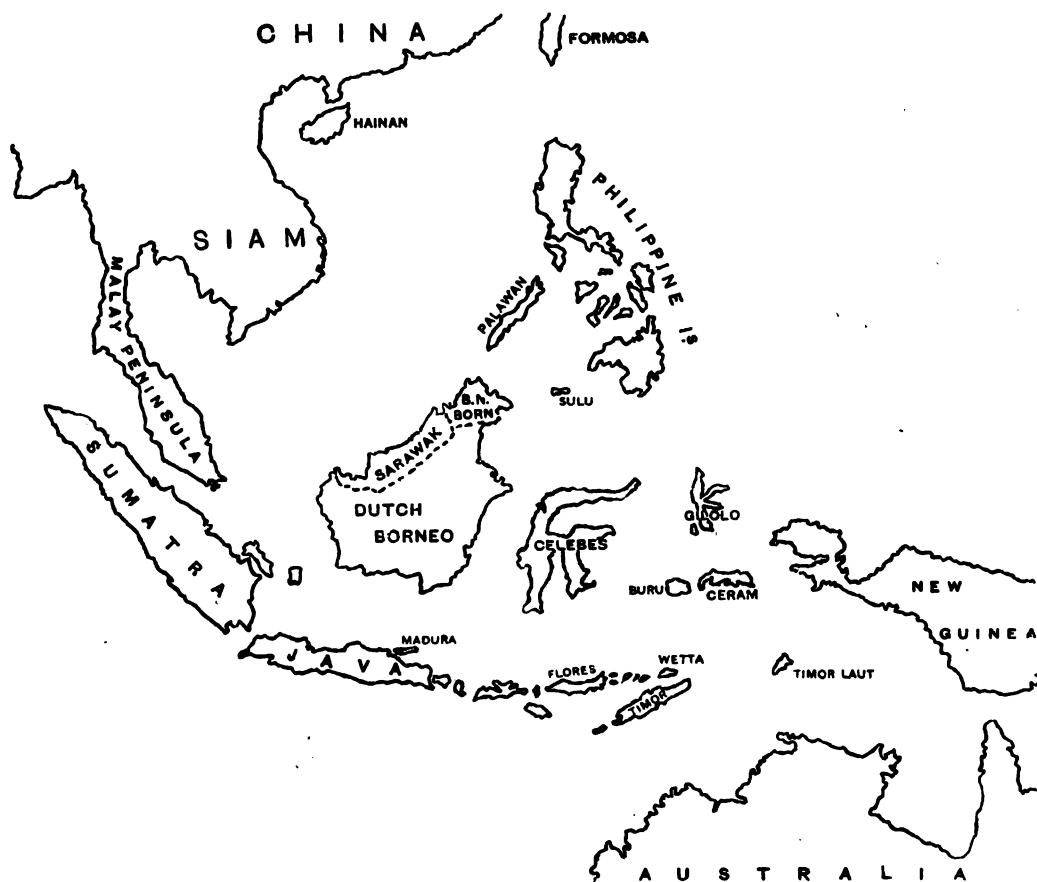
While thus endeavouring to make the work complete in every way, I am very conscious of omissions and errors; for instance, little is said on the great ethnological questions of origin, totems, and relationships. This incompleteness is due to the fact that the work has been prepared in my evening leisure far away from any easily accessible centre of scientific research, but "Residents" and settlers in Borneo will see at a glance what is wanting, and I hope they will continue to give us the benefit of their valuable observations.

It will be seen a large number of illustrations are taken from private collections, which are essentially collections containing objects from British and not from other parts of Borneo. As the book only professes to treat of the natives under British jurisdiction, for purposes of illustration the home collections were exhausted first; but where there is reference in the text to articles of which it was not possible to obtain illustrations at home, by the courtesy of my Dutch friends at Leiden and Amsterdam such articles have been reproduced from the two ethnographical Museums in those cities. In the older collections there is always the difficulty as to the origin of an article; this has been remedied where possible, but if the reader notices an illustration of an article which is said to have come from one district while he knows it must have come from elsewhere, he is kindly requested to bear this difficulty in mind. It may happen in the course of trade that an article gets carried right across the country, and is obtained by a "Resident" or trustworthy collector from a tribe who did not make it, but to whose ability in manufacture it is naturally attributed; or it may be a native copy. Then, again, owing to the great mixture of peoples throughout the Malay Archipelago, the natives have frequently adopted foreign articles. I have been shown a knife the design of which may have been derived from Northern India; there are musical instruments copied from the Javanese; as Professor Hein has shewn, the shield ornamentation is of Chinese origin; some of the raised timber tombs look like Shinto shrines; the custom on the west coast of immuring young girls comes from an eastern or Chinese source; other Chinese, Hindu, Javanese, Sulu, and Malay influences are found dominant in various parts of the island. The

(xiv.) H. LING ROTH.—*Natives of Sarawak and Brit. N. Borneo.*

great variety of methods of obtaining fire is in itself a proof of great mixture. With such contact, and the central position held by Borneo, anything approaching purity of origin or custom cannot be hoped for.

The objects illustrated are to be found in the British Museum; the Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh; the Royal College of Science, Dublin; the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford; the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons; Brooke Low collection at Kuching, Sarawak; the collection of



SKETCH MAP TO SHOW GENERAL SURROUNDINGS OF BORNEO.

Mr. Charles Hose (Resident on the Baram River) at Roydon Rectory, Diss, Norfolk; the small collection of the Rev. W. Crossland, formerly S.P.G. missionary to the Undups, at Ridlington, North Walsham, Norfolk; the collection of the Rev. F. W. Leggatt, S.P.G. Missionary on the Skaran River, since presented to the British Museum; the collection of Mr. Cuthbert E. Peek at Rousden, Lyme Regis, Dorset, collected by Mr. Hose; the collections of the State Ethnographical Museum at Leiden, and the collection in the

Museum of the Zoological Gardens at Amsterdam. The photographs of the natives are mostly from the collections of Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G., and of Mr. Crossland. The original line illustrations are from the pen of Mr. Charles Prætorius (of the British Museum), my sister (Mrs. Kingdon Ellis), and Mr. R. Raar (of Leiden). I am much indebted for assistance in obtaining the illustrations to Sir A. Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., to Mr. Charles H. Read, F.S.A., to Mr. Walter Clarke, Science and Art Museum, Edinburgh; to Mr. Henry Balfour, M.A., and to Prof. C. Stewart; to the above-mentioned owners of collections; to Dr. Serrurier, Mr. J. D. E. Schmeltz and Mr. C. W. Pleyte Wzn. It has not always been possible to place the illustrations by the printed matter referring to them; in some measure this objection has been overcome by indicating the page where the illustration may be found. Mr. Burbidge (author of "The Gardens of the Sun") has helped me in many ways. I am indebted for countenance to His Highness the Rajah of Sarawak (Sir Charles Brooke, G.C.M.G.); to Her Highness the Ranee (Lady Brooke) for several illustrations, and to Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell, the late Chief Magistrate of the Raj, for valuable help in the chapter on the various tribes of the country; to Mr. Biddulph Martin, M.P., Chairman of, Mr. W. C. Cowie, Director of, and to other officials of, the British North Borneo Co., for various courtesies; and not least to Mr. W. M. Crocker, Mr. Maxwell's predecessor in Sarawak, and late Governor of British North Borneo. Mr. John Murray, Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., Sir Spencer St. John (H.M. Minister at Stockholm) have given me permission to reproduce—the former illustrations, and the latter his vocabularies. The Ven. Archdeacon Perham has been kind enough to allow the reproduction of his valuable papers.

In the course of the work I have become further indebted to my old friend Prof. Tylor, to whom I tender my heartiest thanks. Similar thanks are also due to Mr. Lang, who is no new friend to me where anthropology comes in. Finally, as those who have helped most are generally mentioned last, the assistance given me by my Wife must not be forgotten. She has at all times been ready to make my task an easier one than it would have been without her.

## II.

Borneo is a large island in the Malay Archipelago, 270,000 square miles in extent (about the size of Germany and Poland together) and is situated on the equator, between 8° N. and 4° S. lat. and 109° and 119° E. long. The Raj of Sarawak is situated on the north-west coast, and may be roughly estimated as comprising some 50,000 square miles; British North Borneo is situated on the cap of the island, and comprises about 31,000 square miles. Both countries are well watered, but British North Borneo has the better natural harbours. The first British settlement in Borneo was not made in any of the

present British dependencies, but at Bangermassin, in 1706, about 100 years after the first British visit. However, in 1756, Alex. Dalrymple obtained possession of Balambang—an island, now included in the British North Borneo Company's territory. The State of British North Borneo was founded in 1877 by Baron Overbeck and Sir Alfred Dent, and if its history has not been such a romantic one as that of Sarawak, it has at least introduced orderly trade where previously robbery and murder and worse were the order of the day. Being a mercantile company, it is naturally not so much concerned as the Sarawak Government in the welfare of the natives; but the ethnologist looks trustfully to its fair dealing with the natives when he remembers its first official's care in succouring the hard pressed Buludupies on the Segaliud River. Indeed every praise is due to Mr. W. B. Pryer for the able way in which he has throughout his career managed the natives without spilling blood.

Sarawak seems to have first become known through Bruni traders who were carrying a piece of antimony to Singapore, where the ore fell into the hands of some Englishmen, with the result that a trade sprang up between Sarawak and the British settlement. That Bruni, together with Sarawak, and, in fact, the whole of north-west and north Borneo, should fall under the control of Europeans sooner or later was inevitable. British trade was expanding, and in its expansion it was hampered by the pirates. These pirates were supported by the Sultan of Bruni. A young Englishman, hearing of the troubles, was led to visit the Sultan, or rather the littoral under his foul government. At Sarawak, Sir (then Mr.) James Brooke found the natives in open rebellion against their nominal but impotent ruler, Muda Hassein, the only humane man in the country, who was afterwards treacherously murdered by his over-lord the Sultan of Bruni. Sir James Brooke patched up a peace between the Rajah and the natives, obtained a cession of part of the country, and so became a Rajah himself, and such a Rajah as the world had never seen before nor will again. In the words of Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, "Sir James Brooke found the Dyaks oppressed and ground down by the most cruel tyranny. They were cheated by Malay traders, and robbed by the Malay chiefs. Their wives and children were often captured and sold into slavery, and hostile tribes purchased permission from their cruel rulers to plunder, enslave and murder them. Anything like justice or redress for these injuries was utterly unattainable. From the time Sir James obtained possession of the country, all this was stopped. Equal justice was awarded to Malay, Chinaman and Dyak. The remorseless pirates from the rivers farther east were punished, and finally shut up within their own territories, and the Dyak, for the first time, could sleep in peace. His wife and children were now safe from slavery; his house was no longer burnt over his head;

his crops and his fruits were now his own, to sell or consume as he pleased. And the unknown stranger who had done all this for them, and asked for nothing in return, what could he be? How was it possible for them to realise his motives? Was it not natural that they should refuse to believe he was a man? for of pure benevolence combined with great power, they had had no experience among men. They naturally concluded that he was a superior being, come down upon earth to confer blessings on the afflicted. In many villages where he had not been seen, I was asked questions about him. Was he not as old as the mountains? Could he not bring the dead to life? And they firmly believe that he can give them good harvests, and make their fruit trees bear an abundant crop.

“In forming a proper estimate of Sir James Brooke's government, it must ever be remembered that he held Sarawak solely by the goodwill of the native inhabitants. He had to deal with two races, one of whom, the Mahometan Malays, looked upon the other race, the Dyaks, as savages and slaves, only fit to be robbed and plundered. He has effectually protected the Dyaks, and has invariably treated them as, in his sight, equal to the Malays; and yet he has secured the affection and goodwill of both. Notwithstanding the religious prejudices of Mahometans, he has induced them to modify many of their worst laws and customs, and to assimilate their criminal code to that of the civilized world. That his government still continues, after twenty-seven years—notwithstanding his frequent absences from ill-health, notwithstanding conspiracies of Malay chiefs, and insurrections of Chinese gold diggers, all of which have been overcome by the support of the native population, and notwithstanding financial, political, and domestic troubles—is due, I believe, solely to the many admirable qualities which Sir James Brooke possessed, and especially to his having convinced the native population, by every action of his life, that he ruled them, not for his own advantage, but for their good.

“Since these lines were written, his noble spirit has passed away. But though, by those who knew him not, he may be sneered at as an enthusiast adventurer, or abused as a hard-hearted despot, the universal testimony of every one who came in contact with him in his adopted country, whether European, Malay, or Dyak, will be, that Rajah Brooke was a great, a wise, and a good ruler—a true and faithful friend—a man to be admired for his talents, respected for his honesty and courage, and loved for his genuine hospitality, his kindness of disposition, and his tenderness of heart.”  
(i. 144-147.)

The people thus succoured from every form of oppression which the selfishness or self-gratification of mankind could invent—were what are known as the Land Dyaks of Sarawak. Long ages of oppression by a kindred race, more cunning but not much more civilised, had burnt deeply into their

character, and to Europeans, in consequence of the very faults which oppression has fostered if not engendered, they do not offer that wide field for sympathy to which they are entitled, and which they fully received from Sir James Brooke and still receive from his successor.

But while the pirates, Malay, Lanun, Bajau, or others could be and were dispersed, and their incursions put a stop to, there were other tribes on the rivers and far inland whose expeditions, aptly described as head-hunting, had to be put a stop to. There were the so-called Sea Dyaks and the Kayans—the former a brave set of robbers, the latter a robbing set of blusterers. There was no security in the neighbourhood of these tribes, nor was there always security a long way off them. It was the work of the present Rajah, His Highness Sir Charles Brooke (a maternal nephew of Sir James), to continue the final suppression of these disastrous raids. Endowed with an excellent constitution, an indomitable will, an amount of pluck which determined success to an extent that must often have astonished himself, and a practical turn of mind, he has bit by bit not conquered the country but brought it into a reasonable condition of security. People sitting at home in a cosy house can form no idea of the desperate isolation of a “resident” (governor of a district) white man alone with a few followers whose trustworthiness has in many cases yet to be tried, surrounded by an impulsive set of savages whose education seems to have taught them to obtain by the easiest and safest means possible the head of every strange undefended human being who crosses their path. The present Rajah was one among many pioneers of such fearless “residents,” but they were not all as successful as he was, as witness the sad but not unavenged fate of Messrs. Steele and Fox.

The government of Sarawak is an absolute monarchy, which His Highness governs as heir of his uncle, Sir James Brooke. He writes: “I am assisted by a Council of six, composed of the two chief European residents and four natives, nominated by myself from the leading natives of the district. Besides this supreme Council there is a General Council of about fifty, in which the leading European and native residents of the various districts have seats. This Council meets once every three years, or oftener if required. Sarawak is divided for administrative purposes into eight districts, corresponding to the number of principal river basins in the country. There are three chief districts presided over by European officers, who have power to call upon the natives for military service. In each district the European officers are assisted by native officials, who administer justice among the diverse races living in Sarawak. I am frequently asked what law they administer. I think the true answer is, the law of common sense, based, of course, on English law, with a good deal of native and Mussulman customs.

We do not worry the natives by any unnecessary changes, and there is a great absence of red tape and precise rules and regulations. But we keep steady pressure directed towards the discouragement of cruel or debasing practices." The extraordinary feature of the whole system is that the government is carried on by so little force. Nevertheless a firm government will always be required on account of the tendency of the natives to revert to the head hunting customs of their ancestors, a tendency which it may be expected tradition will long help to keep up. It is not so very long ago that a subdued chief said that he obeyed simply because he had met his master, but he should try the next Rajah!

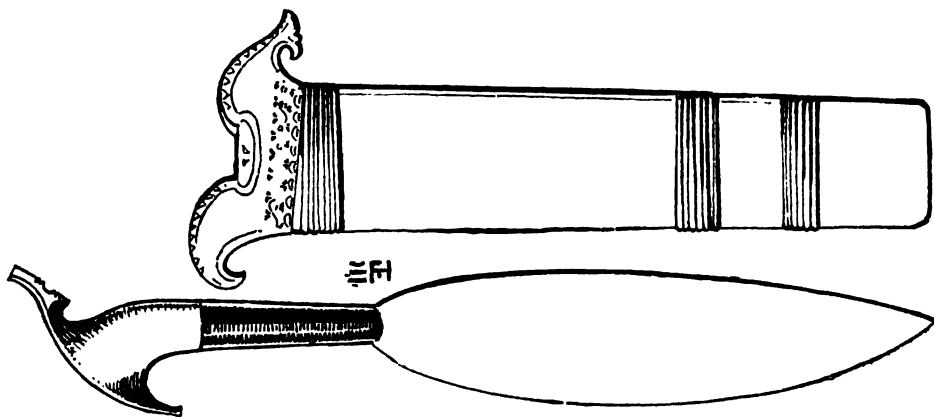
On the general question of an alien power interfering with cherished although evil custom Sir Charles Brooke's remarks are worthy of a hearing. He says Europeans should ponder, "when they hear of black men murdering whites. I wish in no way to justify such criminal acts; but my belief is, that in very many cases a little more care and patience might avert them. Steamers and soldiers are not pleasant spectacles entering the heart of a land which the inhabitants have hitherto believed was specially bequeathed to them by their deity, and reserved for their purposes and habitation, and not to be delivered up to strangers more powerful than themselves. Such is the case—such has been, and no doubt will be, the case to the end; the strong domineer over the weak, and the weak revenge themselves upon the strong in cringing askance, and cutting throats. The question is whether sufficient steps for conciliation are taken, and what hope is offered to the original inhabitants when they surrender their rights and privileges to more powerful rulers. Can they be raised to the condition of Europeans? and are there any inducements offered and desires shown by the educated to stimulate the aborigines to attain a higher stage of civilisation?" (ii. 75.)

Nothing is so demoralising as a general collapse of all previously held notions, and such a collapse takes place whenever Europeans come in contact with natives for the first time. Can anything be more pathetic than the statement of the dying chief, who, when asked why he declined baptism, with a view to going to the Christian's heaven instead of to his own Hades, replied he would like well "but for one thing. Three of my children died after they were grown up, and I want to go to them." Is it civilisation to upset such convictions?

The key note to the success of the Government is to be found in His Highness' "Hints to Young Officers on Out Stations," where it is pointed out that the natives are *not* inferior to Europeans, but different.

Regarding the future of the people under Sarawak rule a few words may be said. That the cross between "the Chinese and Dyaks is a fair sample of the improvement in both races" would only be expected, but as regards the

natives amongst themselves there has not been that progress which had been hoped for. The Land Dyaks had been too far oppressed when Sir James Brooke came to the rescue for them to recover their manliness and independence, so to succeed and multiply, and we may not be far wrong in holding the opinion that many generations of them cannot survive. The Sea Dyaks may be said to be just about holding their own ; like the Land Dyaks they are hard pushed by the Malays and the Chinese, nevertheless there is considerable hope for them, as in their cultivation they have shown themselves capable of adopting improvements. The Milanaus, having a settled industry, sago, are increasing. Of the Kayans it is, perhaps, a little too early to speak. They are a people who certainly possess abilities to cope with the difficulties of their more peaceful future, but they appear to be wanting in the sterling qualities, loyalty and truthfulness, which characterise the Sea Dyaks. The Muruts appear to be a more difficult people to deal with, being from all accounts more brutalised than the other natives, even than the roving houseless Punans, but in the Raj of Sarawak they have an excellent painstaking Resident in Mr. O. F. Ricketts, who hitherto has been able, following the Brookes' best traditions, to keep them in order without recourse to bloodshed. British North Borneo has been less fortunate with the Muruts. The Dusuns are by many considered to have much Chinese blood : whether this be so or not, they are superior agriculturists and of a more settled disposition, and not given to head hunting in anything like the same degree as the Sea Dyaks. They are likely to survive. That the people are already leading a better life is sufficiently proved by the comparatively little trouble they give the Residents or Governors, and it is no small credit to the Governors that this should be so.



SULU KNIFE AND SHEATH FROM BORNEO.

(Brit. Mus.)

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## CHAPTER I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

- A.—SARAWAK: General position—Mr. Maxwell's Arrangement—Malays and Milanaus on the coast. LAND DYAKS and their divisions—Alleged descendants from Pegu—Connection between the Milikins and the Sea Dyaks—Lara in-breeding and extinction—Wanderings of the Sennahs—Tradition as to descent of the Sauhs—Branches of the Sarawak river—Land Dyak physique and language. SEA DYAKS and their settlements—Footing on the Muka and Oya rivers—Scattering of the Sibuyaus—Ul Ayers in the Maloh country—Migrations of Rejang tribes—General characteristics of Sea Dyaks. MILANAUS: Their wide range and connections. KAYANS: Their range and tribes—Migrations of Kayans and Kenniahs. Punans: Nomadic peoples—Characteristics. Bakatans: Nomadic peoples—Characteristics. Tatu-ing—Attempts at Agriculture—The real Aborigines—Not cannibals—Physique—Kayan physique. MURUTS. UKITS: Their connection with Bakatans and Punans. MURUTS: General characteristics. BISAYANS: Characteristics.
- B.—BRITISH NORTH BORNEO: General Population—DOOMPAS. BULUDUPIS. ERAANS. SABAHANS. DUSUNS: General Position—Characteristics—Chinese affinities—Misuse of the word Dyak. TAGAAS. KIAUS. SIPULOTES. SAGHAIS. LANUNS from Phillipines—Pirates—Independence. BAJAUS from Malacca—Wandering sea-people—Quarrelsomeness—Buildings—Cock-fighting—Fishermen—Unthriftiness—Not Sulus—Petty pilferers—"Stain their bodies with blue." BALIGINI. ORAN TADONG.
- C.—Mr. Hose's list of tribes in Borneo.

#### A. SARAWAK.

THE peoples inhabiting the Raj of Sarawak are Land Dyaks, Sea Dyaks, Milanaus, Kayans, Muruts, Ukits, Bisayans, Malays, and Chinese. With the Chinese and with the Malays the present work has nothing to do.

I am indebted to Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell, formerly Chief Resident, for the following general account of the natives, their divisions and settlements:—

"The Malays occupy the fringe of coast-land from the Dutch frontier, Tanjong Datu, northwards into the British North Borneo Company's territory. The coast-line between the Rejang river and the Tutong river is the original habitat of the Milanaus (they are now mostly restricted between the Bruit and the Bintulu), but this does not imply there are no Malays there. When this coast was under Brunei rule it was inhabited by Malays, but mostly by Malays appointed by the Sultan to squeeze the Milanaus and traders to buy and otherwise acquire sago; but the main and real population were Milanaus. In the same way there are Malay villages sixty or seventy miles up some of the rivers, and the Dyaks are always complaining of the Malays encroaching on their lands.

I.—“The LAND DYAKS occupy the extreme southwest corner of the Raj, excepting the coast fringe as above mentioned, as far as the Millikin river, a branch of the Sadong river, both banks of which they inhabit from there upwards. They extend also into Dutch Borneo.<sup>1</sup>

SAREBAS DYAK WOMEN WEARING THE RAWAI  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

<sup>1</sup> “The Land Dyaks number some forty branch tribes with great variations in language, and it would now be almost impossible to find the main or principal stock unless it can be traced back to the Malay or Javanese tongues.” (Brooke i 47)

“The inland population in and about this division of Borneo [His Highness is referring to the Land Dyaks] are eastward and northward bound, frequently migrating in search of fresh farming lands, about which they continually quarrel, and in consequence disperse, forming a new nucleus for a branch tribe.” (*ibid.* 48.)

" Their chief settlements are :—

- Aup* - - - Upper Sadong river.  
*Bukar* - - - Foot of Mount Bukar, Upper Samarahan river.\*  
*Brang* - - - Left hand branch, Sarawak river.  
*Engrat (Min-grat)* Upper Sadong river

\* According to Mr Denison, the Bukar tribes villages are Kumpang, Lanchang, Jinan and Mungo Babi. At Sungei Buah he writes: " Here the Pegu people settled and amalgamated with the Sarawak villagers, and I am assured that in former times beards and whiskers such as are now seen among the Bukar Dyaks were not uncommon among the Malays of Sarawak. The majority of the Pegu people went to the Samarahan and settled in the midst of the Si Muntungs, who, having been but slightly crossed with other natives, the strain shows more plainly and accounts for the whiskers and beards of the Bukars, though this peculiarity is yearly becoming less perceivable. In fact, even so late as the European occupation of the country, the falling off in numbers of those Dyaks who could boast these hairy appendages, is clearly perceivable " (chap. viii. p. 86.)

Mr. Charles Grant also writes: " It is said that a colony of Peguans settled many years ago at Santubong on the mouth of the Sarawak river. Some curious gold ornaments and earthenware remains have lately been dug up at that place; possibly it may have been the site of the Pegu settlement. Whether these colonists left again or whether they merged into other races of Borneo, no one knows. Most probably the latter supposition is the true one; and if so, may not the traces of foreign customs which we observe among some Dyak tribes be the marks left by the Buddhists of Pegu? I have been told that the *Bukar* Dyaks of *Samarahan* are descendants of the Peguans. They certainly have a peculiar appearance, unlike that of most Dyaks, many of the men having whiskers, and being comparatively tall. I once, however, asked some of these Dyaks if the above assertion of the neighbouring Malays was correct. 'Oh no,' they said, 'it is the *Malays* of *Samarahan* who are descended from the Peguans.' "

#### SERIBIS DYAK.

(From plate in Lieut. Frank Marryat's "Borneo.")

Such statements appear to be repeated by almost every writer who happens to mention the Bukars, but I cannot find that anyone adduces any evidence to prove it. On writing to my friend Mr. E. S. Symes, Government Secretary, Burmah, on the question, he replies: " Pegu, as you no doubt know, is a city some fifty miles N.N.E. of Rangoon, formerly the capital of a kingdom. Its population is now of a very mixed character, but the ancient inhabitants—of whom many still remain in and about Pegu, and to whom I suppose you refer—are known to themselves as Muns, and to the Burmese and English as Talaings. They have, like the Burmese, long hair, but they very rarely have beards or any but a few straggling hairs on their faces. I know of no race except the Talaings to whom the name Peguan could be applied, and I never heard of the Talaings having settled in Borneo." On the evidence of the hair alone it may therefore be much doubted whether the Bukars have any Pegu blood in their veins. Pegu was destroyed in 1757 A.D.

<i>Engkroh</i>	-	-	Upper Sarawak river.
<i>Kuap (Quop)</i>	-	-	Kuap river, tributary of Sarawak, below Kuching.
<i>Kadup</i>	-	-	Tributary of the Sadong river.
<i>Millikin</i>	-	-	Tributary of the Sadong river.*

#### SAKARANG WOMEN.

The one in the centre is wearing a silver coronet designed by Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell. The women are fond of change, and once a deputation waited upon him to ask him to invent a new head gear, and for a time his design was very fashionable and spread up and down the river.  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

\* Sir James Brooke says:—"They are a branch of the Sibuyows, originally discarded from the interior of Santang" (Mundy ii. 63.)

"This fine tribe, now inhabiting Sadong, was originally connected with the Sibuyows; and both these tribes, as well as the Serebas and Sakarran, have a common origin, and descended to the coast from the interior of the Kapuas River. The Sibuyows locating themselves near the sea have become a maritime people; whilst the Milikin, settling in the interior, know nothing of the ways of the great deep, and navigate nothing larger than a canoe. The Serebas and the Sakarran, like the Milikin, were an inland people, ignorant of seafaring, until the Malays taught them that art and piracy at the same time. Serebas showed the way; Sakarran, which was a dependency of Kaluka, remained peaceful till the advent of Sheriff Sahib's father, when they were initiated in these two accomplishments.

"In Sheriff Sahib's time they were perfect masters of the trade, and now I hope they will gradually lose the practice of piracy, without abandoning their character as good and bold seamen.

"It is remarkable, however, that whilst the Dyaks of Sakarran devoted themselves to piracy, the Dyaks of the Batang Lupar, living in the same country, never became addicted to this vice, and continued a quiet agricultural race. The Kumpang and other Dyaks of this branch of the river may be esteemed, therefore, as representing what the Sakarrans likewise were, about forty or fifty years ago." (Keppel: Meander ii. pp. 102-103.)

<i>Lara</i>	-	-	In Lundu territory from Dutch Borneo. <sup>4</sup>
[ <i>Salakau</i>	-	-	Dutch Borneo]
[ <i>Sambas</i>	-	-	Dutch Borneo]
			{ [Have come over into Lundu where the Dutch frontier is only a day's walk from the coast.]

SAKARANG DYAKS.

The one on the right is wearing a leopard skin as a seat mat.  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

<sup>4</sup> "The Lundu houses, on the top of a low hill, are but few in number, neat and new. The tribe, however, has fallen; they fear there is a curse on them. A thousand families, they say, once cultivated this valley, but now they are reduced to ten, not by the ravages of war, but by diseases sent by the spirits. They complain bitterly that they have no families, that their women are not fertile; indeed, there were but three or four children in the whole place. The men were fine-looking, and the women well favoured and healthy—remarkably clean and free from disease. We could only account for their decreasing numbers by their constant intermarriages, we advised them to seek husbands and wives among the neighbouring tribes, but this is difficult. Their village is a well-drained, airy spot." (St. John i. p. 10.)

Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell informs me the Lundus in Sarawak Raj are now extinct. Mr. Noel Denison, writing twenty years ago, says: "The Lundu tribe was once large and powerful, but are now reduced to a mere fraction of their number, the ravages of small pox in 1844 (?) almost exterminated them, and their persistent refusal to intermarry with other tribes is fast destroying the remnant. The Peninjauh Dyaks on the Serambo mountain assure me that the Lundus are an offshoot from their tribe, who left Serambo and settled at Lundu." (ch. i. p. 1.)

- Samarahan* - - Samaharan river, thickly populated, rises near head of Sadong, and runs into same outlet as the Sarawak river.
- Sampro* - - Left-hand branch Sarawak river.<sup>5</sup>
- Sarambau* - - Upper Sarawak river.
- Sedumak* - - Lundu river.
- Sentah* - - On a hill of that name, about ten miles from Kuching, between the Sarawak and Samarahan rivers.
- Sennah (Sinar)* - Sennah river, falling into the Sarawak about two days' journey from Kuching.<sup>6</sup>
- Singgie* - - Upper Sarawak river.
- Sibungo (or Bungoh)* Upper Sarawak river.
- Simpoke* - - On the Serin branch of Samarahan river.
- Sigu* - - Tributary of Sarawak river.
- Sow (Sauh)* - - Upper Sarawak river.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Bombok and Peninjauhs are included in this tribe. (Denison, ch. i. p. 2.)

<sup>6</sup> "The Sennahs were originally settled at Sikong, and they left that country under a leader or chief called Trau. Trau fled from Sikong, having committed the crime of matricide, the particulars of which are too indecent to mention; suffice it to say, that after cutting down his mother with a parang, he laid open her stomach and found it full of the seeds of every description of fruits. Collecting these, Trau fled towards Sambas with his followers, whence taking prau he arrived at the mouth of the Sarawak river (Sungei Buah). Hence he continued his ascent of the river, and settled at Batu Kara, near Mungo Angus, just above Sungei Siol. Here Trau planted the seeds found in his mother's belly, and the old groves of fruit-trees which are even now in existence on the spot bear witness, say the Dyaks, to the truth of this story. The next place where the Sennahs settled was at Batu Kawa, near Si Gobang; they then ascended the southern branch of the Sarawak river to a place called Lubuck Tinuwan, on the left bank below Sempro. Trau again moved his followers up stream, and finding the water too shallow for his praus, abandoned them at a place called Batu Jung, about two reaches above the present landing-place of the Brang tribe, and just above this is a stone called Batu Kamudi. Both these names, say the Sennah Dyaks, were originally given to these places by Trau, the former being the place where his praus proved useless, and the latter being given to the rudder of Trau's prau, which remained so long in existence here, that it finally turned into stone. Having now no prau, Trau and his followers walked overland to Muara Kundung, a small stream between Muara Sennah and Sennah, where they lived sometime, moving from thence to their present location." (Denison, ch. vi. p. 66.)

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Denison includes the Grogro, Tambawang, Suba, Krokong, Jagui, and Owp (Aups) in the Sow (Sauh) tribe. The Gumbang and the Tringus he treats as separate tribes. (ch. i. p. 2.)

The Grogro Dyaks are an offshoot of the Sauh Dyaks. After the Saubs had once crushingly defeated the Sakaran invaders, they were in turn thoroughly beaten by a fresh body of Sakarans.

"Thus it came about that the great Sauh tribe became scattered over the face of the country, and is now found under the distinct and separate Dyak names of Grogro, Suba, Krokong, Jagui, and Aup. All these settlements spring from the once flourishing and prosperous tribe of Sauh, which had its location at Beratak, on Gunong Undang. . . . These Dyaks tell me that the Peninjauh



SEA DYAK WOMAN.  
(From C. Dammar's Coll.)

*Stang* - - - Upper Sarawak river.

*Tebia* - - - Tebia river, left-hand branch of Sarawak river.

"Fifteen miles above the town of Kuching the Sarawak river divides, and the branches are wrongly called the right and left-hand branches as viewed coming from the mouth and not as coming from the source; on the left-hand branch, as wrongly so called, are the Sentah, Sigu, Sennah, Sampro, and Sibungoh, and on the right-hand branch the Sarambau, Singgi, Engkroh, and Sow.

"The Land Dyaks as a race are small, slightly built, untattooed; colour same as Malays, hair black and straight. In some villages in the Samarahan I found men (the Bukars) with small goat-like beards. Language is entirely different from Malay or Sea Dyak, and it differs so much among the tribes that those in Upper Sarawak find difficulty in making themselves understood in the Upper Sadong. One peculiarity in the Land Dyak is their inability to pronounce the letter *l*, using *r* in its place, thus for the Malay

word *bilalang*—grasshopper—they say *birarang* (inversely to what the Chinaman does, who not being able to pronounce an *r* uses an *l*)<sup>8</sup>. Some of the Land Dyaks, but not all, burn their dead, and a few tribes will touch the flesh of deer. They hold feasts and consult birds and omens and believe in a Supreme Being, whom they call Dervata. They live mostly on the sides of mountains, but have probably been driven to them for protection from their enemies the Sea Dyaks. The Upper Sadong tribe is an exception to this, as their villages are found principally on the river banks.

II.—"The SEA DYAKS occupy the country from the boundary of the Land Dyaks eastwards to a line somewhat as follows: From the Tatan river,

story is true as regards the descent of the Sauhs. It will be remembered in the account given of the Serambo Dyaks, that Rupak had a step-son called Bunga, the child by a first husband of a widow whom he had married. Bunga's son was Putan, who moved to Sungie Pinang; his son was Karud, and Karud's son Makurng moved his portion of the tribe to Beratak. Hence the Sauh tribe. The Grogos bear out this, and say that when they left Dinding they went to Sungie Pinang, thence to Rata Manas, thence to Gunong Kingi, and then settled at Beratak. When they came to Beratak they found the Gumbang and Tringus Dyaks already on their respective mountains." (Denison, ch. iii. pp. 24. 25.)

<sup>8</sup> "Many individuals in Europe are of opinion that the Dyaks are descended from the Chinese, and the latter themselves entertain the same supposition; one fact, however, will tend greatly to weaken this notion. The Dyaks, even those who reside constantly with the Chinese settlers, can never attain the pronunciation, or even a correct knowledge of the idiom of the language spoken by the latter, a circumstance which does not arise from any deficiency of

intellect or application in the Dyaks, since they acquire a perfect knowledge of the Malay and Bugis tongues with the greatest facility. The formation of the two latter, however, and many of the words they contain, are perfectly similar to the dialects of the Dyaks, which accounts for the readiness with which they are acquired." (Earl, p. 276.)



SEA DYAK WOMAN.  
(From C. Dammar's Coll.)

both banks of which they occupy, almost as far (?) as its tributary—the Kakus river, then along both banks of the Anap river, crossing the Rejang river above the knee, to the west of Mount Ulan Buha, straight on, crossing the Balleh river about twenty miles west of Fort Kapit and then on the Dutch frontier somewhere to the north-east of Mount Saribu Saratus. To the south the Sea Dyaks extend into Dutch territory. Their establishment in Oya, Muka, and Tatan is quite recent and since the establishment of European rule.<sup>9</sup>

SEA DYAK LITTLE GIRLS.  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

“The Sea Dyaks’ chief settlements and tribes are :—

*Batang Lupars* or *Batang Ayers*. The Dyaks living on the banks of the Batang Lupar from about fifty miles up that river till eighty miles up call themselves Batang Ayer, Batang meaning a trunk or main stem and Ayer water, meaning simply the main river to distinguish them from the people living on the tributaries. Towards the head of the river, the people call themselves Ulu Ayer. This nomenclature applies equally to the Rejang river.

*Ballaus*. On Batang Lupar and Lingga rivers, named from a hill about twenty-five miles up the Batang Lupar, a few miles above the mouth of the Lingga river. Lingga is their real centre.<sup>10</sup> There is no Ballau river (Balleh has nothing to do with Ballau).

*Skarans* (Sakarangs). On tributary river of that name of the Batang Lupar.

*Undops*. On tributary river of that name of the Batang Lupar.<sup>11</sup>

*Lemanaks*. On tributary river of that name of the Batang Lupar.

*Sibuyaus*. On Sibuyau river, between Sadong and Batang Lupar rivers. They call themselves Sea Dyaks, but speak that language with a peculiar accent (Sibnowans is the name given in error by Sir H. Keppel).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> “At the head-waters of the Muka and Oya rivers some Sea-Dayaks have settled. On the Oya river are three chiefs, with a following of perhaps 100 fighting men; on the Muka there are four chiefs with perhaps the same following. These Dayaks have come in from the Rejang and Kanowit rivers, there being a great tendency on the part of the people of these rivers to settle in Muka and Oya.” (Denison, Jour Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 181.)

<sup>10</sup> “They are represented as very brave, and are engaged in ceaseless warfare with their neighbours, against whom they maintain themselves, though very inferior in number.” (Sir James Brooke, Mundy, i. 236.)

<sup>11</sup> The Undups maintain that the Ballaus were originally of their tribe, *i.e.*, Undups. (Crossland.)

<sup>12</sup> “The Samarahan was a favourite attacking ground of the pirates, and owed much of its safety to the courage of these Dayaks, who were formerly more united than they are now. The Sibuyau are, in fact, strangers. They were harassed out of their own country by the Seribas pirates and retired to Samarahan; they are now scattered, a section here, a larger one on the Lundu river, another at Meradang on the Quop, besides smaller villages on the Sarawak, the Sadong, and in other districts.” (St. John i. 208.)

According to Sir Hugh Low these people “came originally from the country situated about the sources of the western branch of the Batang Lupar in the direction of the Lake Danau Malayau.” (p. 166.)

**A SEA DYAK IN EXTRA FINE WAR COSTUME.**  
(Crossland Coll.)

*Ulu Ayers* are Batang Lupar Dyaks living in the head-waters of that river (Ulu means head, but it is not used in that sense when speaking of living things or human beings; thus *ulu parang* is the handle of the sword, and *pengulu* is headman or chief).<sup>13</sup>

*Sarebas*. On Sarebas river, about ten miles from north of Batang Lupar.

*Kalukas*. On Kaluka river, which runs into the sea about eight miles from mouth of Sarebas.

*Rejang*. A large and important river thickly populated by Malays and Dyaks. The principal tributaries on which the Sea Dyaks live are the *Seriki*,<sup>14</sup> the *Kanowit*,<sup>15</sup> running upwards towards the head of the Sakarang, the *Katibus*, running up towards the head of the Batang Lupar. These two latter tributary streams of the Rejang have been settled from the Sakarang and the Ulu Batang Lupar respectively. Besides these, there is a large Dyak population living on the banks and up the small tributary streams of the Rejang 80 to 150 miles from the mouth, who are classed under the head of *Ulu Ayers* or *Ulu Rejang* Dyaks. At one time these Ulu Ayers settled in large numbers in the Balleh river, but owing to the difficulty of keeping them in order, through their being some distance above the Government station of Kapit, they were ordered to remove down.

"The Sea Dyaks are more stoutly built than the Land Dyaks,<sup>16</sup> well proportioned, clean skinned, and as a rule, though some tribes suffer much from kurap or worm, of a rich brown colour; hair black and straight. Language resembles that of the Malay a good deal. They believe in dreams, consult birds as omens before engaging on any undertaking of importance, and bury their dead. They believe in a future state, though they have a very vague notion of what it is like. They live in long houses on the river banks and tatu on the shoulders and arms but slightly.

<sup>13</sup> In his great cross-country expedition of 1861 Sir Chas. Brooke says of the natives of the Upper Batang Lupar: "They told me they had left this river about forty years ago to live in the Maloh country, to which they had been persuaded to go for the sake of obtaining jars and other kinds of valuable property; but while there they found the reality was what had been pictured to them, for they were frequently attacked, and lost at different times seventeen of their people, killed by Kayans and Bakatans, as well as most of their property. They only returned to this country a year and a half ago, and now live in constant alarm of the Kayans and Bakatans." (ii. 175.)

<sup>14</sup> Sir Hugh Low seems to speak of the people here as Siboo. (p. 364.)

<sup>15</sup> Writing so far back as 1859, the present Rajah says of the Kanowit river:—

"This stream is inhabited by Sea Dyaks, who had for the last fifteen or twenty years been migrating from the Saribus and Sakarang districts for the purpose of obtaining new farming grounds. These exoduses took place overland between one river and another. Such parties would do their four or five days' march, then build their houses, and proceed to farm for one or two years, after which they would recommence their march, and so on, until they arrived at their final destination." (ii. 327.)

It was the Kanowits who, probably at the instigation of the Malay chiefs, murdered Messrs. Steele and Fox in 1859.

<sup>16</sup> The Land Dyaks are much harsher in features than the Sea Dyaks, who are more like the Malays. (Bishop McDougall, T.E.S. ii., 26.)

ULU REJANG SEA DIKAS V -

III.—The MILANAUS. “The position of the Milanaus has already been given.” The Milanaus are a quiet people, not Mohamedan, but dressing like the Malays, and cultivating sago. They are very fair, some of the girls quite as white as Europeans ; hair black and straight.<sup>17</sup>

SEA DYAK (? BATANG LUPAR.)  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

<sup>17</sup> “There was formerly a Milano village below the present one of Meri, the posts of which attracted my attention as we ascended the river. This village was abandoned in times gone by, as the natives were so harassed and ravaged by Dayaks and Kayans, that they had to move their quarters, and they are now scattered over the different rivers in the neighbourhood” (Denison, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 176.)

“I am inclined to agree with the theory of H H the Rajah that the Milanos are the most numerous and widely ranged tribes in Borneo, at all events from vocabularies in my possession, and from a careful examination of similarity in manners and customs, I am convinced that the Kinniahs and Kyans of the Barram river, the Kanowits, Kajamangs, Bakatans, Lugats, Ukits, Tanjongs, and Punans of Upper Rejang; the Tatans and Balineans, the Bakatans of Upper Oya and Muka, and the Tamans and Malows of Upper Kapuas, are distinctly of the same stock—but we have at present more particularly to deal with the Milanos, who inhabit the mouths of the Rejang, Blawi, Palo, Bruit, Egan, Mudan, Oya, Muka, and Bintulu, and who number in all about 30,000 souls.” (W. M. Crocker, S G., No. 120, p. 7.)

<sup>18</sup> “As to their origin, I am inclined to think, from the similarity of religion, that they may claim descent from the same ancestors who were the progenitors of the inhabitants of Timor and the Moluccas, and, I think, also the Kyans, who certainly entered this country from the east, may

BATANG LUPAR (?) SEA DYAKS. (Sir Hugh Low Coll)

A MALAU.  
(Crossland Coll.)

IV.—The KAYANS. “The Kayan country extends from that of the Sea Dyaks’ boundary to Brunei, and to within ten or fifteen miles of the left bank of the Limbang river. They extend in Dutch territory almost right across the island and are the chief native people of Borneo. (The Dutch name Kahaijan, given to a large river, is only another reading of the word Kayan.)

“The *Kayans* and *Kenniahs*<sup>10</sup> occupy the greater part of the country between the Dutch frontier range and the low coast-lands inhabited by the

#### KYAN IN WAR DRESS.

(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

claim clanship with them. I should not consider either the Kyans or Malanaus entitled to be called aborigines of the country, nor the Dayaks, who seem to have come from the south and south-east, and to have gradually worked their way up the great rivers, pushing the aborigines before them.” (de Crespigny, J A I., v 34)

<sup>10</sup> “The Kayans and Kenniahs inhabiting the head waters of the Baram River and its tributaries are sub-divided into the Uma Pliaus and Uma Poh Kayans, Long Wats, Uma Pawas, Sibops, Leppu Laangs, Madangs, and Leppu Pohun Kenniahs. The first three of the above-named sub-sections are of the Kayan race. The rest are to be regarded as Kenniahs. The Kenniahs who migrated to the Baram River some hundred years or so before the Kayans, were the only people able to resist the constant raids made by the latter, who, being a blustering, warlike race, almost exterminated the smaller tribes and made slaves of the weaker ones. Naturally the Kayans occupied the best tracts of land consisting of the undulating areas between the swampy low country and the mountains at the head waters; they also confiscated all the caves of the esculent swallows, selling their nests to the traders whenever a Brunei, Malay, or Chinese dared to venture up river amongst them. Kayans often travelled as far as Brunei in their long boats, and some few even adventured as far as Singapore, taking passage in Chinese junks to Labuan to sell the produce of these caves.” (Hose, J A I., xxiii. 157)

Milanaus; in other words, the fertile lands through which the Baram and its confluent the Tinjar flow. They include the *Kalabits*<sup>20</sup> in the country of some of the head-waters of the Baram river round Mount Salaan, *Sibops* on the head-waters of the Tinjar, the *Madangs* on the head-waters of the Baloi (Rejang) and Tinjar river—the latter the great tributary of the Baram.

"The *Kajamans*, the *Skapans* or *Punans*<sup>21</sup> on the Rejang are supposed to be Kayan off-shoots, and so are also the *Bakatans*<sup>22</sup> (in Malay *Bakatan* means hill people).

<sup>20</sup> "The *Kalabits*—a numerous race of people living inland on the hills and plains, to the north of the Baram River, and in the far interior of that part of Borneo—bear a very close resemblance to low country people of the Baram river, possessing many traits and habits in common with the *Barawans* and *Long Patas*, formerly inhabiting the country now occupied by the *Kayans*. They were separated from the low country people and driven out by the *Kayans* who came from the *Balungan* and *Koti* rivers some eight generations back." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 157.)

<sup>21</sup> "The *Punans*—nomadic tribes, found at the head waters of all the big rivers in central Borneo. I have no doubt in my mind that this wandering race of people are the aboriginals of the country. In physique they are a fine healthy race, large boned and very strong, with fair skins and a complete immunity from skin diseases. They build no houses, and live upon what they can shoot with the blowpipe and on jungle fruits, and owing to their custom of always living in the shade of the dense forest, are afraid of the sun. They are an honest and unselfish people and they alone of all the races in Borneo do not regard the human head as a trophy of war and the taking thereof as a legitimate act of prowess; and when once well known they undoubtedly prove to be the best mannered people of any of the savage tribes inhabiting the island. They have large families of from seven to ten children, which is also unusual in Borneo, and though no doubt the weaker members die young owing to the rough life they lead, this fact tends to preserve and improve the physical excellence of the race. They are great hunters, being able to move through the jungle without making the slightest noise, and have a name for every living thing, which name is known by even the small boys. They are wonderfully expert in the use of the blowpipe, shooting their poisoned arrows with such precision that it may be said that they seldom miss even the smallest object aimed at, yet this efficiency with their weapons notwithstanding, they are a very timid race, but can fight in self-defence.

"The *Punans* never plant paddy, but sometimes collect the fruit of a tree called *Pran*, which they dry and store for a time. They work india-rubber, and are really the only people in Borneo who systematically work the camphor tree, exchanging the camphor with the *Kayans* and *Kenniahs* for tools, tobacco, &c.; the *Kayans*, not wishing them to know the true value of their products, cut them off from all direct communication with the Chinese and Malay traders.

"They occasionally live in caves, but not for long periods, as the caves, being mostly of limestone formation, are damp and cold, and are consequently liable to breed fevers." (Hose, J.A.I., xxiii. 158.)

<sup>22</sup> "The heads of the Oya are inhabited by *Bakatans*, the most primitive branch of the *Milano* tribes. Until very recently they had no fixed residence, they built no houses, planted no paddy, but lived in trees and roamed the jungle in search of plants, fruits, and whatever game they could kill with their sumpitan or poisoned arrows, or fish they could catch in the streams. They are skilful in the manufacture of the sumpitan and expert in its use.

"There are several families now settled at the head of the Oya, and as a Dyak informed me, they have learnt 'to eat rice and use a blanket,' they have built themselves good houses and plant paddy regularly. Having intermarried with the Dyaks they have gained an idea of property and supply their new acquirements by working jungle produce with assiduity. Some of them came to visit me one day with a Dyak lad, who had been the house servant of a friend of mine—this lad had settled near them and gained their confidence; they came to complain of the exactions of their Dyak neighbours, who of course imposed upon a tribe more unsophisticated than themselves." (W. M. Crocker, S.G., No. 122, p. 8.)

"The wandering tribes of *Pakatan* and *Punan*, which seldom build regular houses, but prefer running up temporary huts, and when they have exhausted the jungle around of wild beasts and other food, they move to a new spot. They are great collectors of wax, edible bird's nests, camphor, and rattans. They are popularly said to be fairer than the other inhabitants of Borneo, as they are never exposed to the sun, living in the thickest part of the old forest. Those we have seen were certainly darker, but they themselves assert that their women are fairer. It is probable that

"In stature and build the Kayans are more inclined to flesh than the Dyaks, and they are also lighter in colour than the latter. Their hair is black

exposure to the air has as much effect upon them as exposure to the sun. I have often met with their little huts in the forest and used them as night lodgings, but I have never come across these wild tribes. I have seen individual men, but never communities." (St. John i. 25.)

"The Pakatans are an interesting tribe. Although they lead a wandering life in the forests and do not live in houses, they are by no means the savages one would infer from that fact, although the Dyaks treat them with pity and a little contempt. They tattoo themselves from head to foot in the most beautiful manner. They live almost entirely by the chase. Latterly they have sown padi here and there among the Dyak clearings, but, having sown it, go away into the jungle, and at harvest time are content to take what the pigs and deer have left them. Their language is quite different to Malay, Dyak, or Kyan, and sounds very much like Tamil. Can they be a remnant of people from India? Although they are wanderers they have their possessions, consisting of gongs and jars, which they stow away in the hills. (de Crespigny, Proc. R. Geog. Soc., viii., 1873, p. 133.)

"On the Upper Batang Lupar we passed many houses on the river's bank, and one or two were pointed out as belonging to Bakatans, who have become sufficiently civilised to build habitations, although they will be little able to appreciate them for at least a generation to come. They even farm, but after a poor fashion. They cut down the jungle and burn, and then scatter seed, after which they allow it to take its course; the result is, the padi and tares grow together, and the latter are more plentiful. Between whiles the Bakatans resort to their old habits of jungle prowling in search of food, and depend on the sumpit arrow for such game as deer and pigs. Some few of the most luxurious have taken to rice food, and in time of great want have been known to sell their children for this article. *This seems their first step towards civilisation.*

"They are dangerous enemies and doubtful friends, pouncing on a foe when and where least expected, or secretly using the poisonous arrow from an ambush. Their word, according to all reports, is no more to be trusted than the whistling of the winds; but it is to be feared they scarcely have fair opportunities for displaying their true characters or bettering their condition, as, wherever they become at all settled they are shamefully oppressed by the Dyaks, and the consequence is, these wild ones prefer returning to the natural and primitive state of their forefathers, rather than work for the advantage of others. I look on these people as being the aboriginal stock of the population coastwise in this section of the Island of Borneo, and their language tends to support the hypothesis.

"At Bintulu I entered into conversation with an old man of a party bound for a neighbouring river. He told me he was a Bakatan, had lived for many years among the Dyaks, and had been treated worse than a slave by them—being turned out of one place, then another, until he trusted now he had at length found a quiet river, as a home where they might be able to use the land and consider it their own property. This old fellow sat on a fallen tree close to me; he was stone blind, and observed he should like to have the use of his sight a short time, just to see a white man. He was tattooed from head to foot, and very dark, but his features were regular and well shapen; he spoke with a considerable degree of straightforwardness and sense. The quarter of an hour I waited for the boat I felt had been well spent. He told me there were several dialects spoken amongst their branch tribes, and so different in sound as not to be understood by each other; these are the primitive and furthest removed from civilisation, many not living in houses, but in trees; not farming, but roaming about from one spot to another for game to live on. There are no means of holding any communication with them, as such people are as timid as jungle deer, and as subtle as tigers in the use of their poisonous arrows. . . . On the Balleh stream the Dyaks inform me there are roving Bakatans or Ukits, generally to be found about the banks, in most cases in search for wild animals, which report says, abound up this stream. But the Ukits are on friendly terms with the Kayans, and take every opportunity of supplying them with the heads of people obtained from parties in search for gutta percha or other wild productions for trade. In exchange for these heads they get rice and sago. The Dyaks hold these wild Ukits in much awe, as they say, 'We can never see or get near them, and we cannot resist an enemy like a bird that blows an arrow from a tree upon us.' . . . I believe myself they bear a strong affinity to the Jakoons of the interior of Malacca. . . . These Bakatans are not cannibals, but depend entirely on the production of the wilderness for the staples of life. There will be much difficulty in gaining any influence over such a people, and it is to be feared they will decrease even to extermination, rather than adapt themselves to civilised modes. . . .

"On the Rajang about 50 miles north of Kanowit one afternoon we passed two Bakatans whom I had seen at Kejaman on our ascent, when they asked me for some sign to keep them safe from the

and straight. Their eyes are more like those of the Chinese than those of the Malays. Their language differs entirely from that of the Sea or Land Dyaks.<sup>23</sup>

V.—“The MURUTS occupy the ground from the left bank of the Limbang into British North Borneo territory.

“The Muruts are bigger men than the Dyaks, but I know little of them as they have only lately come under Sarawak rule. They have nothing in common with the Dyaks; their appearance, language, and customs differ entirely.

VI.—“The UKITS (name probably derived from the Malay *Bukit*, a hill) inhabit the hilly country inland, leading a wandering life, mostly in the Kayan country.

attack of our party when foraging against the enemy. They were by far the wildest men it had ever been my fortune to see, clothed with Maias (orang-utan) skins over their backs and shoulders, using skin caps with dingy feathers attached to them; but their dress could never have enhanced the wildness of nature's robes. They had well-shaped heads, and moderately good figures—bones without an extra ounce of flesh, and denoting great muscular power; aquiline noses, with sunken eyes, yet sparkling with the ferocity of a wild animal; cheeks indented under high and prominent bones, the lower parts of which, instead of being clothed with whiskers, were tattooed; this ornament passed round the chin. They looked such peculiar objects that I could not vouchsafe for any sign being a guard against attacks of our people when in an excited state; so recommended them to keep to their boats, and as close to us as they could.” (Brooke ii. 195-6; 225-6; 250-1; 302-3.)

<sup>23</sup> The tribes which Mr. Maxwell groups under the heading of Kayans, Sir Charles Brooke, writing 30 years ago, groups as Malanaus. “This is the most numerous and widely-ranged tribe, far different from the rest, with ramifications extending over a space of many hundreds of miles, and occupying localities in the interior and centre of the island, extending to the heads of the Kotei, Banger Massin, and Kapuas rivers in the interior, and beyond Brunei in a northward direction. Their exodus has been, and still is, from the top or head section of the Kapuas. And their different stages of advancement in civilisation are extremely interesting to observe. The most primitive section of the tribe are the Bakatans and Ukits, named from (bukit) a hill, with an affix “an”—meaning hill tribes. It will be desirable to mention that many of their practices are like those of the Samangs or Jaccos of the interior of Malacca. A vocabulary of the language of the latter I have as yet failed to obtain. The branch divisions are severally called after the countries in which they reside, each possessing different customs and dialects; but the whole coast between Rejang and Brunei is no doubt inhabited by these people.

“The branches inhabiting the inland and up-rivers vary more, although very distinctly of the same stock. The names of some of those branches are Kanowit, Tanjong, Kajaman, Punan, Maloh, Skapan, Kenniah, Bakatan, Ukit, and numerous others. Some few of these divisions possess traditions of having come originally from the Kotei river, which empties itself at the south-east of the Island. And between the Rejang and the Kotei there are tribes on tribes, all through the centre of the Island, all bearing a similarity to one another; yet they possess many individual characteristics, and differ much in customs and dialects.

“These people have never seen the sea, and depend upon no imported supplies for their livelihood, in spite of their affinity one with another.

“The Kayans are supposed to number ten thousand souls, and the lower intermediate branches of this tribe, named Kajamin, Skapan, Punan, Bakatan, and Ukit, muster many thousands more, but are now much broken up and scattered, many seeking quiet abodes out of the limits of these quarrelsome districts. Above the Kayan country is a tribe named Kenniah, who nominally have always been on friendly terms with us, but are really strangers, as they inhabit the very centre of the Island, between the Kotei and Rejang streams. All of the branch tribes are more or less tattooed: some at the wrist, others below the knee, some all over, and others only a little on the chest. I feel convinced they are all connected, and that the difference of dialects is to be accounted for by separation, which among such people, so soon produces changes of language, usages, and even appearance. The tribes of this river have a tendency to corpulency, and are clumsily built men, without the natural grace of most primitive peoples.” (i. 72, 73; ii. 300, 301.)

"The Ukits do *not* build houses,"<sup>24</sup> and I have been told by a Dyak chief who once lived with them for a while that they make temporary shelters between buttresses of large forest trees. They live by hunting, and use the sumpitan or blow-pipe. I have only seen one Ukit and he was a chief, a well-built man about 5 feet 8 inches high, slim, and with a rather refined face, and a rather more prominent nose than the Dyak, Malay, or Kayan; but this characteristic may have been peculiar to the man."<sup>25</sup>

A KANOWIT (?)  
(Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

So far we have to thank Mr. Maxwell. Of the Muruts, Mr. F. O. Ricketts writes:—

"Muruts are very low down in the scale as compared with the other tribes of Borneo; the race is not by any means prepossessing, the generality are exceedingly ugly and uncouth, they have not the quiet manner nor the little

<sup>24</sup> On the occasion of a Dyak while hunting for gutta being killed by a wild Ukit, a writer in the *Sarawak Gazette* (No. 169, p. 54) says: "The Ukits are almost impossible to be found, as they have no more fixed habitation than wild animals."

<sup>25</sup> There is every probability that the Punans, Pakatans, and Ukits are all one and the same people. (H. L. R.) See *infra* in foot notes 21 and 22.

figure of the Sea Dyak; they approach more nearly the Land Dyak of Sarawak, but, if anything, are worse as to general appearance. The Murut is loud and coarse, his house and habits are filthy, though if properly treated is friendly and always hospitable.

"Those living in the interior of the Trusan differ in many respects to those in the lower waters; they are more unsophisticated, their skin is of a lighter colour, they are cleaner, and are heavier and stronger built, skin disease is comparatively rare amongst them, whilst in the case of the latter it is the rule rather than the exception. Whether this is due to a difference of climate it is not easy to say, but, as they inhabit a mountainous country and use no boats, it may account for their having better health and physique.

"The men as a rule are strong and wiry, though clumsy, and of medium height, they are capable of withstanding great fatigue. I have seen them sit up night after night drinking till daybreak, and then, after a snatch of sleep, start away on a tedious journey over steep mountain ranges carrying a heavy load without apparently feeling done up." (S. G., No. 347, p. 213.)

Mr. de Crespigny considered the Muruts to be an old Malay immigration. (Berl. Zeits, N.F., v. 330.)

VII.—THE BISAYANS. "The Bisayans come from the Philippine Islands. They are an interesting race. They inhabit the lower waters of the Padas and Kalias, where they are Islam; they are also found on the Limbang, where they are Kafirs. They are very industrious, and raise herds of cattle and buffaloes with sago and paddy plantations; they come over in numbers to Labuan during the quiet season to work coal and are much liked by their employers. They are a handsome well-made race much fairer in complexion than the people of Brunei. They are fond of gambling and think little of bloodshed." (S. G. No. 45.)

## B. BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.

IN British North Borneo we have the Lanuns, Bajaus, Malays, Chinese, Sulus, Muruts, and Dusuns (Ida'an).

As before we can dismiss the Malays, Chinese and also the Sulus, all of whom have been described elsewhere; the Muruts we have dealt with in the first portion of this chapter. Commencing on the seaboard of the east coast, the first people met with are the Bajaus, or Sea Gypsies, on the littoral. The villages on the sea coast and at the rivers' mouths contain many Sooloos, Bugis, Illanuns, and others, but the first tribe of true Bornean aborigines met with is the Booloodoopy, who have villages from Sugut to Paitan on the north to Tabunac on the south. Largely mixed up with them are the Doompas<sup>26</sup> on the north and the Eraans on the south. Inland from these people the whole bulk of the population are known as Dusuns or Sundyaks, divided up into many tribes and sections, including the Roongas, Kooroories, Umpoolooms, Saga Sagas, Tunbunwhas, Tingaras, Roomarrows and many others, those of the far interior little better than roving savages,

<sup>26</sup> A mixture of races, descendants of the interior, Sulus, Bajaus, Malays and others.

A KANOWIT GIRL.  
(Crossland Coll.

while nearer the coast, where they have rubbed against Mahomedan civilisation, they are much more cultivated both in their dress and manners.

I.—THE BULUDUPIS. . . . "The first true tribe of the interior arrived at from the east coast is the Booloodoopies. The Booloodupies are a somewhat singular people, many of them having strangely Caucasian features, or at all events departing largely from the ordinary Mongolian type. Some of them have well-raised bridges to their noses, and very round eyes. . . . The Booloodoopies are not very bold, and as the richest of the birds' nest caves occur in their country, they have had to oppose cunning to the straightforward exactions made upon them from time to time by Sooloo and other rapacious adventurers."<sup>77</sup>

II.—THE ERAANS. "The Eraans in Darvel Bay are closely connected with the Booloodoopies, and like them are large owners of birds' nest caves. At various times both these tribes have sought the society of Sooloo Datos, as a barrier against their fellow Datos, and a protection against the marauders who used to infest the country both by sea and land; and in many places there is a large infusion of Sooloo blood in consequence.

III.—THE SABAHANS. "In Darvel Bay there are the remnants of a tribe which seems to have been much more plentiful in bygone days—the Sabahans. Most of them are so mixed with the Eraans as to be almost indistinguishable. Some of them, however, still have villages apart, remain heathen in their religion, and would practise their old customs, human sacrifice included, if allowed. In some of the birds' nest caves, mouldering coffins are to be seen, rudely carved with grotesque figures, said to have been deposited there in bygone days by the old Sabahans. Many of these coffins are on ledges of rock at considerable elevations.

IV.—THE DUSUNS. "Next above the Booloodoopies are the Tunbunwhas, or the first sub-division of the main tribe or people known as the Dusuns or Sundryaks, who constitute the chief portion of the population of British North Borneo." (Pryer J. A. I. xvi. p. 23.) "The principal inhabitants of the districts (Gaya Bay) consist of the Ida'an or Dusan, the aboriginal population."<sup>78</sup> They are essentially the same in appearance as the Dayak, the Kayan, the Murat, and the Bisaya; their houses, dress, and manners are very similar, modified of course, by circumstances. In the Kabatuan, Mengkabong, Sulaman, and Abai are some tribes of Ida'an, but I have not visited their villages; I shall, therefore, confine myself to those I observed on the Tawaran and Tampasuk.

"On the banks of the Tawaran, where it flows through the plain, are many villages of Ida'an, which are often completely hidden by groves of fruit-trees. These men have a civilized appearance, wearing jackets and trousers. As you advance into the interior, these gradually lessen, clothes being seen only on a few, as at Kiau, near Kina Balu; beyond, they are said

<sup>77</sup> "The Buludupis inhabit the China or Kina-batangan river. (Treacher, *Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.*, No. 20, p. 21.)

Dr. Guillemard mentions the Buludupi on the Sigaliud River (Marchesa ii. 92-96). See *infra* Mr. Witt's Note (No. 29).

<sup>78</sup> Ida'an is the name given them by the Bajus, Dusun by the Borneans (Brunei people).

**KANOWITS. (Sir Hugh Low Coll.)**

to use the bark of trees. The Ginambur Ida'an are good specimens of the aborigines; they are free from disease, and are clear-skinned; they have good-tempered countenances. None of the women are good-looking; still they are not ugly. All the girls and young women wear a piece of cloth to conceal their bosoms: it was upheld by strips of coloured rattans: their petticoats were also longer than usual, and the young girls had the front of the head shaved, like Chinese girls." (St. John i. 374.)

At Maludu Bay the same writer speaks of the Ida'an as "a dark sharp featured race, intelligent looking, and appeared in features very much like the Land Dayaks of Sarawak" (*ibid.* 390.)

Mr. Wittl expresses himself very strongly against any supposed Chinese mixture in the blood of these Dusuns:—

"But let me now meet the favourite argument by engaging to point out for every Dusun with a so-called cut of features at least one other Dusun with an accidental Caucasian physiognomy; and the fair, even rosy complexion of many of these people will certainly tend to bear out my opinion, already expressed, viz., that no Chinese colonies ever existed in the very North of Borneo. Almost everything in which the Dusuns differ from the generality of the Malayan family is attributed to an infusion of Chinese blood; and some glazed teapot found in a Dusun village is eagerly taken for a monument set by the Celestials themselves." (Diary, Nov. 23.)

On his journey up the Pagalan river he speaks of some tribes thus: "These people speak Dusun with many foreign words in it, probably of Dalit origin. They differ from the majority of Dusuns, both as regards bodily appearance and wearing apparel. On the whole, they are probably the result of an infusion of Chinese blood with the aboriginal race of North Borneo. Taller than the Dusun proper, these people have the zygomatic arches more prominent, and the eye-slit somewhat oblique, their complexion is of yellowish-white as compared with the light tawny colour of our Northern Dusuns, which has a tinge of ruddiness in it. What strikes one about these here, in juxtaposition to a typical Dusun, is that heavy flatness of the nose, reminding one of the ugliest specimen of Malay faces. Another peculiarity is that our friends here look so crabbed, yet they profess to drink nothing but water. It is to be surmised that the Kijau-Pampang Dusuns differ from their next neighbours in an ethnological respect, for that reason I venture these remarks about them now, but on insufficient evidence. Our journey will not take us back here again. In point of dress these Dusuns make even the Dusuns of our party laugh. An odd display of ornament they have. Fancy a man with three pairs of earrings and a sou'-wester. . . . Traders used to comprise the three hamlets in this part under the name Kijau,<sup>29</sup> but, to the people themselves, that name is only known as applied to Kijau, at the head of the Kimanis valley."

<sup>29</sup> "I here since found that the Nabian Dyaks used to speak of the Pampang hamlets as of Kijau. Some tribes, in fact, happen to be known under a different name than used by, or even known to, themselves. After having twice journeyed across the Upper Sugut district, I was yet unable to answer inquiries about the "Tampias" Dyaks, under which designation the Dusuns at the head of the Sugut are spoken of at Sandakan, on account of their pending quarrels with the Dumpas. The Buludupis are Tambunuas by habit and speech. At Sandakan the Sigaliud and Kinabatangan are

**KANOWITS (?) (Sir Hugh Low Coll.)**

"Mention is made by Mr. Dalrymple of a tribe distinct from the Dusuns, known as the Tagaas, who inhabit some of the mountains of the west coast, and who he seems to think are the descendants of some old and distinct race." (Pryer J.A.I. xvi. 236.) Mr. Dalrymple makes frequent mention of the Idaan (Dusuns) but I have not been able to trace the above statement.<sup>80</sup>

On the coast from Brunei Bay northwards to about Maludu Bay there is a settled advanced agricultural population of mixed Chinese and native descent. A portion of this people are known as Kiaus.

In the centre of the Company's territory there are the Sipulotes; whether they are Muruts or Dusuns does not appear.

The Saghais on the east coast are spoken of by Sir Edward Belcher as Dusun (or Idaan).

V.—THE LANUNS. "The Lanuns were formerly numerous, having populous settlements on the Tawaran and the Tampasuk, as well as on the Pandasan and Layer Layer farther west. They originally came from the large island of Magindanau, which is considered as the most southern island of the Philippine group. They have formed settlements on various points as convenient piratical stations, particularly on the east coast at Tungku and other places.

"As I have elsewhere observed, not only did they pirate by sea, but they created unappeasable feud with the Ida'an, by stealing their children. No race in the Archipelago equals the Lanun in courage; the Ida'an therefore considering it useless to make regular attacks, hung about the villages, and by destroying small parties, forced the Lanuns to leave Tawaran, who then joined their countrymen at Tampasuk. Sir Thomas Cochrane attacked both Pandasan and Tampasuk, which induced the most piratical portion to retire to the east coast. At present but few remain in Tampasuk; they are not considered to have more than 150 fighting men; they are essentially strangers, and unpopular. They seldom form regular governments, but attach themselves to certain chiefs, who are partial to high-sounding titles, particularly those of sultan and rajah. These chiefs are independent of each other, and unite only for defence, or for an extensive expedition. They, however, are gradually leaving these districts. Although Mahomedans, their women are not shut up; on the contrary, they freely mix with the men, and even join in public deliberations, and are said to be tolerably good-looking. The men I have seen are better featured than the Malays or Bajus." (St. John i. 370.)

styled the Buludupi Rivers, and yet, in the Lukan the Tambanuas never heard the word Buludupi at all. There can be no doubt that we have in the territory many more Dusuns which are Tambanua than Bulupudi. The foreign term "Dusun" should be adhered to in distinction from "Dyak," *i.e.*, every aboriginal non-Dusun and non-Murut to call the Tambunan Dusuns "Dyak Besar," may be complimentary to them, but it is quite gratuitous and confusing. Similar is the case with the Sonzogon and Paitan Dusuns mentioned on the N.E. coast as Sun-Dyak; and with the Tampias-Dyak already alluded to the Nabai, Bokan Peluan, and Dalit-Dyaks, have one common tongue, Dalit, which is almost the same as Murut, and yet these four tribes are by the Lower Padas people referred to as Muruts Peluan. It may here be remarked that the term "Ida'an," for the true aboriginal majority of Sabah, is used by Bajau and Illanuns only; further, that no Muruts live within the present boundaries of Sabah."

<sup>80</sup> Mr. Forrest speaks of "the people called Oran Idaan or Idahan and sometimes Maroots" (p. 368). He wrote after Mr. Dalrymple so it is quite possible that some of the people spoken of as Idaan by Mr. Dalrymple may possibly have been Muruts.

**KANOWIT (?) WOMEN IN MALAY DRESS. (Sir Hugh Low Coll.)**

The second distinct immigrant people are the

VI.—BAJAUS, OR SEA GYPSIES, who, Sir Hugh Low informs me, are said to come from the Straits of Malacca. Of these people Mr. Forrest writes

KANOWIT (?) WOMEN IN MALAY DRESS (Sir Hugh Low Coll.)

(p. 372):—"The Badjoo people, called Oran Badjoo, are a kind of itinerant fishermen, said to come originally from Johore, at the east entrance of the straits of Malacca. They live chiefly in small covered boats, on the coasts of Borneo and Celebes, and adjacent islands. Others dwell close to the sea, on

those islands, their houses being raised on poles, a little distance into the sea, always at the mouths of rivers. They are Mahometans. . . . In their original country, Johore, where it would seem an old method to live in boats, it is said, that on a certain festival, they crowded in numbers, and made fast their boats, astern of the vessel, in which was their prince ; it being their custom at certain seasons to do so : but a storm arising from the land, they were driven across the southern part of the China Sea, to the coast of Borneo ; and of this they celebrate the anniversary by bathing in the sea on an annual day.

**"TATOED KENOWIT, WITH PENDULOUS EAR-LOBES."**

(By B. N. Vigors. *Illustrated London News*, 10th Nov 1849.)

"The Bajus are scattered along the coast, their principal settlements being at Mengkabong and Tampasuk. At Mengkabong they appear numerous, and perhaps could muster 1,000 fighting men ; at Tampasuk, they estimate their own number at 600 ; at Pandasan, 400 ; at Abai, Sulaman, and Ambong, there are a few. Their origin is involved in obscurity : they are evidently strangers. They self-style themselves Orang Sama, or Sama men. They principally occupy themselves with fishing, manufacturing salt, and

with petty trade. Some breed cows, horses, and goats, while a few plant rice, and have small gardens.

"They profess the Mahomedan religion, and keep the fast with some strictness; though, like the Malays, are probably but little acquainted with its tenets. The Bajus are not a handsome race—they have generally pinched-up, small faces, low foreheads, but bright eyes. The men are short and slight, but very active: the women have a similar appearance to the men, and are slighter than the Malay. They wear their hair tied in a knot on the fore part of the crown of the head, which is very unbecoming. The women appeared to have greater liberty than among the Malays, and came and sat near us and conversed. We saw many men that differed totally from the

"TAMAH, NATIVE OF KENOWIT, IN KAYAN WAR DRESS."

(Drawn by B. N. Vigors, *Illustrated London News*, 10th Nov. 1849.)

above description; but on inquiry, we found they were a mixed breed: one, Baju, Lanun, Malay, and Chinese; the next, Baju, Sulu, Lanun, and Malay. In fact, many intermarry, which renders it difficult to give a particular type for one race. The Bajus of Tampasuk nominally acknowledge a Datu as their chief, who receives his authority from Brunei; but they never pay taxes to the supreme Government, and seldom send even a present. They are individually very independent, and render no obedience to their chief, unless it suits their own convenience. They are, therefore, disunited, and unable to make head against the few Lanuns, with whom they have continual quarrels. Every man goes armed, and seldom walks. If he cannot procure a pony, he rides a cow or a buffalo, the latter generally carrying double. Their arms

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A SAGHAI (S.E. BORNEO.)

(From plate in Lieut. Frank Marryat's "Borneo.")

The shield he holds is similar to the one lying on the ground in the picture of Lundu Dyaks of Sarawak in Vol. I. of Capt. Mundy's book, and the shape reminds of the old French shield, *pasache*, held over the archer by another soldier.

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consist of a spear, shield, and sword. Their houses are similar to those of the Malays, being built on posts, sometimes in the water, sometimes on the

GROUP OF SAGAI (? KYANS), EAST COAST OF BORNEO.  
(From plate facing p. 285 in Capt. Sir E. Belcher's Narrative.)

dry land. In Mengkabong, they are all on the water, and are very poor specimens of leaf-huts. The Tampasuk not affording water accommodation, the houses are built on shore. The only good one was the Datu's, which

A KAYAN AND A PAKATAN.  
(Crossland Coll.)

consisted of a planked house of two stories; the lower, occupied by the married portion of the family, consisted of one large room, with broad enclosed verandahs, occupied by the chief, his wife, and his followers, while the upper was reserved for the young unmarried girls and children. Of furniture there is little—mats, boxes, cooking utensils, and bed places being the principal. In these countries there are no public buildings, no offices, jails, or hospitals, or even a fort or stockade; and the houses being built of but temporary materials, there are no ancient buildings of any description. The Bajus are very fond of cock-fighting, and in order to indulge in this sport with greater satisfaction, carefully rear a very fine breed of fowls, which are famous along the coast. I have seen some of the cocks as large as the Cochin Chinese. It is probable they are descended from those brought by the early immigrants from China, as they no way resemble the ordinary Bornean breed found in every Malay and Dayak village. They fatten readily, and the hens bring up fine broods." (St. John i. 371-3.)

According to Mr. Pryer the "Bajaus or sea gypsies are a curious, wandering, irresponsible sort of race, rather low down in the scale of humanity, and live almost entirely in boats, in families. Though undoubtedly of Malay origin, they are much larger in stature, and stronger and darker than ordinary Malays. . . . Not caring to store up property, and rarely troubling themselves as to where next week's meals are to come from, they pick up a precarious livelihood along the shore line, by catching fish, finding sea slugs and turtle eggs, spearing sharks, and so forth. As an illustration of their unthriftiness, I may mention that I have known one who brought a find of rather higher value than usual to market (a tortoise shell, I think), and bartered it for rice, the only thing they care for, and then threw two or three bags of the rice overboard sooner than be at the bother of taking it about with him. They lead a wild, free, roving life in the open air, untroubled by any care or thought for the morrow." (J.A.I. xvi. 230.)

Dr. Guillemard says they are quite distinct from the Sulus and of a much lower type (Malaysia p. 90) and that they are well-known in most of the creeks and rivers of the island of Borneo (*ibid.* 234). "The Bajaus, who in Blitong (Sumatra) and some parts of Borneo, are known by the name of Sikas, are a wandering race of Malays, who pass their lives in boats from the cradle to the grave. In some places they have changed their mode of life, have built houses, and cultivated the ground; but this is seldom the case and the majority act as cattle stealers, petty pilferers, and kidnappers, and are not averse from more serious crimes if the occasion should offer. They have given a good deal of trouble to the North Borneo Company's Government, some of whose officers they have murdered, while boats' crews have more than once been cut off by them." (*ibid.* 240).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> At Banjermassin, south coast of Borneo, Beekman writes (p. 43) :— "The inland inhabitants are much taller and stronger bodied men than the Banjareens, fierce, warlike and barbarous. They are called Byajos, an idle sort of people, hating industry or trade, and living generally upon rapine and the spoil of their neighbours; their religion is Paganism, and their language different from that spoken by the Banjareens. They go naked and only have a small piece of cloth that covers their private parts; they stain their bodies with blue, and have a very odd custom of making holes in the

The Bajaus are the people who murdered Burns, the traveller. (De Crespigny. Berl. Zeit. N. F. v. 334.)

The Balignini pirates met with on the coast are really Bajaus and come from a small island on the north of Sulu. They were thoroughly thrashed by the Spaniards in 1848. In 1879 they "murdered or kidnapped 65 people in North Borneo, and have since then committed other minor acts of piracy, but it is believed these outrages are now, practically speaking, things of the past." (Guillemard: Malaysia 241.)

"On the N.E. part of Borneo is a savage piratical people, called Oran Tedong, or Tiroon, who live far up certain rivers. The Sooloos have lately subdued them, by getting the Rajah (or chief) into their power. These Oran Tedong fit out vessels large and small, and cruise among the Philippine islands, as has been formerly said. They also cruise from their own country, west to Pirate's Point, and down the coast of Borneo, as far as the island Labuan. After an excursion I once made from Balambangan to Patatan, a little beyond the island Pulo Gaya; on my return, I put into a small bay, east of Pirate's Point almost opposite Balambangan. There appeared nine Tedong pirates, in vessels of small size, about that of London wherries below bridge. Several Badjoo boats being in the bay at the same time, the people laid the boats close to the shore, landed, and clapt on their (Ranty) iron-ring jackets for defence. The pirates kept in a regular line, put about, and stretched off altogether,

soft parts of their ears when young, into which they thrust large plugs and by continual pulling down these plugs, the holes grow in time so large, that when they come to man's estate their ears hang down to their very shoulders. The biggest end of the plug is as broad as a crown piece, and is tipped with a thin plate of wrought gold. The men of quality do generally pull out their fore teeth and put gold ones in their room. They sometimes wear, by way of ornament, rows of tygers' teeth strung and hung round their necks and bodies."

A DUSUN.

(Brit. North Borneo Co. Coll.)

not choosing to land. Had I been alone in the bay I might have fallen into their hands.

“The Oran Tedong live very hard on their cruises, their provisions sometimes being raw sago flour. They have often no attop or covering; nay, sometimes as the Sooloos have told me, they go, especially if it rains, stark naked. The Moors of Magindano, and the Illanas, also Moors, despise these people. When they meet, however, in roads and harbours among the Philippines, where the common prey is, they do not molest one another. I have been told that the Oran Tedong will, in certain cases, eat human flesh. . . . Their boats are sometimes small, and made of thin planks, sewed together. I have heard of some such, once shut up in a bay by a Spanish cruiser: they took the boats to pieces and carried them away over land. . . . The Oran Tedong make a great deal of granulated sago, which they sell to

MURUTS.  
(Brit. North Borneo Co. Coll.)

the Sooloos very cheap; perhaps at one dollar a pecul. The Sooloos, as has been said, sell this again to the China Junks.” (Forrest p. 374.)

## C. LIST OF TRIBES IN BORNEO.

Prepared for this work by Mr. Chas. Hose.

1. KAYANS.	5. BAHAU, MURIKS.	9. TANJONGS AND KANOWITS.
UMA BAWANG, Rejang R., Baram UMA KULIT, Balungan R. [R. UMA NAVING, Rejang R. UMA BELUBU, Baram R., Balun- gan R. UMA POH, Baram R. [R. UMA LISAM, Balungan R., Bahau UMA LIM, Balungan R., Bahau R. UMA BAKA, Balungan R., Kapuas UMA PLIAU, Baram R. [R. UMA LEKKAN, Balungan R. LONG WAT, Mahakam R. UMA GI, Balungan R. UMA GING, Kapuas R.	BAHAU, Baram R., Balungan R., Apoh R. MURIKS, Baram R.	REJANG TANJONGS, Rejang R. KAPUAS TANJONGS, Kapuas R. LUGATS, Rejang R., Kapuas R.
2. KENNIAHS.	6. PEHENGs OR PENGs.	<i>Kanowits.</i> REJANG KANOWITS, Kanowit R.
LEPPU YENGAN, Baram R., Re- jang R. TEPPU AN, Baram R. LEPPU TAUS, Rejang R., Balun- gan R. LEPPU AFONG, Balungan R., Baram R. LEPPU LUTONG, Balungan R., Baram R. LEPPU TEPPU, Balungan R. [R. LEPPU ANANS, Rejang R., Baram LEPPU LENAÜ, Rejang R., Balun- gan R. LEPPU LAANG, Baram R., Ba- lungan R. LEPPU POHUN, Baram R., Balun- gan R.	PEHENGs, Kapuas R. PENGs, Koti R., Mahakam R.	10. ORANG BUKITS AND BEKIAUS.
3. MADANGS AND SEBOPS.	7. PUNANS AND UKITS, BAKATANS AND SIHANS.	ORANG BUKITS, Baram R., Koti R., Balungan R., Balait R. BEKIAUS, Tutong R.
LEPPU AGAS, Baram R., Rejang LEPPU PAYAH, Balungan R. [R. LEPPU MAUT, Inland Tribe * DANUM MADANGS } Rejang R. PLIRAN MADANGS } MADANGS USUN APO, head of Tinjar R.	PUNAN BAH, Rejang R., Tatau R. COAST PUNANS OR PENANS, Niah R., Bintulu R., Suai R., Bakong R. PUNAN BOK, Bok R. PUNAN APUT, Aput R. PUNAN AKAH, Akah R. PUNAN BATU, Bukit Batu * PUNAN PARAH, Parah R. PUNAN DAPOI, Dapoi R. PUNAN LISUM, Rejang R. PUNAN KOTI, Koti R. PUNAN KAPUAS, Kapuas R.	11. LONG KIPUTS, LONG AKAHS, LONG PATAS, BATU BLAHS, BARAWANS, TRINGS.
<i>Sebops.</i>	<i>Ukits.</i>	LONG KIPUTS, Baram R. LONG AKAHS, Baram R. LONG PATAS, Tutau R., Baram BATU BLAHS, Tutau R. [R. BARAWANS, Tinjar R. TRINGS, Tutau R., Limbang R.
LIRONG, Rejang R., Baram R. LONG POKUN, Rejang R. TINJAR SEBOPS, Tinjar R. LONG WATS, Baram R.	BALOI UKITS, Rejang R. KOTI UKITS, Koti R. KAPUAS UKITS, Kapuas R.	12. KAJAMANS, SIKEPANGS, LANANS, BAHMALI, TABALLAUS.
* The Leppu Mauts live between the head waters of the Baram, Rejang, and Balungan Rivers.	<i>Bakatans.</i>	KAJAMANS, Rejang R. SIKEPANGS, Rejang R. LANANS, Rejang R. BAHMALI, Baram R. TABALLAUS, Baram R.
4. UMA PAWAS, UMA K LAP, AND UMA TIMI.	BALOI BAKATANS, Rejang R. BINTULU BAKATANS, Tatau R.	13. MURUTS AND KALABITS.
UMA PAWAS, Baram R., Rejang R. UMA K LAP, Rejang R., Balungan UMA TIMI, Rejang R. [R.	<i>Sihans.</i>	MURUTS, Trusan R., Limbang R., Banjar R. MURUT MAIN, * Inland Tribe, Trusan R. MURUT BAH, Trusan R., Lim- bang R.
	8. MALANAUS.	<i>Kalabits.</i>
	MUKA MALANAUS, Muka R., Oya R. BINTULU MALANAUS OR SEGAANS, Niah R., Bintulu R. MIRIS, Bakam R., Miri R. DALLIS, Sibuti R., Bakong R. NAROM, Baram R. MATU MALANAUS, Matu R. REJANG MALANAUS, Rejang R. IGAN MILANAUS, Igan R. SIGALANGS, Rejang R. SIDUANS, Rejang R. TUTONGS, Tutong R. BALAITs, Balait R.	KALABITS, Baram R., Limbang R. LEPPU POTONGS, † Inland Tribe, Baram R. LIBBUN KALABITS, Baram R.
		* The Murut Main people live at the head of the Trusan River and the far interior. † Leppu Potongs live between the head waters of the Baram and Limbang Rivers.
		14. BISAYAS.
		BISAYAS, Limbang R.

List of Tribes in Borneo.—*Continued.*

15. DUBUNS AND BAJAUS.	17. MALOH DYAKS.—Continued.	18. DYAKS.—Continued.
DUSUNS, Northern Borneo BAJAUS, Northern Borneo	ARAI } KALIS } MANDAI MALOHS, LAU } Kapuas R. KATUNGO MALOHS, Kapuas R SIBILITS SUAITS ENSILATS BUNUT ENBAU SOYUT LIBOYAN EMPANANG KANAPAI } MALOHS, Kapuas R.	BUGAU DYAKS KANTU DYAKS JINGKANG DYAKS MALANG DYAKS SIKALAU DYAKS MARAH DYAKS ENLIAI DYAKS MALABAN DYAKS RAMBAI DYAKS SUAIT DYAKS JILIMU DYAKS ADIT DYAKS SIKAPAT DYAKS KADEMPAI DYAKS } Kapuas R.
16. LAND DYAKS.	18. DYAKS.	19. KADAYANS.
GROGO, Upper Sarawak R SINGGI, Singgi Mountain, Upper Sarawak R. JAGOI, Upper Sarawak R. QUOP, Quop R. SENTAH, Sentah R MERDANG, Limo R SILAKAU, Lundu R. SIBAYOR, Upper Sarawak R. SUKONG, Upper Sarawak R	BALAU DYAKS UNDUP DYAKS SKERANG DYAKS BATANG LUPAR SAREBAS, Sarebas R., Rejang R KALAKA DYAKS, Kalaka R., Rejang R LAMANAK, Batang Lupar R., Rejang R KATIBAS DYAKS, Rejang R	KADAYANS (Mahomedans) Brunei, Limbang R., Tutong R., Sibuti R. KADAYANS (not Mahomedans) Balait R., Tutong R.
17. MALOH DYAKS.		20. MALAYS, BRUNEI MALAYS.
MALOHS, Kapuas R TAMAN MALOHS, Kapuas R BUNYAU MALOHS, Kapuas R PALIN MALOHS, Kapuas R MANDALLAM MALOHS, Kapuas R.		Spread about all over the country.

DESIGN BY A KAYAN CHIEF ON THE UPPER REJANG.

He observed Her Highness the Ranee sketching and said he could draw too.

He drew this and the design on p. 43.

(Lady Brooke Coll.)

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MISUSE OF THE WORD "DYAK."

Name applicable to one class only—Meaning—Ka-daya-n—Daya—Dutch misnomer—Orang daya—Restricting its use—Movements of Sea Dyaks—We *iban*—A nickname—New names—Meyer's investigations—Veth's opinion—The 'waddling' theory—Other similar words—Daya a tribal name—Dajaksch—First use of word Dyak—Not a collective name—The spread of the word—Various spellings—Similar words again—Further evidence wanted—Dyak in Chalmers' Vocabulary—Probable explanation—Sea Dyak for 'man'—Land Dyaks and Sea Dyaks *not* the same people—Dyak Darat and Dyak Laut—Sir James Brooke's error—Name to be restricted—No equivalent for Sea Dyaks.

The term Dyak appears to have been given a more widespread significance than it is entitled to, and people are thereby misled. The first English Rajah, Sir James Brooke, says of the word, in his diary: "Though all the wild people of Borneo are by Europeans called Dyaks, the name properly is only applicable to one particular class inhabiting parts of the north western coast and the mountains of the interior." (Mundy i. 234.) Sir Chas. Brooke, the present Rajah, states: "The generic term *Dyak* (or properly called *Dya* by themselves) in many dialects simply means *inland*, although among many of the branch tribes the term is not known as being referable to themselves, further than in its signification as a word in their language. Some of the interior populations, even as far off as Brunei, are called *Ka-daya-n*. Then again, the *Mattu* or *Malanau* name for inland is *Kadaya*, although the generic term applied to themselves is *Malanau*, the origin of which is unknown. Again, the name of the numerous tribes situated far in the interior of Rejang, although a distant branch of the *Malanau* tribe, are called *Kayan*, and our own more immediate people *Daya*, or as more generally known, *Dyak*. The land Dyaks' word for inland is *Kaduyo*." (i. 46.)

When Mr. Bock's book appeared, Mr. C. A. Bampfylde, writing from Fort Kapit, Rejang River, February, 1882, to the "Field" newspaper, says:

"The Dutch error of applying the name Dyak to all the inland tribes is here repeated, the author styling as Dyaks all those tribes he met; whereas, properly speaking, they are amalgamated with the Kayans, Kiniahs, Punans, and other branch tribes who inhabit the heads of the Barram, Rejang, Balleh, Kapuas, Banjer, Koti or Mahkam, and Bulongan rivers. The Piengs predominate in the upper waters of the Mahkam. The above-mentioned tribes are not known as Dyaks, nor do they style themselves as such; they are known by their own names, such as Kayan, Pieng, Kiniah, Punan, Cajaman, Skapan, Tugat, Ukit, Bakatan, and other Dyaks, though sometimes calling themselves Aurang-Daya (aurang, or 'orang' as written in English, man, men), in their own language style themselves as 'aurang iban' (a name given

them by the aborigines), but to them, and to them only, do the Malays apply the word *daya*, which means inland, interior, and from this word arise the names *Ka-daya-an* (a tribe inhabiting a branch of the Brunei) and *Kayan*. The Malays are known to the Sea Dyaks by the name of 'Laut;' to the Melanau and Kayan tribes by the name of 'Klieng.' The Dyaks are purely distinct from the above-mentioned tribes, among whom, on the other hand, great similarity in language and customs may be traced, and who are, in all probability, aborigines of Borneo, which the Dyaks certainly are not. There are two distinct tribes of Dyaks, the Land- and Sea-Dyaks."

Mr. A. Hart Everett is equally emphatic: "May I suggest that ethnologists should make a more sparing use of the term 'Dyak' when treating of the Malay Archipelago? It should only be applied to tribes who themselves use it as the distinctive appellation of their people. As more than one tribe so uses it, there should always be prefixed some word still further limiting its application in each particular case. As employed by Malays, who are followed both by Dutch and English travellers, the word has scarcely better standing-ground in a scientific terminology than has 'Alfuro.'

"The following fact with regard to the Sea-Dyaks may be of interest. When Europeans first entered Sarawak the Kayans, properly so called, were dominant in the great Rejang River, and the Sea-Dyaks were strictly confined to the Batang Lupar, Saribas, and Kalakah rivers. Now the Sea-Dyak population of the Rejang is some 30,000, and the Rejang Dyaks are rapidly occupying the Oyah, Mukah, and Tatau rivers further up coast. On the original Sea-Dyak rivers the people always use the expression "we Dyaks" when they mention their own race; but on the Rejang the expression "we Iban" will invariably be heard—the explanation being that the Kayans habitually designate Sea-Dyaks as "Ivan" among themselves, whence the Dyaks have applied the name; but, having no *v*-sound in their language, they say "Iban." The Kayan proper is rich in *v*-sounds. I have been informed, though I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement, that "Ivan" in Kayan is a term carrying with it a sense of opprobrium. However this may be, it is remarkable that so large a section of the Sea-Dyaks, who are so thoroughly dominant in Rejang, and are in constant daily communication with their original seat in the rivers to the westward, should in the course of some thirty years have come to habitually speak of themselves by the name given them by their foes. And it is the more surprising because the Sea-Dyaks generally give new names of their own to the geographical features of the district into which they immigrate." (Papar, North Borneo.)

"That on the Rejang the Sea Dyaks should have adopted the name given them by their enemies is very curious, but it may, as we shall see later on, help to explain their present name of Sea Dyaks. But before going into that matter let us see what Dr. A. B. Meyer says, for Dr. Meyer has very carefully examined all that has been said about the origin of the word Dyak.<sup>1</sup> Writing in German he, of course, writes a *j* where we write a *y*; on account of other and lesser peculiarities I have thought it better to adhere to his spelling in giving the following summary of his investigations:—

<sup>1</sup> "Ueber die Namen Papua, Dajak und Alfuren."

Prof. Veth appears to have been the first to discuss the word.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Perelaer would derive it from the word *dadajak* = waddling and therefore looked upon it as a nickname.<sup>4</sup> As Hardeland in his *Dajaksch-Deutches Dictionary*<sup>4</sup> mentions this word Prof. Veth considered Perelaer's supposition correct but thought it strange that the Europeans should have adopted a nickname out of the native language. But Missionary Becker,<sup>5</sup> of Pulopetak, had already in 1849 made the same guess as to the origin of the word Dyak, and Perelaer may have copied him, as originally Perelaer did not give this explanation.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Meyer sought in vain for the word in neighbouring vocabularies. He finds in Lampit the word *daja* = deceit, and in Hardeland's Dictionary *paräi-dajak* = a sort of rice; also *Dajam* = female name; *Dajan* = lying together; he also refers to two districts in South Borneo known as Little Dajak and Great Dajak.<sup>7</sup> He says Prof. Veth also refers to Crawford's mentioning of an unknown tribe on the north-west coast called Dyak: 'The word is most probably derived from the name of a particular tribe, and in a list of the wild tribes of the north-western coast of Borneo furnished to me by Malay merchants of the country one tribe of this name was included.'<sup>8</sup> Dr. Meyer refers to the curious statement of Dr. Peter Braidwood, who, in referring to a poison from Borneo says, "Dajaksch is the name of a well-known native tribe in Borneo!"<sup>9</sup> and he mentions Bock's assertion that Dajaksch is the name of a tribe. According to one interpretation, says Dr. Meyer, the word *Daya* or *Dayack* means inland. Then Dr. Meyer continues: "In order to understand more clearly the derivation of the word it would be well to see how early and by whom the word *Dajak* was first used in literature. Valentijn,<sup>10</sup> 1726, does not appear to have known the expression, as he speaks of Borneers; Buffon,<sup>11</sup> 1749, just as little, as he speaks of the inhabitants of Borneo, while he knows the name Papua very well; Forrest, 1779, likewise not; Forster<sup>12</sup> still called the natives of Borneo *Beyajos* and not *Dajaks*. On the other hand Radermacher,<sup>13</sup> in the year 1780, uses the designation Dajak and Dajakker in such a way as to infer that it was commonly known in Batavia and the Netherlands-India in general. Locally, therefore, in those districts the term Dajaks for the natives of Borneo may have been in use earlier than in European literature, but its origin is certainly by no means so old as that of the name Papua. We may undoubtedly conclude that these people did *not* originally speak of themselves

<sup>3</sup> Tijdschr. v. h. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap te Amsterdam 1881, v. 182. (A. B. M.)

<sup>4</sup> Borneo van Zuid naar Noord 1881, i. 149. (A. B. M.)

<sup>5</sup> Dayaksch-Deutsch Wörterbuch, Amsterdam 1859. (A. B. M.)

<sup>6</sup> Indisch Archief 1. Jaarg. Deel 1, 1849, 423. (A. B. M.)

<sup>7</sup> Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks, 1871, 2. (A. B. M.)

<sup>8</sup> Eenige Reizen in de binnenlanden van Borneo. Tocht van Banjer naar Becompaij en de Kleine Daijak: Tijdschr. Ned. Ind. 1824, 1. Jaarg. ii. 90. (A. B. M.)

<sup>9</sup> Crawford Descrip. Dict. Ind. Isl. 1856, p. 127. (A. B. M.)

<sup>10</sup> The physiological actions of Dajaksch, an arrow poison used in Borneo. Edin. Med. Jour. 1864, p. 12. (A. B. M.)

<sup>11</sup> Vol. iii. 2, p. 251. (A. B. M.)

<sup>12</sup> Hist. Nat. iii. p. 399. (A. B. M.)

<sup>13</sup> Bem. auf s. Reise 1783, p. 313. (A. B. M.)

<sup>14</sup> Verh. Bat. Gen. vol. ii. (3 druk 1826) p. 44. (A. B. M.)

collectively as *Dajaks*. . . . After referring to Dr. Gabelentz'<sup>14</sup> mistaken notion on this point and after discussing the word Alfuro, Dr. Meyer comes back to the word Dajak and considers that the name may have spread from that of a single tribe much the same as the name Burni (now Bruni) has given its name to the whole island, and thinks the Chinese, who for many centuries have played an important part in Borneo, may have extended its use. He points out that the word Dajak is written in many ways, thus Daya, Diak, Dayer, Dyak, Daias, Daiaer, Daijak, and points out that the terminal k is quite without significance.<sup>15</sup> "But," he continues, "the word *dayah* means in Sarawak language man, and *dayah beruri* = sorcerer; in the Lundu dialect *dayung* = woman, and in Lara and Lundu (likewise in the north-west), *daya* = blood (Malay *dara*).<sup>16</sup> In any case we must not lose sight of the above word *daya* in our investigations among the north and north-west tribes, as failing any other explanation, it might herald a natural solution of the question. Many people call themselves merely 'men.'" Dr. Meyer then gives a list of words similar to Dyak with various significations taken from a variety of Philippine dialects and consequently considers the "waddling" theory as quite untenable. He concludes: "The origin of this word therefore remains less clear than that of Papua or Alfuro: but historical studies on one side and local studies on the other side will certainly yet explain more fully the word Dajak." Dr. Meyer could have gone a step further.

In the Rev. Mr. Chalmers' Sarawak vocabulary—Sarawak lies in the heart of the Land Dyak country—we find the following:

man . . . . .	= <i>dayah</i>
merchant . . . . .	= <i>dayah berdagang</i> [Malay <i>berdagang</i> = to trade]
prisoner . . . . .	= <i>dayah takap</i>
visitor . . . . .	= <i>dayah numi</i>
liar . . . . .	= <i>dayah kadong</i>
doctor (conjurer) . . . . .	= <i>dayah beruri</i>

So that the word *dayah* is quite a generic term for man. It would thus seem to me that Europeans, or probably before them the Malays, learned to call these people Dyaks because the generic term for man amongst them is *dayah*, but not because the people had that collective name for themselves, for as Sir James Brooke says they never so used it. (Keppel ii. 171.)

It may be objected to this that the Sea Dyak generic term for man, husband, and male, being, according to Mr. Brooke Low, *laki*, how is it then that they too are called Dyaks? The first man who divided the Dyaks into Land and Sea Dyaks was the first English Rajah, Sir James Brooke. At least, I am unable to find an author previous to him who so divided them, and I appear to be confirmed in my statement by Sir Hugh Low when he writes: "The Dyaks appear to be divided by many customs naturally into

<sup>14</sup> Gramm. der Dajak Sprache 1852, p. 5. (A. B. M.)

<sup>15</sup> For an explanation as to the probable origin of the mistaken use of the k see Ven. Archd. Perham's paper on language, S. G. No. 136, and *infra*.

<sup>16</sup> According to Mr. Chalmers in Sarawak blood is *deyah*; see also Ven. Archd. Perham's paper already referred to.

two classes, which have been called by Mr. Brooke Land and Sea Dyaks" (p. 165). Sir James Brooke's words are: "The Dyaks are divided into Dyak Darrat [*darat*=dry land in Malay] and Dyak Laut [*laut*=sea in Malay] or land and sea dyaks. The Dyak Lauts, as their name implies, frequent the sea; and it is needless to say much of them, as their difference from the Dyak Darrat is a difference of circumstance only." (Keppel ii. 174). But since then further intercourse with both peoples has shown a very wide difference in almost every particular. Regarding the use of the word *darat*, Dalrymple (p. 40) used it: "The inland people of Passir (E. Coast) are called *Darat*."

Sir James Brooke appeared as the champion of the oppressed people now known as the Land Dyaks. It was through them he got to know of the Sea Dyaks, and no doubt the Land Dyaks spoke of those "men" as *dayah*, and hence he could only come to the conclusion they were the same people. As for the Sea Dyaks adopting the name of the Dyaks at all that would only be on a par with their adopting the name *Iban* on the Rejang river as mentioned by Mr. Everett.

Whether the explanation I have just suggested as to the origin of the use of the word Dyak be the correct one or not, there remains the fact that the word should not be extended to any other peoples than those known as the Land and Sea Dyaks. It is even doubtful whether we should speak of Sea Dyaks, but then in their case we have the excuse that there is no other collective name for them.

## CHAPTER III.

### PHYSIQUE.

Great differences *inter se*. LAND DYAKS: Well proportioned—Well fed—Grave expression—Misery—Early marriages—Hard work—Early decay—Fine men—Facial features—Colour—Women inferior to men—Carrying heavy burdens—Activity—Few accidents—Well made women—Wicked glances—Beautiful hair—Good points—Physique of three men. *Aups*: Fine physique and great drinkers—Healthiness—Barrenness. *Simpoke*: Misery—Disease—Barrenness—Hard work tells—Water carriage. *Serin*: Strong physique—Korap bad—Superior women—Boat builders—Good looks. *Brang*: Inferior physique—Close inter-marriage—Laborious existence. *Buhar*: Sturdy people—Good forms—Prettiness—Superior people—Beards—Good features—Women overworked. *Quop*: Pleasing features. *Upper Sarawak*: Colour and features—Curly hair—Flat nose—Thick lips—Robust people—Heavy loads—Hard life—Women's work. *Sennaks*: Well-built—Healthiness—Superior physique—Open address—Good looking women—Cheerful faces—Fulness of life—Not a fine race—Slight build—Muscular development—Light colour. *Lundu*: Well made—Good looking—Natural grace—Well proportioned—Facial features—Absence of facial hair—A chief—A fine specimen—General ugliness. SEA DYAKS: General appearance—Good carriage—Men well proportioned—Women ill favoured—Activity—Endurance—Fleshiness—Natural grace—Colour—Flowing locks—Women handsomer than men—Facial features—Hair—Teeth—Busts—Early decay—Young women—Facial features—Nose—Mouth—Brightness—Hair—Tossing their tresses—Skin—Hard work—Swelled ankles—Stiff gait—Strong workers—Variations in skin colour—An ugly child—An active man—A young mother—Poor figures—Stout strong men—Better noses—Water carriage—Women's heavy work—Activity in water—Graceful attitudes—Sculptors' models—Fine specimens—Paddle-stroke—Expedition work—Personal odour. *Sarebas*: Perfect symmetry—Sharp eye—A head taker—Hard worker—Fever. *Sibuyans*: Well made—Prettiness—Delicate forms—Skin—Stoutly made men—Fine children. *Ballaus*: Women hard worked—Endurance—Activity—Appearance. *Sharans*: Good physique—Chest measurement—Skin—Hairiness—Nice looking—Elegant gait—Strength—Handsome women—Clean built men—Activity—Carrying the wounded—Boyhood exercise—Making of good soldiers—*Sarebas versus Skarans*. *Undups*: *Sibus*: Most beautiful women. *Kanowits*: Good-looking devils—Plain women—A hideous object—Women darker than men. MILANAUS: General appearance—Women high priced as slaves—Fairness—A prodigious striker—Sallow women—Cleanly men—Ill-formed—Like other tribes—Some good-looking girls—Large feet. KAYANS: Stature—Fleshiness—Features—Perfect models—Endurance—Chiefs—Tolerable-looking women—Countenances—Figures—Pretty attendants—Not bad looking—Like wild Irishmen!—Not prepossessing women. *Sibops*: A formidable antagonist. *UKIRS*: *Bahatans*: Striking eyes—Handsome fellows. *Poonans*: Fairest natives—Women not bad looking—Endurance. *DUSUNS*: Well-made—Muscular—Young women—Pretty—Early worn out—No Chinese affinity—Protuberance of shin-bone—Well-proportioned limbs—Superior to Muruts—Fair skins—Mongolian type—Baggage carriers—Women's endurance—Strength—Activity—Clear skins—Women not good looking—Small men—Like Sarawak Dyaks—The loveliest girl in Borneo—A physiognomical unpleasantness—Well-built people. *Kians*: Dirtiness—Trace of Chinese blood—Childlike curiosity—Better than the Melangaps—Robustness. *MURUTS*: Splendid men—Women muscular creatures—Superior to Malays—Statuesque—Active life—Old look of children—Ill-favoured *Adangs*—Repulsive looks. LANUNS: A fine chief. *BAJAUS*: Not handsome—Pinched features—Large family.

#### II.

AGE: Not long lived—Ages guessed—How reckoned—Ninety-five years—Longevity—Four generations—Age; how computed. STATURE: Table of recorded measurements—Land Dyaks—Sea Dyaks—Dusuns. COLOUR: Land Dyaks—Sea Dyaks—Milanaus—Kayans—Muruts—Dusuns. NOSES: Land Dyaks—Sea Dyaks—Kayans. HAIR: Land Dyaks—Sea Dyaks. MALAY and INDONESIAN affinities.

From what has already been said, it will have been seen that in appearance, physique, language, and character the various peoples differ very considerably, but *inter se* the difference is most marked amongst the Land Dyaks.

#### LAND DYAKS.

Speaking generally Mr. Wallace says: "Their forms are well proportioned, their feet and hands small, and they rarely or never attain the bulk of body so often seen in Malays and Chinese." (i. p. 138.)

On the Samaharan river Sir Spencer St. John says: "I have never seen any Land Dayaks with an air of greater comfort; they appear to be well fed, and, consequently, are more free from skin diseases than their neighbours." (i. 224.)

"In personal appearance, the Dyaks of the Hills very much resemble those of the other tribes already described; but they have a more grave and quiet expression of countenance, which gives to their features a melancholy and thoughtful air. It is very probable, that their many miseries may have much increased this appearance, though it is natural to them, being observable, in a less degree, in all the tribes of both divisions. Their countenance is an index to the character of their mind, for they are of peculiarly quiet and mild disposition, not easily roused to anger, or the exhibition of any other passion or emotion, and rarely excited to noisy mirth, unless during their periodical festivals." (Low p. 239.)

Speaking of the Land Dyaks generally Mr. Grant says: "The women marry young, from thirteen to eighteen years of age, and from their hard work soon get old, and good looks, when there are any, last but a short time. The men seem to wear better, and many of them are finely-made fellows, and frequently not ill-looking. (p. 56.) . . . The Land Dyaks of *Sarawak, Sadong, Sambas, Kapuas, &c.*, as compared with Europeans, or even natives of India, are short but well-proportioned, and very active. They have high cheek-bones and flattish nostrils, yet their features are not exaggerated, like those of the Negroes. The skin is of a reddish-brown tint, *i.e.*, when a man is near you, you would say he was of a brown colour, but when seen at a distance, with a back-ground of jungle, you would perceive a slightly reddish tint in his skin. The hair is generally worn long like a woman's, and but rarely shaved clean off, as is that of the Malays. (*ibid* 96.) . . . The women are generally in looks inferior to the men; a result, I should say, of their having as much hard work as the stronger sex, which further results in premature old age. Women, particularly married ones, after for years carrying tremendous weights of wood, water, and grain, probably quite as heavy as those which their more robust husbands carry, can hardly be expected to have an erect carriage, and when they walk it is with inturned toes and a slight stoop. I may remark, however, that the women of the Sea Dyaks are better-looking than those of the Land Dyaks; they have neater figures, and indeed many of them are pretty. The men, on the other hand, though they work hard enough, still can boast the strength of their sex, and are first-rate walkers, with a step as sure as that of a Highland pony, and as light as that of a bird. Notwithstanding the wretched state of

their roads, and the difficulties of walk, I have seldom heard of accidents happening among the natives. Once only do I recollect hearing of a woman who had fallen from a rock and broken her arm. Strange to say, in this instance, the broken arm was set by one of themselves, and the woman is well and active as ever." (*ibid*, p. 97.)

Lieut. Marryat thus describes the Land Dyak women: "They were much shorter than European women, but well-made; very interesting in their appearance, and affable and friendly in their manners. Their eyes were dark and piercing, and I may say there was something wicked in their furtive glances; their noses were but slightly flattened; the mouth rather large; but when I beheld the magnificent teeth which required all its size to display, I thought this rather an advantage. Their hair was superlatively beautiful, and would have been envied by many a courtly dame. It was jet black, and of the finest texture, and hung in graceful masses down the back, nearly reaching to the ground. A mountain Dyak girl, if not a beauty, has many most beautiful points; and, at all events, is very interesting and, I may say, pretty. They have good eyes, good teeth, and good hair;—more than good: I may say splendid;—and they have good manners, and know how to make use of their eyes." (p. 14.)

Of three men, Sir Jas. Brooke says: "Segama, the Bukar, measured five feet five inches and a half; was fair, not well-made, but intelligent. Sino, the Brang, measured five feet four inches and a half; well, but slightly made, and had a very sensible countenance. Angass, the Sabungo, measured four feet ten inches, and was stout and athletic for a Dyak." (Mundy i. 201.)

Mr. Denison has given us many descriptions of the various tribes: "Some of the *Aup* Dyaks were physically fine fellows, and many of them great dandies in dress. (Ch. iii. p. 34.) I may observe that the Dyak tribes visited by me from Tringus to Sumban were all incomparably superior to the other tribes on the western and southern branches of the Sarawak and the Samarahan rivers in carrying heavy burdens over a mountainous country, and at their feasts were harder drinkers. (Ch. v. p. 45.) Although the Sigu men seemed strong and healthy, and I noticed no disease except *korap*<sup>1</sup>, I heard the same complaint of the barrenness of the women; those I met with were plump and even comely, though I cannot add the word pretty. (Ch. vii. p. 74.) Altogether *Simpoke* has a miserable, poverty-smitten appearance, while the inhabitants are physically about the worst I had yet encountered, the men as a rule being a mere mass of *korap*, the women ugly and many barren, and the Dyaks inform me that many of the children die at their birth. Some of the girls showed signs of good looks, but hard work, poor feeding, and inter-marriage and early marriage soon told their tale, and rapidly convert them into ugly, dirty, diseased old hags, and this at an age when they are barely more than young women. The *Simpoke* Dyaks have no water on the mountain near the village; every drop of this necessary of life has therefore to be carried by the women and girls almost from the foot of Brungo. It is a sad sight to see the Dyak girls, some but nine or ten years of age, carrying water up the mount in

<sup>1</sup> This disease is described in the chapter on Pathology.

bamboos, their bodies bent nearly double, and groaning under the weight of their burden. (Ch. vii. pp. 75-76.) I found the Dyaks here (at *Serin*) well built, strong-looking fellows. Korap, however, was very prevalent; one victim to this disease, who was my neighbour in the head house, was in a fearful state, being covered from head to foot; he, poor fellow, appeared to suffer great pain. The women here were much superior to the general of Land Dyaks, being stout, hale, and hearty. (Ch. viii. p. 76.) The Serins are boat-builders, and good boatmen; they are physically well built and strong, but they suffer very much from korap. . . . The Serin women are well favored, strong, and healthy, and there is no complaint of their being barren. One or two of the girls were decidedly, good-looking. (Ch. vii. pp. 77-78.) The *Brang* Dyaks are a poor, miserable tribe, wedged in between the Serins and Si Bungos. The men seem low-spirited and despondent, and are physically inferior to almost all the Land Dyaks I have met with. The women bear but poor children, their constitutions being enfeebled by close inter-marriage, and by the hardships attendant upon their wild and laborious existence. (Ch. vii. p. 80.) At *Bukar*, notwithstanding what I have said elsewhere of the state of the village, these Dyaks are well made, sturdy fellows; except goitre I noticed little disease, and there seems to be no sickness. (Ch. viii. p. 82.) The men and women are well shaped, strong, comely, and healthy, some of the young women almost good-looking, several of the little girls decidedly pretty." (Ch. viii. p. 84.)

An anonymous writer [W. I. E. de M.] in *The Field* (20 Dec., 1884) remarks: "The Bukar Dyaks are decidedly a much finer race of men than any other Land Dyaks I have met with. Many of them are tall, handsome men, and not a few wore long beards, such as no Savar Singgi Dyak can boast of. Their noses also are a decided improvement on the style adopted by the other Land Dyaks, among whom I have often seen faces with beautiful eyes and very well-shaped mouths, but never without flat, broad disreputable noses."

"The Bukar women have their limbs spoilt from carrying heavy weights, even from their tenderest age, over exceedingly steep ground; their legs appeared bent. I saw one mother bearing on her back two children, and a basket containing twenty or more bamboos full of water, the latter a sufficient load for one person. In the harvest, they act as beasts of burden, and bring the bulk of the rice home. The children, in general, were very clean and pleasing." (St. John i. 221.)

On the *Quop* River Sir Chas. Brooke notes: "We passed some Dyak houses, and were followed by a few guides who were good specimens of the inhabitants. Their skins were about the colour of a new saddle, their features not good but pleasing, with raven black hair flowing down the back." (i. 31.)

Mr. Houghton describes the *Upper Sarawak* Dyaks: "The complexion is yellowish brown, the eyes and hair black; the latter is coarse, and is generally worn long; in some cases it is inclined to curl. The shape of the head is round, a little elongated on the top; the face is broad; the eyes large; the nose a little pressed in on the bridge, and wide at the bottom;

the nostrils are large, the lips thick, and the teeth rather projecting. . . . They are very strong and robust people, and able to bear a long abstinence (some two or three days). Their life is a very hard-working one. Several months in the year they live entirely away from the village in houses built on the farms in the jungle, preparing the ground, sowing, weeding, and harvesting. They are able to carry very heavy loads on their backs. Men, women, and children work on the farms. The women are not treated with any distinction with regard to the farm-work." (Houghton, M. A. S. iii. pp. 195 and 198.)

The *Sennahs*: "The men, with few exceptions, are clean and well built; the women and girls appear healthy, and are in many instances good-looking." (Houghton's Report.)

"In point of physique the Sennah tribe is vastly superior to any of the Dyaks I had visited. The men possess more stamina, are well built, healthy and strong, more clothed than the generality of their countrymen, while in manners and address they are open and independent, being devoid of the shyness and timidity which characterizes this people. Some of the women are really good-looking, with clean, healthy skins and cheerful, smiling faces." (Denison ch. vi. p. 65.)

The Sennahs are altogether an interesting tribe; in manner the men are more polite; the women are fuller of life; some of the girls were pretty, their best age being six to sixteen, after that they begin to fall off." (St. John i. 142.)

Sir Jas. Brooke writes of them: "From the numbers I have seen I may safely pronounce that they are by no means a fine race. Their stature is short, their persons generally slight, though well formed, their muscles little developed, and bearing all the marks of savage life by exercise, but not labour; the countenance is intelligent, the eye good, but their colour is scarcely so light as that of the Malay, the general characteristic of the countenance the same." (Mundy, 205.)

Of the *Lundus* Lieut. Marryat writes: "There were many women among the groups; they appeared to be well made, and more than tolerably good looking. (p. 47.) . . . Speaking of the sons of a chief, he says: "Without exception, these three young men were the most symmetrical in form I have ever seen. The unrestrained state of nature in which these Dyaks live gives to them a natural grace and an easiness of posture, which is their chief characteristic." (p. 75.) And of the Lundu people generally he says: "They are middle-sized, averaging 5 feet 5 inches, but very strong built, and well conditioned, and with limbs beautifully proportioned. In features they differ very much from the piratical inhabitants of these rivers. The head is finely formed, the hair slightly shaven in front, is all thrown to the back of the head; their cheek bones are high, eyes small, black, and piercing, nose not exactly flat—indeed, in some cases I have seen it rather aquiline; the mouth is large and lips rather thick, and there is a total absence of hair on the face and eyebrows." (p. 78.) He describes a Lundu as follows: "His complexion was somewhat darker than that of the generality of Malays. The countenance intelligent, the eye quick and wandering, the forehead of a medium height.

His stature was 5 feet 2 inches, his limbs were well formed and muscular, the ankles and knees small, and his chest was expanded. He walked well and erectly, and bore every mark of his physical powers having been developed by constant exercise. He was by no means shy or reserved, but answered readily to our questions, and often when they exceeded his power of comprehension made us repeat them." (Mundy i. 21.)

Lieut. Marryat describes this same Lundu thus (p. 73): "The eldest son of the chief came to us immediately, in a canoe. He was a splendidly-formed young man, about twenty-five years old. He wore his hair long and flowing, his countenance was open and ingenuous, his eyes black and knowing. His dress was a light blue velvet jacket without sleeves and a many-coloured sash wound round his waist. His arms and legs, which were symmetrical to admiration, were naked, but encircled with a profusion of heavy brass rings." Elsewhere he says of the Lundu: "They were copper-coloured, and extremely ugly; their hair jet black, very long, and falling down the back; eyes were also black, and deeply sunk in the head, giving a vindictive appearance to the countenance; nose flattened; mouth very large; the lips of a bright vermilion from the chewing of the betel-nut; and, to add to their ugliness, their teeth black and filed to sharp points. Such is the personal appearance of a Loondoo Dyak." (Marryat, p. 5.)

The Dyaks are as little blessed with beauty as the Malays. The bridge of the nose is flat, the nostrils very wide, large mouth, the lips pale and puffed up, and the gums projecting. Like the Malays they file their teeth and colour them black. The expression of their faces is generally calm and good-natured, and sometimes somewhat stupid, which may partly be due to the custom of keeping the mouth continually open. Their skin is a light brown, eyes and hair black. The men wear their hair short, the women wear theirs long, straight, hanging down, and not plaited. The gait and bearing of the women is very ungraceful; they place their feet wide apart and push their belly forwards." (Pfeiffer, 77-78.)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "Several of them [women] would probably have been considered pretty even in Europe, and the state of confusion into which they were thrown added not a little to their interesting appearance. Their features generally bore some resemblance to the Malays, but many were even fairer than the Chinese; while several were freckled by exposure to the sun, which I had never noticed before in any of the natives of the Archipelago. . . . I had previously heard of the Dyaks only, as a barbarous people, more strongly addicted to human sacrifice than any other race in the world, and I was, therefore, totally unprepared to find them so mild and prepossessing in their appearance. . . . The Dyaks are of middle size, and, with the exception of those who are continually cramped up in their little canoes, are invariably straight-limbed and well formed. Their limbs are well rounded, and they appear to be muscular, but where physical strength is to be exerted in carrying a burthen they are far inferior to the more spare-bodied Chinese settlers. Their feet are short and broad, and their toes turn a little inwards, so that in walking they do not require a very wide path. Their foreheads are broad and flat, and their eyes, which are placed farther apart than those of Europeans, appear longer than they really are, from an indolent habit of keeping the eye half closed. The outer corners are generally higher up the forehead than those nearer to the nose, so that were a straight line drawn perpendicularly down the face, the eyes would be found to diverge a little from right angles with it. Their cheek-bones are prominent, but their faces are generally plump, and their features altogether bear a greater resemblance to the Cochinese than of any other of the demi-civilized nations in Eastern India. . . . The Dyak countenance is highly prepossessing, more so than that of any people I have yet encountered. On only one occasion did I ever perceive a decidedly sulky expression, and that was in the case of a lady who had been treated

## SEA DYAKS.

"In general appearance the Sea Dyaks have the advantage of the Malays and land tribes, being of a higher, though still short, stature, well-made, and with limbs of excellent proportions; a subdued and calm, but resolute air; an imposing carriage, walking with a light and graceful step, and peculiarly self-possessed bearing; these qualities impress the stranger more favourably than the smaller stature, less elegant figures, darker features, and more cunning expression of the countenance of the Malays." (Low, p. 177.)

"The men are fine healthy fellows, the women were mostly rather ill-favoured in personal appearance and the children were, without exception, very dirty, but all were good-natured and polite. . . . The men are well-proportioned but sparely built, and not, as a rule, what would be called muscular. Their form denotes activity, speed, and endurance, rather than great strength; precisely the qualities most required by a denizen of the jungle. While this is true of the men in general, it is by no means uncommon to meet thick-set and muscular individuals; almost the first Dyak I saw, Dundang, was a fleshy native Hercules. Their movements are easy and graceful, their carriage always erect. The color of a typical Sea Dyak is dark-brown with a strong tinge of yellow; his hair is jet-black and falls in graceful, flowing locks upon his shoulders, instead of being perfectly straight and characterless like that of the Malays. But the Sea Dyak women in general are by no means bad-looking. Their faces are bright, intelligent, and interesting, and I dare say others would call many of them pretty. As a rule they are handsomer than the men. Some that I saw were so clear-skinned and light as to be really a dark-yellow, but sufficiently warmed with brown to make it healthy-looking, and far from disagreeable. Their eyes are always jet-black and sparkling, and their hair, which is abundant, well-kept, and drawn straight back without parting, is likewise glossy and black as a raven's wing. Their teeth, alas! are also black from chewing betel, which likewise reddens their lips for the time being. Their busts, which are always exposed, are generally plump and well-formed until old age mars all such beauty and leaves the skin

rather indecorously by some Malays. Those whom I saw for the first time (except in one instance on my return from the gold-fields), always cast their eyes on the ground, and sometimes turned away their faces in a manner similar to that of a bashful child; but by pretending to take no notice of them, and conversing with someone who happened to be present, they would after a time steal an occasional glance, and if they understood Malay, I generally managed to draw them into conversation. Their bashful manner, however, rarely wore off entirely, even after frequent meetings. The countenances of the Dyak women, if not exactly beautiful are generally extremely interesting, which is, perhaps, in a great measure owing to the soft expression given by their long eyelashes, and by the habit of keeping the eyes half closed. In form they are unexceptionable, and the Dyak wife of a Chinese, whom I met with at Sin-Kawan, was, in point of personal attractions, superior to any Eastern beauty who has yet come under my observation, with the single exception of one of the same race, from the North-West Coast of Celebes. In complexion, the Dyaks are much fairer than the Malays, from whom they also differ greatly in disposition and general appearance, although not so much as to lead to the conclusion that they could not have sprung from the same source, giving rather the idea that the cause of dissimilarity has proceeded from the long disconnection of the Malays from the original stock in addition to their admixture and intercourse with foreign nations. The Dyaks are a much superior people to the Malays, although the latter affect to consider them as beings little removed from the orang-outan." (Earl, pp. 211, 257, -261.)

hanging from the shrunken sides in hundreds of wrinkles and folds. The girls marry at sixteen and are old women at thirty." (Hornaday, pp. 413, 459-461.)

Of other Sea Dyaks we read:—"In youth and before marriage their figures are slight and graceful, with small waists, and not too largely developed to obliterate the sylph-like contour of a budding beauty. Their eyes are, in most cases, jet-black, clear, and bright, with quick intelligence and temper beaming through the orbs. The shape of the lid when open is very oval, the lashes are long and thick, forming an abundant fringe, which shades the sun's piercing rays from the pupils. The brow covering is often so perfectly arched and finely chiselled, as to lead people to think that the outline has been shaved, as is done in many Eastern countries. We must step, however, the short distance of an inch and a half, from the sublime to the ridiculous, and describe the nose by the simple but expressive term, 'snubby and turn-up.' Then pass on to the mouth, from here to yonder, naturally ill-shapen and made worse by disfigurements, from the excessive chewing of sirih and betel-nut. The teeth are stained black and filed to a point, and the red juice is besmeared over their lips and considered an adornment. They are not, however, thick lipped, nor does their appearance evince an excess of the sensual passions, as is found in many Asiatics. The general expression of their countenances is attractive by the buoyancy and brightness emitted from the eye; this charm pleases and softens the remainder of their irregular features. The hair may be compared to a Shetland pony's tail, long, bright, and coarse, which lasts as long as health permits. A fever quickly deprives them of this beautiful adornment, of which they are exceedingly proud. They seldom fail to shake their heads before a spectator, in order to toss their flowing tresses over their back and shoulders. The more favoured ones, too, when on a visit, are fond on the excuse of excessive heat requiring the jacket to be withdrawn, to expose a smooth, satiny, brown skin. In warm climates this can scarcely be considered an indelicacy by the most sensitive. . . . Their labour soon brings an excess of muscle over their frame, and then their appearance becomes hard and healthful, but less interesting. The holding of parangs in their unformed and youthful hands, for the purpose of cutting young jungle, injures their fingers, and many are to be seen with crooked and enlarged knuckle-bones. The ankle swells with continual plodding up hills, or in swampy grounds. This, however, soon vanishes when they are restored to quiet life." (Brooke i. 66-69.) Their gait is very stiff and ungraceful. It resembles waddling more than walking, and they always have the toes turned in, owing to the scantiness of their dress, and the habit of fixing its folds between the knees. They are wonderfully strong walkers, and fetch water for everyday household purposes from surprising distances. The colour of their skin varies considerably, not so much between one tribe and another as in various localities; and whether it be attributable to different kinds of water, or food, or increase of shade from old jungle, is a question. But there is no doubt that all who reside in the interior are much fairer than those who have moved towards the mouths of the rivers, and a very few years is able to effect the change of appearance.

They say themselves it is owing to the muddy colour of the water in the lower grounds, whereas further up the river they bathe in and drink of clear gravelly-bedded streams. Their natural tint is an olive or bronze colour, which in my opinion is remarkably suited to the human race." (*ibid* i. 70, 71.) "The chief's wife brought out a child to show us, of which they were both very proud; but a more consummate lump of ugliness I never set eyes on." (*ibid* i. 94.) On one occasion, when the boat was empty, she was hauled over by long rattans, and "one Dyak of our party held her bow. As he skipped from one rock to another he looked like a baboon, although he was a beautifully-proportioned fellow, about 5 feet 8 inches in height, thin and straight, with no calf to the leg, which is always a sign of activity in Dyak estimation. He had a grown-up family, and must have been on the wrong side of forty, but yet a stranger might have taken him for twenty-five. All our party were amused with his movements, and his tongue never stopped wagging." (*ibid* ii. 166.) At Ballei a chief's wife informed me "she had had ten, and now had grand-children. She seemed quite young herself, and her hair still flowed in long raven tresses. Their figures are not good, and I have not as yet seen a passable-looking one among them. The men are stout and strong, with full limbs, and have not bad features; their noses are certainly much more developed than in most other tribes." (*ibid* ii. 171.) Further up the river was Apai Jantai's house. "It was a better house than we had yet seen, situated on the side of a steep hill about 400 feet from the water, up and down which the stout damsels thought nothing of carrying water three and four times a day, besides climbing in other directions to attend to their gardens and various pursuits; but look at their calves, which the steeps had developed! A heavy load of padi, and a little child sitting on the top of it, are a common burden for a young mother." (*ibid* ii. 173.) "Men seemed like ducks in the water, and the most active now became conspicuous swimmers and divers, all had their duties. The amount of exertion of this kind which the natives will undergo is simply wonderful. They keep it up hour after hour in the coldest mountain stream, jumping in and over places where Englishmen could not stand, as the rocks were as slippery as glass, and many of the ridges were not over three inches wide, without a holdfast of any sort, making one giddy to look at them. . . ." (*ibid* ii. 260.) "The crews assisted one another, creating a deafening sound. The din of *bah, bah, bah*, and yells even drowned the sound of the cascade." (*ibid* ii. 261.)

"Dyaks gazing or watching naturally place themselves in graceful attitudes, and arrange their cloth around their shoulders as a Highlander his plaid. I especially remarked these lithe, upright, and pliable figures, which a sculptor might have coveted, combining slim grace with great muscular development; and this is really required for such work as they undergo in this country, which without doubt is the most difficult to travel over." (*ibid* ii. 254.) Balang's people, "numbering about two thousand men, are fine specimens of Dyaks, each being nearly equal to two Malays in muscle and weight, for they are taller by some inches, with great development. One of the chiefs came to me yesterday and complained, 'The sea men (Malays) don't know how to pull; they jerk at their paddles too much

to move a boat against a current.' The stroke of these Dyaks is long; their heads are almost bent down to their knees. Besides, they work much more unitedly, whilst the Malays so often stop to smoke, or chew, or chat; but in many places about here all must use their strength or the boat would drift. A Dyak is in his element when on an expedition, and takes a pride in all he does, cooking regularly only twice a day, and feeding all in company, when the rice is divided equally to each man." (*ibid* ii. 268.)

"A *Saribas* chief of a tribe near came aboard, named Lingir—a short man, of most perfect symmetry, serpent-eyed, with the strong savage pictured in his physiognomy. While he sat on the deck I could not keep my eye off his countenance, for there was peculiar character lurking underneath the twinkle of that sharp eye—avarice, cunning, foresight, and prudence, all within so small a compass." (*ibid* i. 25.)

"One *Saribus* Dyak of our party, who had been fined I don't know how many times for taking beads from any one he met in different directions, was on this occasion of invaluable use. He seemed never to tire, and everything was placed on his shoulders. A spare, amiable-looking fellow as could be met, and yet every part of his person gave assurance of strength and endurance. He took all the hard work of our party in hand, supplying us with firewood and water, and watching while the others slept; the first up and the last to rest. Our other friend, the *Sakarang* Dyak, with the activity of the monkey tribe, had been unwell the whole march, and was walking along with a stick, with an attack on him which would have laid any Christian on his back. I have experienced the kind of sickness, and therefore am able to form an idea of the pain he was suffering; but he kept up manfully, and gradually began to get better. The attack seldom lasted more than three days." (*ibid* ii. 187.)

Referring to some Dyaks who acted as his boatmen in his great Kayan expedition of 1863, Sir Chas. Brooke says: "Their numbers in hard work produce an unpleasant effluvia if one be housed on the same level with them." (ii. 259-260.)

The *Sibuyaus*: "Their figures are almost universally well made, and showing great activity without great muscular development, but their stature diminutive." (Keppel i. 53.) "One of the *Sibuyau* chief's married daughters was quite pretty, extremely fair, with soft expressive features, and a very gentle voice." (St. John.) "They (the women) were small but remarkably well-shaped, and with limbs of delicate formation" . . . . "The colour of their skins was light brown, smooth, and glossy" . . . . "The men were of short stature, stoutly made, and nothing remarkable in their manner or appearance" . . . . "Numerous fine children were playing about the verandah, and looked upon us without fear." (Mundy ii. 115.)

The *Ballaus*: "The women amongst them are ill-looking and hard worked." (Brooke i. 238.)

The *Ballaus* "are smaller, and possess less physical strength than Europeans, but they have great powers of endurance, and great bodily activity, climbing rocks and trees like cats or monkeys. Their countenance is, as I have said, of the Malay type, and it consequently takes some time

before a European becomes accustomed to their appearance; but when his eye has been reconciled to their cast of features, he soon discovers in them intelligence, openness, sprightliness, and good-humour. These qualities never fail to commend themselves to the favourable consideration of the spectator, and he soon begins to consider them handsome, according as they approach the ideal of the Malay type, just as he considers a European handsome according as he approaches the ideal of the Caucasian type." (Horsburgh, p. 10.)

"The *Skarans* are physically a well formed race, though small of stature. The average height of men living in the coast regions is about 5ft. 2in. or 5ft. 3in. They are fairly broad in proportion to their height, and their limbs supple and well developed, not being confined by a quantity of clothing. In the upper waters of the rivers a taller and altogether fuller development is found, and I have come across men ranging from 5ft. 10in. to 6ft. 2in. in height. The women are from two to three inches shorter in stature than the men. Round the chest they average about 33 to 34 inches." (F. W. Leggatt.) "The skin is light nut-brown in colour, and of a soft velvety smoothness and free from hair, except on the pubes and in the arm-pits. But exposed parts are burnt by the sun's heat to a darker shade. The Sakarang tribe are allowed to be nice-looking, and are particularly noticeable for their agility, coupled with elegance of gait. . . . They are some shades lighter in colour than the Bantings." (Brooke i. 108, 107.) The strength of some of these people may be gauged by the following:—On one expedition an Englishman broke down. "He was a man over six feet in height, and heavy in proportion. The Dyak who carried him up hill after hill, as if he had been an infant, was only 5ft. 2in. without his shoes." (*ibid* i. 312.)

"The Sakarang women are, I think, the handsomest among the Dayaks of Borneo; they have good figures, light and elastic; with well-formed busts and very interesting, even pretty faces; with skin of so light a brown as almost to be yellow, yet a very healthy-looking yellow, with bright dark eyes, and long glistening black hair. The girls are very fond of using an oil made from the Katioh fruit, which has the scent of almonds. . . . The Sakarang men are clean built, upright in their gait, and of a very independent bearing. They are well behaved and gentle in their manners: and, on their own ground, superior to all others in activity. . . . Their strength and activity are remarkable. I have seen a Dayak carry a heavy Englishman down the steepest hills; and when one of their companions is severely wounded they bear him home, whatever may be the distance. They exercise a great deal from boyhood in wrestling, swimming, running, and sham-fighting, and are excellent jumpers. When a little more civilized they would make good soldiers, being brave by nature. They are, however, short—a man five feet five inches high would be considered tall, the average is perhaps five feet three inches." (St. John i. 29.) The *Sarebas* are "just a shade lighter in complexion" and both these and the *Skaran* tribes have more of the Tartar cast of feature than the others. (Grant, p. 96.)

"The *Undups* are not so nice looking as the other tribes." (Brooke ii. 85.)

"The women of the people the *Sibus* on the Rejang River, who are

said to be the most beautiful of the natives of Borneo, are fairer, with more decided features than any others I have seen. On the whole, neither Williamson nor myself deemed the reputation they have obtained unmerited."

(Low, p. 369.)

*Kanowits*: "They were as good-looking a set of men, or devils, as one could cast eye on. Their wiry and supple limbs might have been compared to the troop of wild horses that followed Mazeppa in his perilous flight." (Brooke ii. 54.) "The appearance of these people is very inferior; few of them have the fine healthy look of those I saw about Mr. Brereton's fort. The women are remarkably plain, and scarcely possess what is so common in Borneo, a bright pair of eyes." (St. John i. 39.) "The chief, who was a very old man, with about thirty followers, then came on board. He was profusely tattooed all over the body, and, like the rest of his savage crew, he was a hideous object. The lobes of his ears hung nearly to his shoulders, and in them immense rings were fixed. Round his waist he wore a girdle of rough bark, which fell below his knees, and on his ankles large rings of various metals. With the exception of the waist-cloth, he was perfectly naked." (Mundy ii. 123.) "Strangely enough, the Kanowit women are, as a rule, darker than the men." (de Windt, p. 73.)

#### THE MILANAUS.

"In personal appearance, the men of the Milanowes have much resemblance to the other races inhabiting the island, from whom they cannot, by their features, be distinguished. The women, however, enjoy the reputation of being far more beautiful than those of any of the other tribes, and slaves from this nation are sold for a much higher price than girls from any other of the many divisions of the inhabitants of the island. I had only opportunities of seeing those of the Rejang tribe who live at Serekei, and cannot say that I observed their great superiority. They were dressed in the manner of Malayan females, and perhaps their long clothing may have better concealed their personal defects: their hair was kept in better order, and their faces were much fairer than is general amongst the other tribes." (Low, 339.)

Sir Chas. Brooke speaks of "A fine fellow, physically speaking, showing great power of limb. He stood 5ft. 7½in., with gigantic shoulders and depth of chest, with a cast of countenance somewhat resembling the Red Indian. . . . He was considered a most prodigious striker with this weapon, and I have heard men declare that they have witnessed him sever at a blow, a hardish piece of wood as large as the leg of an ordinary-sized man. He was a clever and active fellow, and would dance and caper with his drawn sword on every imaginable occasion; but insincerity was written on his features." (Brooke i. 302-3.)

"The women were considered better looking than most others on the coast, having agreeable countenances, with the dark, rolling open eye of Italians, and nearly as fair as most of that race; but I could never admire the colour, as they exhibited an almost unwholesome sallowness, and a want of vivacity upon their puddingy features. The men are cleanly, and

generally well-dressed, but not so nice-looking as many other tribes. (*ibid* ii. 99.)

"They are not a handsome race, whatever may have been said to the contrary, both sexes being ill-formed, as a rule; the women especially so, being short and squat, and, long before middle age, becoming very obese." (de Crespigny J. A. I. v. 34.)

"In personal appearance the Milanows strongly resemble the other tribes inhabiting the Sarawak territory, and can only be distinguished from them by the squareness of their features; the women, however, have unaccountably won a reputation for beauty. It is true there are some good-looking girls amongst them, but as a tribe they are far behind the Malays in figure and regularity of features; they are very white (that is, an unhealthy milky white), but having to work all their lives treading or expressing the sago from the pith of the palm, their feet become large and their figures squat and stumpy. . . . The men are about the middle height; they are not tattooed, nor do they use any ornaments or personal decorations." (Crocker, Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. 1881, 199.)

#### KAYANS.

Sir James Brooke describes the Kayans as follows, but I am not clear whether he refers to the great Pari tribe or to the Kanowits: "In stature they are of moderate height, but stout limbed and fleshy. Their complexion is fairer than any of the other tribes; their faces round, fat, and good-tempered; eyes small and well-formed; and mouth expressive; and altogether, with very few characteristics of the Malays, certainly much better looking men." (Mundy i. p. 260.)<sup>3</sup>

"Tamawan was a small man, but Simatau and Singauding were hulking fellows; they were all strong or wiry-looking men, capable of much fatigue. Their countenances on the whole were pleasant. . . . They are tolerable-looking women; and I saw a few pleasant countenances. . . . Their countenances were open, bright dark eyes, smooth foreheads, depressed noses, clear skin, but indifferent mouths. They had good figures and well set up busts. I have as yet seen no old women and men in the tribe. . . . Some of the lookers-on were young girls with regular features, light skins, and good figures, with a pleasing, pensive expression. . . . Siobong's face was round, good-tempered, but rather coarse; her voice was gentle, and she wore her long black hair hanging loose, but kept off her face by fillets of white bark. . . . I noticed two of her attendants, who were really pretty, being blessed with well-shaped noses and mouths, a rarity among the natives of Borneo." (St. John i. 100, 102, 109, 119, 120.)

Some of these creatures are not bad-looking in their natural condition,

<sup>3</sup> "The Diaks are the finest formed men that can be conceived, perfect models for the sculptor; the warrior tribes are remarkably large men; their activity is wonderful; they will leap and catch the lower branch of a high tree, climbing to the top, hand over hand, without apparent exertion; in descending they throw themselves into the midst of the branches and gain the ground immediately, without injury. They swim the most rapid rivers without fear of the numerous alligators, which they will attack and destroy in the water with their mandows; they possess the power of remaining a long time under water." (Dalton, p. 50.)

but they pervert the laws of nature to such a liberal extent as to become hideous. Their faces are flat and broad, and many bear a strong likeness to the Chinese. (Brooke ii. 224.)

Bishop McDougall says: "Palabun's people are larger than the Dyaks, with straighter noses, and look very like wild Irishmen; the women have peculiar long oval eyes, and are tall and well-made, but, like the men, dirty and dingy-looking, and by no means so prepossessing as the sleek, shiny skinned, upright, agile Sakarrans." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 159.)

The *Sibops*: "He was a fine, strong fellow, and with his dress of black bear-skin ornamented with feathers, his sword in hand, and shield adorned with many-coloured hair, said to be human, he looked truly formidable. His dancing expressed the character of the people—quick and vigorous motions, showing to advantage the development of his muscles." (St. John i. 109.)

#### UKITS.

*Bakatans*: "An old Bakatan sat opposite me who had the most striking eyes I ever beheld, darting fire from the small circular orbs which seemed to pierce one. The man altogether, notwithstanding this peculiarity, had an amiable appearance, and was tattooed from head to foot. Some of these Bakatans are very fine, handsome fellows, with far better features than most other tribes in these localities." (Brooke ii. 24.)

*Poonans*: "These were the fairest natives I ever saw in Borneo, being of a light yellow complexion, not unlike the Chinese." . . . "Had it not been for the practice of elongating the ear-lobes and staining and filing the teeth these women would not have been bad-looking. (de Windt, p. 86.) "Punans who have not mixed amongst the Kayans use no boats, but they are capable of covering great distances in a day on foot, the women of the party carrying almost as much as the men." (Hose J. A. I. xxiii. 150.)

#### DUSUNS.

"The Dusuns, or, as they are also sometimes called by the Malays, Idään, are for the most part a fine well-made and not unhandsome race; the men muscular and well developed; the women, when very youthful, positively pretty, except their black teeth, but those above the age of 20 are worn out with the hard work assigned to them, pounding padi and carrying wood and water. . . . I could see no similarity of features between this race and the Chinese, except that in childhood the upper eyelid is turned in, so that the eyelashes appear to protrude from the eye itself. There is also a peculiar feature which assimilates them to the negroes of Africa, viz., the protuberance of the shin-bone, which in children is slightly arched outwards, a peculiarity which, with the first mentioned one, disappears with years, for the limbs of the young men are as well proportioned as a Spaniard's or an Irishman's." (de Crespigny, Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. ii. 1858 347-8.)

"The Dusuns are well built, muscular, with lighter skin than the Malays, but with similar face form, but mouth smaller and better shaped." (de Crespigny, Berl. Zeits. N. F. v. 334.)

"The 'Dusun,' or 'Piasau Id'an,' the meaning of this last literally being 'Cocoanut Villagers.' Generally they are a clean-skinned and handsome

race, far superior to their neighbours, the 'Muruts,' who live farther south, and whose land culture is but indifferent." (Burbidge, p. 225.)

"Both men and women are fairer-skinned than the coast people; some of the youths are really handsome, with well-cut features, but the Mongolian type of feature predominates. These Dusuns are wonderful baggage-carriers: one of them carried a buffalo's load, and twenty-one Dusuns have carried the loads of thirteen buffaloes. They tie up their loads with broad bands of cloth or bark, leaving loops to go over the shoulders and one round the forehead; the head-band is used when going up hill, when the head is bent forward, thus taking a good deal of the strain. The women always carry baggage in their paddi baskets, which are cone-shaped, made of the broad bases of sago leaf stems, neatly fastened with rattan to wooden hoops." (Whitehead, 103.) "They are marvellously strong and active considering their rather frail limbs, and they can carry loads all day over the most mountainous country that few Europeans would care to carry for many hundreds of yards." (*ibid* 107.)

"These Ida'an are very good specimens of the interior people—clear-skinned, free from disease, with pleasant, good-humoured countenances. None of the women are good-looking; still they would not be called ugly. . . . They were all small slight men . . . they were a dark featured race, intelligent looking, and appeared in features very much like the Land Dyaks of Sarawak." (St. John i. 248, 249, 390.)

"The Datu possessed a daughter, the loveliest girl in Borneo. I have never seen a native surpass her in figure, or equal her gentle, expressive countenance. She appeared but sixteen years of age, and as she stood near, leaning against the door-post in the most graceful attitude, we had a perfect view of all her perfections. Her dress was slight indeed, consisting of nothing but a short petticoat reaching from her waist to a little above her knees. Her skin was of that light clear brown which is almost the perfection of colour in a sunny clime, and as she was just returning from bathing, her hair unbound fell in great luxuriance over her shoulders. Her eyes were black, not flashing, but rather contemplative, and her features were regular, even her nose was straight.

So intent was she in watching our movements, and wondering at our novel mode of eating, with spoons, and knives and forks, that she unconsciously remained in her graceful attitude for some time; but suddenly recollecting that she was not appearing to the best advantage in her light costume, she moved away slowly to her room, and presently came forth dressed in a silk jacket and new petticoat, with bead necklaces and gold ornaments. In our eyes she did not look so interesting as before." (St. John i. 302.)

"Among aboriginal faces it is rare that one strikes one as a physiognomical unpleasantness; it does so in the case of Jeludin." (Witti Diary, 19th March.)

"The *Kians* are much dirtier than any tribes I have seen in the neighbourhood; the children and women are unwashed, and most of them are troubled with colds, rendering them in every sense unpleasant neighbours.

In fact, to use the words of an experienced traveller, 'they cannot afford to be clean,' their climate is chilly, and they have no suitable clothing. We observed that the features of many of these people were very like Chinese—perhaps a trace of that ancient kingdom of Celestials that tradition fixes to this neighbourhood." (St. John i. 263-4.)

"The Kiaus are generally taller, broader, and healthier-looking than the Melangkaps; the reason for this physical change in the condition of the people is not far to seek. The Kiaus are great tobacco cultivators, and they exchange this product freely amongst the other villages; they are thus able to keep themselves more abundantly supplied with the 'necessaries of life than their neighbours. . . . Being more robust they are more industrious." (Whitehead, 157.)

#### MURUTS.

"They were splendidly framed men, but very plain in person, with the long matted hair falling over their shoulders." (Marryat, p. 111.)

"Some of the Murut women are fine muscular creatures, and either in boats or a field they appear to be as strong and active as the men. The physique of the inland tribes, especially of the Dyaks, Kayans, and Muruts, is superior to that of the Malays. The Kayans and Muruts are especially lithe and active—bronzy, straight-limbed, and statuesque. This is the result of an active life spent hunting in the forest, climbing after gutta, rubber, jungle-fruit, or bees-wax, or in cultivating the clearings around their dwellings, or in fishing in the rivers." (Burbidge, p. 156.) "It is curious to notice the very old look that many of the boys and girls have, especially the latter: it requires a glance at the bosom to discover whether they are young or not." (St. John.) "The Adang Muruts women are remarkably ill-favoured—broad flat faces and extremely dirty." (St. John ii. 115.) "The Muruts have a repulsive look." (de Crespigny, Berl. Zeit. N.F., v. 330.)

#### LANUNS.

"The Rajah Muda, the Lanun chief, came on board, and was very civil. He is a handsome-looking, manly fellow, and extremely polite. From what I have heard and seen, he is a type of his countrymen—a different race from the Baju: a slight figure, more regular features than the Malays, a quiet, observant eye; he wore a delicate moustache." (St. John i. 234.)

#### BAJAUS.

"No one can accuse the Bajus of being a handsome race; they have generally pinched-up, small faces, low foreheads, but bright eyes; the men are short, slight, but very active, particularly in the water; the women have similar features, and are slighter and perhaps taller than the Malay; they wear their hair tied in a knot on the fore part of the head, which has a very unbecoming appearance. I never saw a good-looking face among them, judging even by a Malay standard. The Datu had five daughters, as well as five sons—a large family, but a thing by no means rare in Borneo." (St. John i. 238.)

## II.

## AGE.

Speaking of the Land Dyaks, Mr. Grant says (p. 56) :—"The majority of these people do not seem to be long-lived."

"Even now most of the Upper Sarawak Dyaks do not know their ages, but guess only, and sometimes quite at random. You might hear people answer the question, how old they are, with eighty, one hundred, or two hundred, who, perhaps, are not yet half that time. Another reason for dividing their answers, with respect to age, by two, is that they count a year only six months, *i.e.*, from one rice harvest to the other. The people in general attain a pretty good age, the greater part up to sixty or seventy. The oldest man here, and, in fact of the whole Sentah tribe, is a (formerly heathen) priest or *menang*, about ninety-five to one hundred years of age, with grey hair. He lately become a Christian. He has a large family, all sons, some of whom are also Christians. His first wife, about seventy years old, is still alive. Both are still able to move about, talk cheerfully, and enjoy their food. The old man is suffering from loss of sight." (Houghton, M. A. S. iii. 195.)

"In my opinion, an erroneous idea is generally entertained among these [Sea] Dyak races respecting both length of life and capability of bearing children. If allowances be made for their not having the advantage of medical skill there would, I believe, be found almost as great a longevity and fruitfulness as in England. It is not an uncommon occurrence to meet women without a grey hair on their head, who have borne their seven and sometimes nine children, the eldest of whom may have reached a marriageable age. Four generations are often alive at the same time. Natives sometimes look old when they are only twenty-five years of age, but do not alter afterwards until they are far advanced. Whether a man be thirty or sixty is difficult to guess. Calculations of age are generally computed by the increased size of trees, or by certain events, particularly the attacks made upon their country." (Brooke i. 58.)

## STATURE.

The recorded measurements of the heights of the various people are as follows :—

## LAND DYAKS.

Male Adults, 4ft. 10in. (short)	Female Adults, 4ft. 6in. (short)
" " 5ft. 1in.	" " 4ft. 8in.
" " 5ft. 3in.	" " 4ft. 9in.
" " 5ft. 4in.	" " 4ft. 10½in.
" " 5ft. 5½in.	" " 5ft. 0in.
" " 5ft. 7in.	" " 5ft. 2in. (tall.)
	(St. John i. 198.)

The Rev. Mr. Gomez gives the following :—

Men, 5ft. 2½in.	Men, 4ft. 11in.
" 5ft. 4in.	Women, 5ft. 0in.
" 5ft. 3in.	" 4ft. 10½in. ( <i>ibid</i> ii. 390.)
" 4ft. 10½in.	

Sir James Brooke measured as follows:—

A Bukar Dyak, 5ft. 5in.	A Brang Dyak, 5ft. 4½in.
A Sabungo „ 4ft. 10in.	(Mundy i. 201.)
	A Londu „ 5ft. 2in. ( <i>ibid</i> i. 21.)

Lieut. Marryat says (p. 78) of the Lundus, “they are middle-sized, averaging 5 ft. 5 in.” “The average height of the people (Sarawak Dyaks) is 5 ft. 2 in., 4 ft. 6 in. being considered short, and 5 ft. 6 in. tall.” (Houghton, M. A. S. iii. 195.) “The average stature of the Dyaks is rather more than that of the Malays, while it is considerably under that of most Europeans.” (Wallace i. 138.)

#### SEA DYAKS.

Of the Sibuyaus Sir H. Keppel writes: “Their stature is diminutive, as will be shown by the following measurements, taken at random amongst them, and confirmed by general observation:

“Sejugah, the chief: Height, 5 ft. 1¼ in. Head round, 1 ft. 9 in. Anterior portion, from ear to ear, 1 ft.; posterior, 9 in.; across the top, 1¼ ft.

“Kalong, the chief’s eldest son: Height, 5 ft. 2½ in. Anterior portion of head, 1 ft.; posterior, 8¾ in.; across the top, 1 ft.; wanting a few lines.

		HEIGHT.	
		Feet.	Inches.
Man from the crowd	. . . . .	5	1½
Another	. . . . .	5	1½
Another	. . . . .	5	4
Another	. . . . .	4	10
Another	. . . . .	5	3
Another	. . . . .	5	3

(Keppel i. 53.)

Sir Spencer St. John says of them: “They are short; a man 5 ft. 5 in. high would be considered tall; the average is perhaps 5 ft. 3 in.” (i. 30.)

Sir Charles Brooke says (ii. 268): “They are taller by some inches than the Malays.” He also speaks of one Skaran Dyak as being 6 ft. high (i. 312), and one 5 ft. 2 in. without his shoes (i. 312), and elsewhere of one who was 5 ft. 8 in. (ii. 166.) A Rejang river native he describes as 5 ft. 7½ in. high. (i. 302.)

“In physique, the Sea Dyaks, like the Hill Dyaks, are below medium stature, the tallest Sibuyau man that I saw being barely 5 ft. 4½ in., while the majority were under 5 ft. 3 in.” (Hornaday, 459.)

“Sleeping in a Dyak house is almost like sleeping in the open air, but what is most unpleasant are the cribs of the bachelors, which are all too short for me. I have to sleep quite crooked, which makes me feel stiff in the morning.” (Crossland, Miss. Life 1870, p. 218.)

“Few Dusun men are as tall as 5 ft. 10 in., the average height being about 5 ft. 4 or six inches.” (Whitehead, 107.) . . . . “Our Bajaus, Illanaus, and Dusuns, none of whom weigh over nine stone, or stand over 65 inches.” (Witti Diary, 11th March.)

## COLOUR.

The following is a summary of the records of colour of the peoples :—

*Quop.* Colour of new saddle. (Brooke i. 31.)

## LAND DYAKS.

*Land Dyaks.* Reddish Brown. (Grant 96-97.)  
*Dyaks.*<sup>4</sup> Light Brown. (Pfeiffer 77-78.)  
*Sarawak Dyaks.* Yellowish Brown. (Haughton 195.)  
*Lundu.* Copper Coloured. (Marryat 5.)  
*Lundu.* Darker than that of generality of Malays. (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 21.)  
*Sinar.* Scarcely so light as that of Malays. (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 205.)

## SEA DYAKS.

*Sea Dyaks.* Smooth Satiny Brown Skin. (Brooke i. 67.)  
*Sea Dyaks.* "Often one fails to recognise them after gathering their harvests when they are exposed from morn to night to sun and rain, and become very black and dingy." (Brooke i. 68.)  
*Sea Dyaks.* "Natural tint is an olive or bronze colour," the colour varies considerably according to locality rather than to tribe. (Brooke i. 70.)  
*Sea Dyaks.* Dark brown, with a strong tinge of yellow. (Hornaday 461.)  
*Sea Dyaks.* Women clear and light, almost dark yellow sufficiently warmed with brown to look healthy. (Hornaday 413.)  
*Sakarangs.* Were some shades lighter in colour. (Brooke i. 107.)  
*Sakarang.* Women so light a brown as almost to be yellow, yet a very healthy looking yellow. (St. John i. 29.)  
*Sibuyau.* Girl extremely fair. (St. John.)  
*Sibuyau.* Light Brown, smooth, glossy. (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy ii. 115.)  
*Kanowit.* Dark Brown like the American Indians. (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 125.)

## MILANAUS.

*Milanau.* Nearly as fair as Italians. (Brooke ii. 99.)  
*Milanows.* Women very white, that is, an unhealthy milky white. (Crocker, Pr. R. Geog. S. 1881, 199.)

## KAYANS.

*Kayans.* Fairer than the other tribes. (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 260.)  
*Kayan.* Clear skin (St. John i. 103.)  
*Kayan.* Light skin. (St. John i. 109.)  
*Kayans.* Bronzy. (Burbidge 156.)

<sup>4</sup> Much fairer than Malays. (Earl 260.)

## UKITS.

- Poonans.* The fairest natives I ever saw in Borneo, being of a light yellow complexion, not unlike the Chinese. (De Windt 86.)

## MURUTS.

- Muruts.* Bronzy. (Burbidge 156.)

## DUSUNS.

- Dusuns.* Fairer skinned than the coast people. (Whitehead 107.)  
*Tawehran River Girl.* That light, clear brown which is almost the perfection of colour in a sunny clime. (St. John i. 302.)

## NOSES.

- Land Dyaks.* Flattish nostrils. (Grant 96.)  
*Land Dyaks.* Noses but slightly flattened. (Marryat 14.)  
*Land Dyaks.* Never without flat broad disreputable noses. (*The Field*, 20 Dec., 1884.)  
*Bukars.* An improvement on above. (*The Field*, 20 Dec., 1884.)  
*Upper Sarawak.* A little pressed in on bridge, wide at bottom, nostrils large. (Houghton M.A.S. iii. 195)  
*Lundu.* Not exactly flat, some cases rather aquiline. (Marryat 78.)  
*Lundus.* Nose flattened. (Marryat p. 5.)  
*Sea Dyak.* Snubby and turn up. (Brooke i. 66.)  
*Kayans.* Depressed. (St. John i. 109.)  
*Kayans.* Well-shaped. (St. John i. 120.)

## HAIR.

- Quop.* Flowing. (Brooke i. 31.)  
*Upper Sarawak.* In some case inclined to curl. (Houghton M.A.S. iii. 195.)  
*Dyaks.* Straight. (Pfeiffer 77.)  
*Sea Dyaks.* Flowing. (Hornaday 413.)

## MALAY AND INDONESIAN AFFINITIES.

If we may judge from the above meagre records of their physique we must conclude that the people are distinctly Malay in stature, colour, and noses. Of their eyes we have not sufficient particulars. In their muscular development they would seem to approach the Indonesian type. In some cases their colour "reddish brown," "copper colour," "dark brown," in others of their hair, Bukars' beards, "flowing," "inclined to curl," would also seem to indicate Indonesian affinities. Judging from some of the portraits in full face, the noses might be considered good (*i.e.*, Indonesian), but in the full face the double eyelid (*i.e.*, Malayan) is everywhere discernible.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CHARACTER NOTES AND SKETCHES.

LAND DYAKS: Amiability—Gratitude—Honesty—Life of oppression—Sir Jas. Brooke a god—Hospitality—Beggars—Honesty—Mentally and morally superior to Malays—Sports—Cat's cradle—High moral character—Inter-tribal wars—Truthfulness—Honesty—Temperance—Apathy—First sight of white man—Straightforwardness—Cunning—Reserved manners—Closeness—Sulkiness—Ambition destroyed by oppression—*Aup* hospitality—Character of Murong—Curiosity and politeness—First sight of white man—No gross vices—Morals loose—Pleasant characteristics—Kindness to infirm—Generally intelligent—Very superstitious—Striving after better things—The *Sennahs* an interesting tribe—The trial of Pu Bunang—Unceremoniousness—Mirrors—Character easily modelled—Deluded idiots! The *Sedumaks*: Intelligence—Arts—Reading. The *Sintahs*: Fondness for similes—Pangeran Makota—Progress of Sarawak—Freedom from oppression—Laziness—Vaunting. The *Singges* intractable—Chief Parimban—Penguam—Laughter—Oratory—Mirrors—Piano—European child—Hospitality—Vermin—Stone-throwing—Election of an Orang Kaya—Honourable dealings—Malay oppression—Interesting race. SEA DYAKS: Civility, Merriment, Vigour—Arguments ineffectual—Courageous to doggedness—Bigoted to old customs—Intelligence superior to appearance—Three characters—Gratitude—*Bugau* captives—Practical view of a turncoat—*Bantings'* stupidity—Redeeming points—Inability to grasp idea of Christian worship—Bad harvests tame them—Gratitude—Good laws—Strange objections—Old Lingbi—Kindly traits—Unequalled soldiers—Stubbornness—Extra care required—Powers of memory—Oratory—Fondness for litigation—Old suits—Murder resulting from an accident—Thief-finding—Debt case 25 years old—Old cases on *Batang Lupar*—A runaway daughter—A widower wants a head—Sympathy—Offence for breaking customs—Gowns and trousers make Christians—Strange questions—*Sharan* independence—Women's quickness—Imitation buttons wanted—Boys' rebellion—Small-pox marks—Loyish and Nanang. *Sibnyaus*: First Europeans—Good humoured women—School progress—Mr. Gomez' influence—Sports—Good material—Bishop Chambers. The *Balaus'* character—Industry—Carefulness—High interest on loans—Hospitality—Honesty—Truthfulness—Intellect deadens at maturity—Improvement—*Lingga* women paddlers—Noses—Female characteristics—Hearts true as steel—Tingling feet—Thwarting their habits—Dry humour—A *Manang* outwitted—A character—Rhymes—*Kanowit* wit—*Sambas* captives—Love of the mysterious—Sociability—Domestic peace—Universal happiness—Mutual help—Women's quarrels—Women's characteristics—Women adept politicians—Women's wit—Hospitality—Ostracising a thief—Cursing thieves—A practical curse—A missionary saved by cursing. KAYANS: Enquiring and exact people—Love of peace—Inferior in character to Sea Dyaks—Kayan captives—Quiet manners—Energy—Conceit—Hospitality—Integrity—Traders' safety—Guests helping themselves—The Rajah at Balleh—The *Poe* disturbances—Retaliations—*Tinjir* raids—*Batahans* attacked—Attack by *Punans*—Diving ordeal—Kayan demonstration—Theft—Settlement of *Poe* troubles—Expeditions stopped—Attack by *Peng Kayans*. MILANAUS: Industry—Litigation—Hospitality—Women well dressed—Peacefulness. "*Becharas*": Aptitude for learning. BAKATANS: First visit to Europeans—Mirrors—Portraits asked to "come down"—Dyak conceit. DUSUNS: Good rural population—Blood-thirsty tendencies checked—Not a disappearing people—Lithe and active—Cheerfulness—Sensible advice—Fibs—Industry, Decency and Politeness—Distant walking gives respect—Bad qualities—White men not white—Over-reaching—Hospitality—Not on visiting terms—Insensibility to sufferings of others—Influence of women—Anecdotes—Honesty of Dusuns—Dishonesty of *Kiaus*—Vocabulary collecting—Friendliness—Interest in strangers—Dirt *versus* cleanliness—Miss Iseiom—Kadsio, the trouser-maker. KADYANS: Selfishness. MURUTS: Brit. N. Borneo unfortunate with them—Brunei to blame—Better government, better customs—Farming—Drunkennes—Morality—Brawls—Numerous Feasts—Strange form of hospitality—Free takings—Harm to guest—Gratitude.

## LAND DYAKS.

"THE Hill Dyaks are a more amiable people than the Sea tribes, their morality is of a higher standard, their gratitude is undoubted, and their hospitality to strangers well ascertained.

"In travelling also, I found them willing, on all occasions, to furnish me as many men as I might require for the transport of my luggage, which was usually, on a long journey, from twenty to thirty; by these means, my traps followed me from village to village, all over the country, without any person with them, everything being left to the care and known honesty of the Dyaks; and though many of my things were the articles they would most have valued for dress or ornament, an instance of the slightest pilfering never occurred, though it might have been constantly committed, without the slightest danger of immediate detection.

"Gratitude, which is too frequently found a rare and transitory virtue, eminently adorns the character of these simple people, and the smallest benefit conferred upon them calls forth its vigorous and continued exercise. Considering what a dreadful life of oppression Sir James Brooke rescued them from . . . we can scarcely blame them, that in the excess of their thankfulness, they should have considered as supernatural the person who relieved them of their wretchedness, and by whose cherishing care and protecting kindness they once more enjoyed the lives and liberties with which the great Creator had endowed them. We accordingly find that several of their tribes have ascribed to Mr. Brooke the attributes and powers of a superior being; and believe that he can, by his word, shed an influence over their persons or property which will be beneficial to them. In all their prayers, he is named with the gods of their superstitions, and no feast is made at which his name is not invoked." (Low, 243, 244, 246, 247.)

"On the several occasions when I visited them [the Singes] they were uniformly hospitable, but great beggars; they ask for every thing they see, but are as scrupulously honest as the other Land tribes, never thinking of helping themselves to any thing." (Low, 294.)

"I am inclined to rank the Dyaks above the Malays in mental capacity, while in moral character they are undoubtedly superior to them. They are simple and honest, and become the prey of the Malay and Chinese traders, who cheat and plunder them continually. They are more lively, more talkative, less secretive, and less suspicious than the Malay, and are therefore pleasanter companions. The Malay boys have little inclination for active sports and games, which form quite a feature in the life of the Dyak youths, who, besides outdoor games of skill and strength, possess a variety of indoor amusements. One wet day, in a Dyak house, when a number of boys and young men were about me, I thought to amuse them with something new, and showed them how to make 'cat's cradle' with a piece of string. Greatly to my surprise, they knew all about it, and more than I did; for, after I and Charles had gone through all the changes we could make, one of the boys took it off my hand, and made several new figures which quite puzzled me. Then they showed me a number of other tricks with pieces of string, which seemed a favourite amusement with them.

"Even these apparently trifling matters may assist us to form a truer estimate of the Dyak's character and social condition. We learn thereby, that these people have passed beyond that first stage of savage life in which the struggle for existence absorbs the whole faculties, and in which every thought and idea is connected with war or hunting, or the provision for their immediate necessities. These amusements indicate a capability of civilization, an aptitude to enjoy other than mere sensual pleasures, which might be taken advantage of to elevate their whole intellectual and social life.

"The moral character of the Dyaks is undoubtedly high—a statement which will seem strange to those who have heard of them only as head-hunters and pirates. The Hill Dyaks, of whom I am speaking, however, have never been pirates, since they never go to sea, and head-hunting is a custom originating in the petty wars of village with village, and tribe with tribe, which no more implies a bad moral character than did the custom of the slave-trade a hundred years ago imply want of general morality in all who participated in it. Against this one stain in their character (which in the case of the Sarawak Dyaks no longer exists) we have to set many good points. They are truthful and honest to a remarkable degree. From this cause it is very often impossible to get from them any definite information, or even an opinion. They say, 'If I were to tell you what I don't know, I might tell a lie;' and whenever they voluntarily relate any matter of fact, you may be sure they are speaking the truth. In a Dyak village the fruit trees have each their owner, and it has often happened to me, on asking an inhabitant to gather me some fruit, to be answered, 'I can't do that, for the owner of the tree is not here;' never seeming to contemplate the possibility of acting otherwise. Neither will they take the smallest thing belonging to an European. When living at Simunjon, they continually came to my house, and would pick up scraps of torn newspaper or crooked pins that I had thrown away, and ask as a great favour whether they might have them. Crimes of violence (other than head-hunting) are almost unknown; for in twelve years, under Sir James Brooke's rule, there had been only one case of murder in a Dyak tribe, and that one was committed by a stranger who had been adopted into the tribe. In several other matters of morality they rank above most uncivilized, and even above many civilized nations. They are temperate in food and drink, and the gross sensuality of the Chinese and Malays is unknown among them. They have the usual fault of all people in a half-savage state—apathy and dilatoriness; but, however annoying this may be to Europeans who come in contact with them, it cannot be considered a very grave offence, or be held to outweigh their many excellent qualities." (Wallace i. 138-140.)

"Many of the women and children had never seen a white man before, and were very sceptical as to my being the same colour all over as my face. They begged me to show them my arms and body, and they were so kind and good-tempered that I felt bound to give them some satisfaction, so I turned up my trousers and let them see the colour of my leg, which they examined with great interest." (*ibid* i. 114.)

Mr. Noel Denison says: "In the short experience I have had of the

Land Dyaks, I have found them with one or two exceptions truthful in the extreme, generally honest and straightforward in their dealings, though they can be cunning enough when it suits their purpose: they are reserved in their manners, and far from communicative to those with whom they are unacquainted, but having gained their confidence and opened their hearts with a little arrack they become talkative and free in their conversation. I do not consider them generous; all and everything I received from these people on my trip was paid for either in money, beads, tobacco, brasswire, etc.: and on many occasions I was considerably a loser in my dealings.

"The worst feature connected with the Dyak character is their temper; they are sulky, obstinate and sullen when put out or corrected, and they are exceedingly apathetic, nor does there appear any inclination on their part to rise above their low and degraded condition; all ambition or desire to elevate themselves or their children appears to have been trampled out of them by the years of tyranny and oppression which they have had to undergo at the hands of the Malays, and the only chance of improving this race is in caring for the children—the old men in my opinion are long past anything approaching to improvement." (Jottings, Introd. p. 4.)

Of the Aup Dyak Orang Kaya he says: "I was much pleased with this man and his tribe, who were hospitality itself." (*ibid* ch. iii. p. 34.)

He gives the following account of the Gumbang Orang Kaya:

"As Murung accompanied me to Sikong, and was my companion over the greater portion of my journey, I shall here take the opportunity of introducing a short sketch of this Dyak chief. Murung has been 22 years chief of his tribe. He is a short, lithe, active little fellow, and in his younger days must have been a dangerous enemy among his countrymen. He has associated a good deal with the Chinese, and acquired a very tolerable command of the Kay dialect of their language, in fact he speaks it so well that dressed as a Chinese he was able to accompany a party of Celestials to the town of Sambas. The Orang Kaya has been a great traveller, there is hardly a Land Dyak tribe in the Sarawak, Sambas, or Sangouw territories that he has not visited or is well acquainted with. He distinguished himself, as already mentioned, in the Chinese insurrection, and in the former inter-tribal wars of his race did good service for his tribe, and personally added many interesting relics to the village collection of smoked and dried skulls of enemies. Murung is a fussy, speculative, pushing kind of man, not without a good deal of cunning, and in many respects a thorough humbug. The former qualities have led him to join in working a parrit for gold with some Kay Chinese, of which fact he is never tired of bragging, the only ending of which can be in the transferring of any dollars or profit that may be his due into the hand of the Chinese, who are sure to swindle him. His cunning leads him to pretend to his countrymen that he can write Chinese, and the way in which he practises on their credulity in this respect is often ludicrous in the extreme. This Orang Kaya's besetting sin was love of drink. Still, with the single exception of the night in his own village, he never forgot himself, and on this occasion I fancy he was noisy and boisterous, as he

felt it imperative to show off his position before me to the assembled Dyaks. Murung never quarrelled with any one during his stay with me even when under the influence of something stronger than water, seemed welcome at every village, where all appeared to know him, was devoted in his attentions to the fair sex, and if cajoling and coaxing on the one hand and bullying on the other did not succeed in obtaining what was wanted, there was his paper and pencil ever ready to intimidate the unfortunate culprit. This chief was of great use to me during my trip, and with all his faults I like the man; he is intelligent, trusty, active and willing, and makes a good guide to any one wishing to make a tour among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak." (*ibid.* ch. iv. p. 38.)

At a Sennah village Mr. Denison had, like Mr. Wallace, some practical experience of the people's curiosity and politeness—

"The people here were so civil and obliging that I could not refuse them when they asked me to strip to the waist, and roll up my trousers to the knees, to show I was a veritable white man. This little amusement I afforded them after eating my frugal dinner on the verandah in front of the house, with the whole village community collected around me, gazing with extraordinary curiosity and most serious attention at the way in which an *orang puti* swallowed his food, and all this without the slightest rudeness, noise, or unpoliteness." (*ibid.* p. 68, App. B. to ch. vi.)

"In common with most other orientals, they are very apathetic, but decidedly the worst feature of their character is their sluggish contentment with their present low condition, and the absence of any desire among them even for the elevation and improvement of their children. In this land of falsehood and roguery, however, their unswerving honesty is a quality which always commends them to one's regard and hides a multitude of other deficiencies." (Chalmers, O.P. p. 8.) Elsewhere this able missionary states: "On the whole, few (if any) gross vices are practised among them, and, if committed, they are single acts perpetrated by individuals, and reprobated by the mass of the people. It must be confessed that their morals, both before and after marriage, are somewhat loose, though seldom depraved. They are cheerful, patient, gentle, and often remarkably forbearing of injury, and above all, exceedingly kind (as a rule) to their aged and infirm relatives, and especially loving to their children, though without the pale of the family there is little charity shown. Many among them, both of men and women, are pleasant, intelligent companions; the great body of the elders, however, are far from being so, while a few among them, both old and young, seem little removed in intelligence, desires, or enjoyments, above the level of the beasts that dwell in the jungles around. It need scarcely be added that all are most strenuously attached to their ancestral superstitions,—nor can it be wondered at, for with them are connected most of the days of rejoicing and leisure which the course of Dyak life affords; reasoning against them has little or no power over their minds, for, in the few cases where the intellect is touched by it, the affections come into the question, and turn the scale; yet I am thankful to say that there is no lack of individuals among them who are aiming and striving after higher truths and

nobler rules of life than their fathers knew ; enlightenment is what they want." (Mr. Grant's Tour, p. 129.)

Sir Spencer St. John describes the Senahs as "altogether an interesting tribe ; in manner the men are more polite ; the women are fuller of life." (i. 141.) In describing the trial of Pa Bunang, of this tribe, for the murder of his adopted father's brother, he says, Pa Bunang was "a fine handsome man, certainly the most handsome Dyak I have ever seen, tall and powerfully made with a bold open countenance ; he was very ambitious and hence his crime. When he heard the sentence he threw himself on his knees and begged in piteous terms for mercy, but finding it was useless he declared his wife and child should die with him ; he first struck at the former and then tried to strangle the little thing between his arms, and failing in that, while struggling with the police, he fixed his teeth so tightly in the child's neck that they had to be forced open with the point of a drawn sword. His wife fled, and the child was saved, but he continued to struggle, and his roars could be heard until he was secured in his cell. I never witnessed a more painful scene. A marked contrast to that of the Malay who, calm and placid to the last moment, receives his condemnation with the observation, 'It is your sentence,' and walks quietly to prison and to execution." (*ibid* i. 144.)

Sir James Brooke tells us : "In their demeanour the Sinar Dyaks are unceremonious, but respectful, and somewhat reserved, without the forwardness of the Malays. The objects of wonder to be seen in the vessel, particularly the mirrors, attracted their attention ; but they never gave way to bursts of astonishment and laughter which the lower Malays indulge in, nor do they handle every thing that comes in their way in the same manner. I conceive on the whole, indeed, that they are a race easily to be modelled and improved, and nothing would tend so quickly to this, as the absence of all prejudice of religion, food, or caste." (Mundy i. 205.)

"They ate and drank, and asked for everything, but stole nothing." (Keppel i. 147.)

When Sheriff Massahore attempted a rising on the Sadong river, Sir Chas. Brooke writes of the deluded people : "A parcel of greater idiots and lunatics could not be found. I pitied them from my heart, though these ignorant fellows are generally the most pig-headed and conceited, and nothing but rubbing their noses on the ground will bring them to subjection." (ii. 15.)

The Sedumak Dyaks : "I have now been living some years amongst Dyaks—in a Dyak village, and may be supposed to know something about them. I am sure the Dyaks are possessed of a strong intellect. Several of my people speak three or four distinct languages, some are able to read Chinese accounts ; there are some very creditable silversmiths amongst them ; they also make their own axes and knives, and very tolerable they are ; and my house is furnished with Dyak-made furniture, amongst which are some tables that would fetch a good price in England. In learning to read, &c., I find the Dyak boys both sharper and more patient and attentive than ever I found English boys. I have one old man, a grandfather, who learnt to read the written character in a few months with very little instruction." (Rev. J. Richardson, Miss. Field, 1886, p. 107.)

"One evening I was speaking to the chief of the Sintah tribe, and in their own phraseology, compared a government to a fruit tree, whereon many birds perched\* to eat. He immediately caught my simile, and continued it thus: 'That is true, but under Pangeran Makota's<sup>1</sup> government, the big birds pecked the little ones, and drove them away, and would not allow them to have food. We were little birds, and were pecked very hard. I will relate to you,' he said, 'a saying (*pantun*). "A plantain in the mouth, and a thorn in the back." What is the pleasure of eating a plantain, if you get a thorn behind? So it was with Pangeran Makota: he gave us a little, which was the plantain, and asked a great deal, which was the thorn. I want to eat no such plantains.'" (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 211.)

"Dyaks are as fond of repeating *pantuns* as they are of speaking by similes." (Grant, p. 84.)

Later on Sir James Brooke continues: "Sarawak seems to have taken the shoot upward which I had expected long ago: but confidence is of slower growth than I anticipated; and piracy has been a great drawback. I may mention, too, that the effect on the Dyaks of a freedom from oppression has been just the *reverse* of what I expected. The freedom from oppression, the reduction of taxation, the security for life and property, has made them *lazy*. I always thought that it would have made them industrious, and eager to improve their condition. This error is a common one; and probably most men in England would have fallen into it as well as myself. More of this another time; but lazy or industrious, the right principle should (and shall) be persevered in; for the right principle is based on the solid rock. If the first step is laziness, the second will be improvement, the third industry." (Keppel's Meander ii. 61.)

Sir James Brooke mentions the curious custom of vaunting among the Singe Dyaks: "The Dyaks have amongst them a fashion which they call *bunkit*, or vaunting; for instance, in the present case Steer Rajah and Parembam dared each other to go on excursions to procure heads, *i.e.*, against their enemies—this is *bunkit*. One of Steer Rajah's followers went accordingly, and quickly procured the head of a hostile warrior far out of my territory; and on the return of the party, Parembam in turn sent forty men to Simpoke, which is a tribe attached to Samarahan, and on our immediate border. Close to the Dyaks of Simpoke live a party of the Sigo Dyaks, who belong to me; and this party of Parembam's, confounding friends and enemies, killed some of the Sigo Dyaks—how many is not certain. The Sigos, taking the alarm, cut off their retreat, and killed two of the Singe Dyaks; and many besides were wounded by "*sudas*"<sup>2</sup> and "*ranjows*,"<sup>2</sup> and, all broken, fled back to their own country. Thus, though they obtained five heads, they lost two, and those belonging to their principal warriors." (Keppel i. 298.)

Sir James also says: "Singe is certainly the most intractable and wild tribe, numerous but less brave than the Sampro, to whom they have paid three times for peace. This arises in a great measure from the character of

<sup>1</sup> Makota was the minister of the upright but unfortunate Rajah Muda Hasein, and was the man who caused much trouble to Rajah Sir James Brooke; Makota bore a bad character in every way.

<sup>2</sup> See Warfare.

their chief Parimban; whose influence, during a life of sixty years, and a reign of thirty, has been most detrimental to the Dyak character." (Mundy i. 330.)

Mr. Grant on his Tour gives us some insight into the character of the Land Dyaks. He met with Pengaun, a fine old man. It was he who once came to the Rajah with a very solemn face to ask "if it was true, as the Malays had told him, that the Dyaks after death were turned into *firewood*!" (p. 10.) On one occasion he found "C. (the Rev. Mr. Chalmers) surrounded by young dyaks, who were laughing immensely at the questions put to them, which were necessary for the compilation of his newly commenced Dyak vocabulary." (p. 11.) At another place he had several *becharas* to settle, "and, these done, I harangued the old *Orang Kaya*, the *Tuahs*, and a lot of the people, in reference to the government of the tribe, their disputes with other tribes about farming land, &c.; and then the *Orang Kaya*, a fine, tall, but gentle-looking old man, spoke so beautifully, and almost poetically, that I quite fell in love with him. He commenced—'Since you have spoken, my heart has expanded to this size,' spreading out his arms on either side of him; and then he went on to speak about the Rajah (Sir J. Brooke), and the Rajah Mudah (Captain Brooke), and said how he had always trusted to them, and how poor and unhappy he and his countrymen were formerly, in comparison with their condition now. He spoke so musically, and in such slow and earnest tones, illustrating all he said by such pretty similes, that it was quite charming to listen to him." (pp. 23-24.) "Later in the evening I was amusing myself talking to some of the boys and young fellows who had collected round my writing-place, and taking a piece of paper, I made a sketch of one of the boys. After finishing it, I was not a little amused by an exhibition of most thorough conceit, which proves that this quality is not confined to civilised folks. A young man who had shortly before showed a wonderful desire to dance, and had requested my permission to do so, came up. He wore a red turban, and was got up to a nicety, with white shell armlets and other ornaments. He was really a very good-looking man, clean-limbed, and well proportioned, and his features seemed more like those of a Hindu than of a Dyak, but his every word and every look were those of the conceited puppy. 'Yes,' he said, looking at my sketch, 'it is very like—exactly. He (the boy) has ugly eyes, so they are in the picture; his nose is bad, so it is in the picture; his teeth are wretched, so they are in the picture; his hair is short and badly cut, so it is in the picture;'—which complimentary speech concluded, he turned round with a supremely self-satisfied air, like a man, in fact, who considers that he has distinguished himself. The very reverse of this man was a dear old fellow, the *Puñgāra* of the tribe. One day, at my house at Belidah, I took him to look at himself in the mirror. He had never seen so large a glass before, and stood gazing at himself for a considerable time, apparently astonished, but not knowing what to say. At last I asked him what he thought of it. Still surveying his reflected image with an expression of extreme solemnity, he shook his head and said, with slow deliberation, '*Tuah-k'rus—s'rupa anak mati*!'—which translated, means, 'Old—thin—like a son of the dead!' The poor old man had been very ill, and he was probably thinking of the effect it had had on

him as he looked at himself in the mirror. It was the first time he had been to my new house, and he showed more surprise than most Dyaks do. But what pleased and amused him most of all was the piano, which M. played to him and his companions; and when they saw the dampers of the keys jumping up and down, he fairly laughed aloud. I then brought our little B. to him. He took her wee white hand, and laid it against his rough old mahogany-coloured paw, and looked at it long and attentively. At last he said, "Oh! if we had children like that, we would never let them go to the farms, we would never let them work, we would just hug them always." (pp. 25-26.) "Their custom is, generally, to place before strangers fruits, betel-nut, and sundry platters of rice studded with eggs." (p. 35.) "Once we stopped to luxuriate in the scene. As I was sitting writing my notes, and feeling awfully sentimental, I looked round, and there was a Dyak squatting on a rock near me, with another by his side, engaged in a natural history research on his friend's head. My poetry was at an end." (p. 51.) "On one occasion a man was stunned by stone throwing but was soon better; then numerous were the assertions from the multitude, 'I didn't throw the stone,' and 'I didn't,' and so on. Of course nobody did it!" (p. 51.)

The following account of his attempt to introduce a modern election of an *Orang Kaya* is worth repetition:—

"At Sēmban we had to elect a new *Orang Kaya*, the old one being dead. I had hopes that the *Paṅgara* (*Pa-Kaung*), a pleasant, clever-looking man, with influence in the tribe, would be elected, but I was disappointed. It seemed they preferred a relative of the deceased chief, whose place had to be filled; in the present case the latter left no son, but he had a son-in-law, who received a majority of votes. The system of election I followed was new to them. Taking the names of the heads of families, and then retiring to the Head House, I called them one by one, but never had I such difficulty in eliciting answers as in this election. From a sort of fear of mentioning names, giving offence, or expressing opinions, they would say, 'Whoever you say, let him be *Orang Kaya*.' 'But,' I would answer, echoed by half-a-dozen Malay followers, one after the other, 'I want to know your opinion, the feelings and wishes of each family, and then only can I know who will be acceptable to you all.'"

Q. 'Well, who do you say?'

A. '*Tah!*' ('I don't know.')

Q. 'Listen then' (bending back a finger for each), 'would you like *Pa-Kaung*, or *Pa-Bauh*, or *Pa-Sakut*, or who?'

A. '*Tah!*'

Q. 'Will you have *Pa-Sakut*?'

A. '*Tah*, whatever he says himself.'

Q. 'Oh! if that is the case, perhaps you would wish to be *Orang Kaya* yourself?'

A. '*Apa katu Tuan saja*.' ('Whatever you like.')

Q. 'Now, make haste and give an answer, or I'll give you a Sambas Rajah, or a Chinaman for your chief—would you like that?'

No answer.

Q. 'Tell me, then, would you prefer sweet fruit or bitter fruit?'

A. 'Sweet fruit.'

Q. 'Would you go up the pinang tree and get nuts, or up the nibong tree and get nothing?'

A. 'The pinang tree.'

Q. 'Then give me the name of the sweet fruit, and tell me who you would like for your pinang tree?' &c., &c., &c.

"At length, very cautiously, the name is brought out, and I say, 'Ah! *bāik, kernaŋa tida pada bagitu dulu, sudah-lah, bulih pulang.*' ('Ah, that is well, why did you not say so before? That will do, now you can go.') Another man is called, and another provoking ten minutes ensue, but after a while the answers come more quickly; whisperings are abroad that the *Tuan* is not going to cut their throats after all. Having got as many votes as necessary, I proceed to the platform, bring myself to an anchor on the mats, and collecting the whole tribe around me, call aloud, 'Any one who does not wish this man for *Orang Kaya*, let him say so now, for afterwards he cannot.'" (pp. 52-53.) "Those Dyaks who have not had much contact with Chinese or Malays are honourable and just in their dealings one with another, and the hospitality peculiar to thinly populated countries is in vogue among them. Crime is not frequent, and I should call them comparatively a moral people, and though they possess the oriental characteristic of being able to conceal their feelings and thoughts, and being stingy of information or evasive from caution, still I think they may be considered a truthful race. It must be remembered, however, that this is merely a sketch of the Land Dyaks, who differ in many points from those called Sea Dyaks." (pp. 54, 55.)

"The people appear innocent and inoffensive, owing to their long dependence on the Malays, who, by occupying the mouths of the rivers, keep a tight hand over them: they have an humble and submissive air. One virtue they possess which I have rarely witnessed among untutored nations—that of honesty." (Capt. Bethune, Jour. R. Geogr. Soc. xvi. 1846, p. 292.)

"On the whole, I have seldom seen a more interesting race; and I think they show great capacity for improvement."\* (*ibid.*)

#### SEA DYAKS.

Among the Undups.—"I went to all the houses to pay a visit, and the people were very polite; in fact, nothing could surpass their civility as they pressed us to take food enough to last us a month, and begged me to stay among them. After sunset I again went forth to look for deer, and met many parties of Dyaks returning from cutting jungle for farming, but by the tone of merriment, and the racing about, they did not seem fatigued.

\* The Sambas Dyaks at the end of the Chinese insurrection frequently asked such questions as the following:—"If Chinamen refuse to stop when told, may we kill them?" On being told that in such a case they might simply detain them, they would ask—"But if they resist?" I would then tell them how they could legally act in such a case, but my answers were evidently unsatisfactory, for I overheard the following "private and confidential" remarks in the background:—"If we ask the *Tuan* to let us kill Chinamen (they are all supposed to be refractory) he says '*Jaŋgan*' ('Don't'). We are afraid of them, what can we do if we are not allowed to kill them?" (Grant, p. 78.)

"In the evening I was surrounded by a large assembly, who considered it a mark of respect to keep me in conversation until a late hour. Hour after hour passed, while we talked of birds, dreams, omens, and I tried to explain to them that such usages could not really foretell or determine events. However, all my arguments had little effect on them. They gave me the idea of being a very ignorant people—courageous to doggedness—and they would firmly stand by one another, but they have little confidence in any other tribe, depending on the government of white men alone for protection. They are bigoted to a degree to olden customs, but kindly withal; and on several occasions when the lads followed me they talked freely, and often surprised me by their gentle and kind inquiries, although I was a stranger among them: such as, 'Let me carry your gun; perhaps you will be tired in getting up the hill.' 'You will be loth to come and see us again, as you have had no success.' Their conversation far surpassed what a stranger would expect, if he judged solely from their appearance, which gave no impression of intelligence or amiability. They are more versatile than peasants in England, and much softer in speech and manner. . . . I sat up late one night with three Undup Dyaks who were well-known to me, and to eke out a confabulation, I plied them mildly with a few glasses of wine; this inciter warmed the springs of their hearts, and soon occasioned a flow of conversation. The three men were all related, but no three could be more entirely opposite in character. One was a lively old father of a family, who smiled joyously as he expressed himself in his true and genial speech, although he did not care for saying more than he actually wished to outpour from a light heart. He was playful and volatile. The second was deeper and graver, knew more art, expressed himself with care, and felt a self-conscious pride or conceit, which told him to make a show. This man had mixed with Malays, and had been trained into their artificial ways; he corrected the volatile individual, and dilated on the proper method of behaviour before men of rank and strangers, until a poke in the ribs from the father of a family upset his gravity, and nature recovered herself by his bursting out into a laugh at his own folly, in spite of art and education. The third was a quiet, stolid, sickly, elderly man, who drawled out some prosy and maudlin remarks about a disease then on him, and asked for medicine; he said his heart was true as steel to the Government, and so it was, for there was not a more courageous man in the river." (Brooke ii. 88 and 119.)

"Malays seldom think of making any return for your kindness—Chinese and Dyaks almost invariably do. I have known a Dyak bring out his purse and ask the cost. I told him it was freely given. He then apologised for not having brought a fowl for a present." (Crossland, Miss. Field, 1860, p. 92.)

"As a rule I meet with gratitude felt rather than expressed, for the Dyaks have no word for thank you. The Malays have, but don't feel it." (*ibid* Miss. Life, 1867, p. 66.)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> When I was living in Sakarang, I obtained two of these captives [Bugau Dyaks from Dutch territory], named Bungun and Luyau. When brought to the fort they wept, and one declared he would poison himself if he was not permitted to return; but I understood that they had been primed with what to say, and had been led to believe that they would suffer death in my hands.

"A Banting Dyak chief had once been misconducting himself in various ways, and in consequence, received a cold shoulder from most of his tribe, and lost his household; he then, making a virtue of a necessity, became a Mahomedan. A few days after his conversion took place, some of the Malays and Dyaks were sitting with me, and one Pangeron extolled loudly the act of Malong, and said, 'God Almighty has opened his heart to the truth, and received him into His safe keeping,' at which a Dyak chief exclaimed, 'We do not mind so much Malong having entered the Islamite religion, but we find fault with his having no heart at all, and leaving all his old friends, relations, wife and family, without a regret; but as he has now separated from us, we wish him well.' . . . . They are a strange and stubborn lot, and the only way to deal with them is to leave them very nearly to their own devices: after they have accused everyone of stupidity and want of forethought, except the right party (themselves), they find themselves much behindhand, and have extra hard work . . . . The Bantings, however, have their redeeming qualities; they are braver than most of the other tribes, and are truehearted, but quarrelsome and troublesome in all expeditions. I believe it principally arises from their looking on themselves as the right hand men in war proceedings; and as they have always been on friendly terms with the white men, they have escaped being attacked and burnt out." (Brooke ii. 235.) I think it is of a Banting chief that the Bishop Chambers says: "One of the reasons for his continuance in the old state was that he was ashamed to appear in church with the many and with women. This false feeling of shame is common and very strong in Dyaks, and excessively difficult to overcome. . . . On making known the purpose of my visit in one of these houses, many of them began to laugh at the idea of 'sambayang,' or worship, and evidently looked upon it as a sort of joke, a sight to be seen, similar to the performances of the 'manangs,' or doctors. Was I going to teach them to 'mangop,' recite rhymes, like the 'manangs?' Was it to be accompanied with gesticulations as in mananging? Was it like the worship

One little fellow, on being left, jumped from the top of the wall into the moat, which was full of spikes, but fortunately he received no injury, and was brought back. I had engaged to detain them for one month, at the end of which they should return to their Dyak masters if they chose. The boys soon dried their tears and took up their quarters with me; I gave them thirty slips of paper to count the days by throwing one away every morning; they behaved very well and examined all my belongings with considerable interest, saying they had never seen or heard of any such things before. The casting away of the paper lasted five consecutive mornings, when they forgot all about the time, and were happy, calling me *Apai*—Father. Their great amusement was looking at pictures; and a volume of "Punch" afforded them endless conversation. I grew to be very fond of one, Bungun, who was a particularly nice, thoughtful lad; the other was a pickle. After the first fortnight they would not hear of returning to the people who, they said, had killed so many of their relations. After living three months with me, happy and contented, Bungun's father came to fetch him. I was loth to lose the boy, who had become quite a companion: he told me when leaving, "we shall not forget you, but soon come again." Ten years after, in 1863, the same two paid me a visit, and on their entrance into my sitting-room embraced me with every sign of affection. They had grown into fine men, but were otherwise very little altered, and I immediately recognised them, as they did all the old furniture in my room, pointing directly to the picture of the *Kajah*, to the rugs they had used as beds, and to two heads cast in plaster. They spent three days with me on that occasion. I felt I possessed an influence around any place where those two lads lived, for Dyaks are not ungrateful, although generally undemonstrative. (Brooke i. 119.)

of the Mohammedans? Could women join? Was it forbidden to laugh? They were afraid they should not be able to govern themselves, for they were quite ignorant of everything connected with the subject, but were willing to learn if they could. All these questions of the junior members of the house had to be replied to, and that without shadow of rebuke for what we should deem irreverence. When all the men returned from their farms, and they had heard more of the nature of religion to whom it was directed, and for what purpose, a more serious feeling arose within them, if I judged them rightly. . . . They were, several of them, very diligent in learning, but slow to remember, from the fact, as they said, that their thoughts were quite unfamiliar with the subjects. The first elements of everything have to be taught them, and everything is at first viewed in a material light, for naturally they have no conception of any good except that which is tangible. One man asked me if he might pray to God to give him a good harvest of 'padi,' *i.e.* rice, and if sick might he pray for health; and if he was overtaken by a storm on the river, and was sinking, might he pray for deliverance; an affirmative answer seemed to assure him there was a definite object in the matter, which apparently satisfied him that it was worth considering." (Miss. Field, 1870, p. 106.)

Writing about the Undups Mr. Crossland says:

"It is rather a good thing that the harvest is not good here, as it tames the savage and sends him into the jungle to look for canes, gutta-percha, beeswax, pigs, etc. As you may imagine, they are a peculiar people to deal with; the longer you live among them and see them without their company manners, you can but wonder that so savage a people remain so quiet." (Miss. Life, 1874, p. 94.) "From what I see, I think it will be years before I shall be able to make a single Christian. The people are like babes, they have no religion of their own, no gods to worship. They pay attention to the cries of birds of good or ill omen, observe strictly the traditions of their forefathers, and have a very strict code of moral laws, which they administer with as fair justice as any one could get in England. They have only one wife, and are exceedingly attached to their children; many possess considerable skill in carving wood, making native weapons of all sorts, building houses and boats, and farming. As a rule they are temperate. One great drawback in their customs, is that a man will not be taught by a woman, nor a woman by a man. Putting aside religion, they are a people capable of great improvement. They are sensible of kindness, and requite you after their fashion. Very seldom does anyone come to ask for medicine without a gift in hand, a little rice, or a new laid egg, or a fowl." (*ibid* 1874, 538.)

From Lipat on the Sakarang river, Sir Chas. Brooke writes, "there were a few friendly Dyak houses, one of which belonged to an old man named Linghi, the oldest friend of the white man there is on the river. He had already met and embraced us with as much polish of manner and polite bearing as you would see exhibited by a Frenchman or Italian. It is a common way of salutation among the Dyaks. Old Linghi was a little wizened, smallpox-marked fellow, long past middle age, an inveterate talker, and as merry as possible on every occasion—asking a string of questions without much

meaning attached to any one of them. He was followed by two fine looking sons, who were of the same cheerful appearance as himself, though much his superior in every way. We were to start the next morning and in the evening amused ourselves by visiting Dyak houses. We were all particularly struck by their kindly bearing—loading us with presents, and very desirous of making themselves agreeable." (i. 110.) Of his men at Fort Sakarang the Rajah says, "there is no doubt the Dyaks would become unequalled soldiers for their climes—quick of comprehension as they are, in muscle wiry to a degree, and capable of endurance under any difficulties. They would, when properly drilled and disciplined, make a most valuable military force. But there are difficulties, and the greatest is that they are by nature exceedingly stubborn, perverse, and sulky. Such qualities demand extra care and kindness, though the temper would be of extra value when moulded into shape, with its rough edges filed down." (*ibid* i. 367.)

When Sir Charles Brooke was first appointed to Fort Sakarang he wished to send certain instructions to the chiefs, and this is how a Dyak named Sadom learned his instructions: "One Dyak, who was a proved friend, came to me to receive instructions, and I fully expected it would have taken three or four days before he could learn all the particulars by heart, as they have no means of distinguishing marks or letters. I commenced the lesson, with my imperfect knowledge of the Dyak language, and was surprised how wonderfully acute his mind was, and how strong his memory. He brought a few dry leaves, which he tore into pieces; these I exchanged for paper, which served better. He arranged each piece separately on a table, and used his fingers in counting as well, until he reached ten, when he lifted his foot on the table, and took each toe to accord with each bit of paper answering to the name of a village, name of chief, number of followers, and amount of fine; after having finished with his toes he returned to his fingers again, and when my list was completed, I counted forty-five bits of paper arranged on the table; he then asked me to repeat them once more, which I did, when he went over the pieces, his fingers, and toes as before. 'Now,' he said, 'this is our kind of letter; you white men read differently to us.' Late in the evening he repeated them all correctly, placing his finger on each paper, and then said, 'Now, if I recollect them to-morrow morning it will be all right, so leave these papers on the table'; after which he mixed them all in a heap. The first thing in the morning he and I were at the table, and he proceeded to arrange the papers as on the evening before, and repeated the particulars with complete accuracy; and for nearly a month after, in going round the villages, far in the interior, he never forgot the different amounts, &c." (Brooke i. 139.)

The Venerable Archdeacon Perham met with the same method, but in his case the Dyak lacked memory, although the man seems to have had at any rate perseverance: "He is slow in remembering, but wonderfully patient and persevering. He tried to help his memory by what is called *Klakar*. A great quantity of small bits of wood or other material are spread upon a mat in rows, each row standing for a line, and each bit a word. It is not a very ingenious contrivance, and after a while I was fairly worn out, and obliged to

retire for a nap, leaving him still going on with his 'Klakar' and repetitions." (Gospel Miss. Sept. 1872, p. 134.)

On a Kayan expedition: "The first man to speak after I had finished was Balang of Katibus, who was an ugly little broad man, with the jowl of a hog. He had sparkling eyes, and was dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. The Kayans had burnt his house, and taken all his property. He spoke exceedingly well, and I wished from my heart my speech could have been so telling. He said—'I have no wish to return if the force is not successful, and am prepared to stake everything on this attack. The enemy has deprived me of all my property already, and many of my relations and people have been killed; they may now cook my head, if I can't get theirs.' He added, 'The chiefs, as the Tuan says, should be responsible for their people; and I recommend others to follow my example, and beat their followers if they refuse to obey orders.'" (Brooke ii. 255.)

"Like other tribes in the same state of civilization, the Sea Dyaks are fond of oratory; and while the elders are discoursing or delivering long speeches, the young lads look gravely on, never indulging in a laugh, which would be regarded as a serious offence." (St. John i. 49.)

"The Sakarang Dyaks have a great admiration for a man who talks fluently and well; and it is common with them to comment critically on these points. For instance, they would say, 'He can't talk—he knows nothing!' 'He is clever in speech: we are fond of hearing him.' Some of their best orators are copious in drawing comparisons, and making compliments as flowery as some of the speeches in the 'Arabian Nights.' Thus—'The heart is as large as the highest mountain, and as brave as the beasts that live thereon; your eyes only to be compared to the sparkling rays of the sun; your thoughts equal to the purity of the stream passing over gravelly beds; and your wisdom is like the fertility of the richest soil.' However, these preludes to speech are being rapidly curtailed; and in court, if an old chief begins with the flowery oratory on which he prides himself so much, people (particularly myself) ask him to be kind enough to favour his audience with the fruit without the flowers, or the contents without the shells, or words from the heart in preference to those from the mouth only; even then, it is sufficiently difficult to understand and follow the thread of many old cases whose history runs through all sorts of tortuous branches on every side for generations. (Brooke, i. 368.) My first Dyak case in the Sakarang country was brought by a band, who complained of having had the whole of their goods seized from their rooms while they were absent at their farms; and on making inquiry, I found this abstraction had taken place because a pig had been stolen by the complainants' father forty years before. The palaver among themselves took place in a Chinese house, and the arguments for and against lasted five days, the discussion being frequently carried on till day-break. The case, still not being settled, was brought to me for final arrangement." (*ibid* i. 137.)

Another dispute is related by Sir Chas. Brooke as follows:

"An attack, only a few miles above the Sakarang fort, took place between one village and another, in which one Dyak was shot. It happened thus:

the upper party had planted Sirih creepers around their house, and had placed sharp bamboos near them for the purpose of wounding the feet of any enemies or thieves. A few men living lower down, while passing, plucked some of the leaves, at the same time spiking themselves very severely. In consequence of the pain, they drew their swords, hacked the wood of the house, and injured the plants. The day after, the higher party came down and retaliated, by hacking at the lower party's boats at the landing-place. The morning after, Si Jannah, the chief of those down the river, collected his followers, armed, and made a deliberate attack on the upper party's house, notwithstanding that they were near relations; he shot the chief himself, and besides this death many of both parties were wounded. (i. 145.) Another party of Dyaks said they had quarrelled about farming land with some Sakarang Dyaks, who wished to kill them. I informed this party that whoever was guilty of killing would be fined twelve jars (about £140). Another suitor advanced a complaint against a certain man at Lingga, whom he suspected of having stolen his property about four years ago, when his slave was killed and his house burnt. In examining this fellow, he said he thought it was this man, because he had been told so by a Hadji, who had some mysterious way of finding out thieves. This case was dismissed by my telling the man that thoughts were of little use without witnesses, and if he found the latter I should be glad to assist him. Another man's adopted mother died ten years ago, and he wished the property to be fairly divided, as the deceased's husband kept it all to himself, whereupon a squabble of words ensued. The case was to be settled the first opportunity by a commission of native chiefs, who would decide according to established custom. A case of debt which arose twenty-five years ago, was summarily dismissed." (*ibid.* ii., iii.)

When mounting the head-waters of the Batang Lupar, His Highness' party arrived at a Dyak house below Buhi. "We took up our quarters ashore, and when dinner was over some of them began with endless old cases, all of which I had heard often before. I nearly despaired of bringing about a settlement. Most of them refer to people having been killed between one river and another." (*ibid.* ii. 166.) Again on his return from Europe the Rajah's Sakarang friends "enumerated their various tales of the weal or woe that had occurred during my absence. One old man, with a few patriarchal stray hairs on his chin, complained that his daughter had run off with a slave, and the latter was about to be fined. After the last case, which had taken place in the time of an old man's grandfather, I fairly got tired, and sat quiet, telling them my mouth was quiet, but ears wide open. Shortly after sounds died away, and I slept; but on awakening at daylight, the same party were sitting in the same positions, still talking." (*ibid.* ii. 221.) "My principal Orang Kaya had lost his wife, and was now in great distress; lounging about, badly clothed, without head-dress or jacket, he looked the picture of misery. He sadly wanted a *head* and proposed a shamefully treacherous scheme for getting one from the up-river Dyaks, which I let him understand very freely would not do on any account, and told him, as a chief and an old man, he should set a better example. He was labouring

under this monomania for weeks, but I did not give him entirely the cold shoulder, as I found a little gentle sympathy and coaxing was the best means of keeping him quiet. After two months he gave up the thought as a bad job, and then took unto himself a young wife of low rank, and in so doing gave great offence to all his old family, who would not receive the new acquisition in the same house. Besides this, he had married before feasting the spirits raised by his late wife's death; and the other chiefs held a council for the purpose of fining him. He told them, 'You may do what you will; if I have behaved wrong, I am ready to pay a fine according to custom; but I am now the same as a Malay, for I wear breeches.' By a parity of reasoning, a Lingga Dyak Christian once told me his wife was all prepared to become a convert to Christianity, because Mrs. — had given her a gown." (*ibid.* i. 201.)

When leaving Sakarang Sir Charles winds up: "The magnet which draws one home, after all, is one's fond relations. I had often been questioned about them by Dyaks; and on one occasion, when repeating my mother's name, an old Dyak observed, 'Then do you still bear her in remembrance?' At another time when making some observation to a sister who visited me in my Dyak home, a Dyak inquired 'Whether I understood her language?'" (*ibid.* ii. 209.)

"Among the Sakarangs many were fine-looking men of independent bearing and intelligent features (St. John i. 25). The Sakarang girls are generally thought to be lively in conversation and quick in repartee." (*ibid.* i. 29.) These Sea Dayaks are a very improvable people. . . . A Sakarang chief noticed a path that was cut and properly ditched near the fort, and found that in all weathers it was dry, so he instantly made a similar path from the landing place on the river to his house, and I was surprised on entering it to see coloured representations of horses, knights in full armour, and ships drawn vigorously, but very inartistically, on the plank walls. I found, on enquiry, he had been given some copies of the *Illustrated London News*, and had endeavoured to imitate the engravings. He used charcoal, lime, red ochre, and yellow earth as his materials." (*ibid.* i. 29.)

The following amusing incidents are related by the Rev. Mr. Crossland:

"I had given all my buttons away save five couples, which I put away for some friends living up the country, when a Sakarang girl came and asked for a pair. I said, 'I have no more to spare.' 'Yes, you have, only you won't give to me; you have given to all the women in our house except me, and when we have a feast I only shall not be able to say, 'Tuan' gave me my earrings.'" 'Well,' I said, 'I have no more to give.' 'Bula,' she replied, which means in plain English 'false,' or a 'lie.' 'You have, and I shall sit here till you give me some.' 'Sit on,' was my answer, 'and when you are hungry I'll give you some rice to eat.' 'I am ashamed to go home without a pair,' she said. 'I can't help it,' I answered; 'be a good girl, and when I get some more things from Europe I'll not forget you.' The needles and thread were soon begged.

"One night after my lads had finished writing they sat on waiting for something. I asked why they did not go home. 'We are not coming to

write any more.' 'Why?' 'You give everything to the girls and nothing to us—we wear jackets, and should like some buttons; but those girls get all. Never mind, when you want any one to paddle to Si Munggang, you may ask the girls. When you want the grass cutting, ask the girls; they can paddle, they can make roads, they can cut babbas. The girls are clever, they can do everything.' I sat a long time laughing and let them go on talking, and then I asked quietly, 'Do the girls come up here to eat? Do the girls get kerchiefs for their heads? You young monkeys, if you don't stop your nonsense, I'll get my scourge and flog you.' Off they scampered, but soon came back." (Miss. Life 1864, pp. 651-652.) Mr. Crossland also records the following: "The scene presented by two boys who had had the small-pox and not seen each other for a month, when they met in my house, was most amusing. One of them had been in the house some time, and on seeing the other coming up, I saw him covering his face. The new comer was equally shy. At last they seemed to summon up courage, and after many side looks they faced round, and burst out laughing. 'Oh,' said the elder, 'we are alike marked.' 'Yes,' replied the younger, 'it cannot be helped.'" (Gosp. Miss. Nov. 1871, p. 163.)

While waiting on one of the expeditions against the chief Rentap, a fine handsome young Dyak (? Saribus) approached the Rajah, "clad in his chawat and a long flowing garment, with ornamented head-dress, and his long sword dangling by his side. This I knew immediately to be Loyioh, our enemy of yesterday, and friend of to-day. He looked anything but like a conquered man; nevertheless his manner was respectful and upright. He carried himself as a warrior chief of the feudal period, standing as straight as a lath, and spoke as if he were receiving a friend or visitor at the threshold of his father's domains. We talked for some short time, and I thanked heaven I was able to confront him with as active and unfatigued an exterior as himself, although I must confess not so picturesque a one. We then shook hands in brotherly affection, and he glided away, promising to come and assist in getting the gun up. He embraced three or four Malays on the path, in recollection of boyish days spent together in hunting, deer-snaring, and farming. Loyioh is not, however, a brave man, although a showy one. His 'cart-horse' brother, Nanang, possesses a braver and truer disposition, which has been corrupted by others. But now we trust to him alone to bring about a friendship between us and them." (Brooke ii. 145.)

The manners of the men (Sibuyaus) "are somewhat reserved, but frank; whilst the women appeared more cheerful, and more inclined to laugh and joke at our peculiarities. Although the first Europeans they had ever seen, we were by no means annoyed by their curiosity; and their honesty is to be praised; for, though opportunities were not wanting, they never on any occasion attempted to pilfer any thing." (Sir Jas. Brooke: Keppel i. 57.)

On a hunting excursion not far from the Lingga Sir Chas. Brooke "was surprised to find what little notice the inmates took of our colour and appearance. It was the first time they had ever seen a white man, yet they were not shy nor obtrusive, behaving with an easy manner of politeness, offering us food and the few refreshments they possessed." (i. 95.)

Mrs. Chambers writes: "Most of them had never seen an European woman, and you will readily imagine I was an object of great curiosity to them; my dress, manner of wearing my hair, etc., were all commented on, yet without the least rudeness." (Gosp. Miss., 1st April, 1858, p. 52.)

Captain Mundy says: "The young women who were diligently employed in pounding rice in mortars of large dimensions, appeared highly good-humoured, and of pleasant countenances." (ii. 115.)

The Rev. W. Gomez was sent to endeavour to convert the Sibuyaus. "At first, he did not press religious instruction upon them, but opened a school. I mention this circumstance on account of the very remarkable tact he must have exercised to induce the children to attend as they did. His system of punishment was admirable, but difficult to be followed with English boys. He merely refused to hear the offending child's lesson, and told him to go home. A friend, who often watched the progress of the school, has told me that instead of going home the little fellows would sob and cry and remain in a quiet part of the school till they thought Mr. Gomez had relented. They would rarely return to their parents, if it could be avoided, before their lessons were said." (St. John i. 11.)

"The lads, too, have a spirit more akin to English youths than I have yet seen among the other tribes. I well remember the delight with which they learnt the games we taught them—joining in prisoner's base with readiness, hauling at the rope, and shouting with laughter at French and English, represented by the names of two Dyak tribes. There is good material to work on here, and it could not be in better hands than those of their present missionary, Mr. Chambers. That his teaching has made any marked difference in their conduct I do not suppose, but he has influenced them, and his influence is yearly increasing. It is pleasing to record a little success here, at the Quop, and at Lunda, or we should have to pronounce the Borneo mission a complete failure." (St. John i. 21.)

"In disposition, the [Balau] Dyaks are mild and gentle; they are quiet and docile when well treated, but proud and apt to take offence if they think themselves slighted. They are industrious, frugal, and accumulative, and, were they not so poor, might even be reckoned stingy; but as each knows that, if from the failure of his crop, or from any other unavoidable cause, he should fall into debt, it will accumulate so rapidly, from the high rate of interest, that he will probably never get free from it, the carefulness and frugality which they display cannot be regarded as otherwise than legitimate. At the same time, they are hospitable to the extent of their means, and consider themselves bound to place before a visitor the best they can afford. They have a strong perception of the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*, and scarcely ever violate it either among themselves or towards Europeans. They never attempt such thefts and robberies as the South Sea islanders were in the habit of committing upon the early navigators; for their great self-esteem, their high sense of personal and family dignity, and the intense keenness with which they feel anything like degradation, would alone prevent their doing anything to which infamy was attached. As they are thus honest, so are they to a great extent truthful, though to this general character there are, of course, exceptions.

When young, the Dyaks are acute and apt to learn, but as they grow older their intellect seems to become deadened and incapable of rising beyond familiar subjects." (Horsburgh, p. 11.) "They present so many good features of character that their improvement might be rapidly calculated upon." (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 238.)

On returning to Lingga, "we raced with a boat pulled by lusty Dyak females, who had been gathering oysters from the rocks at the mouth; they fairly beat us in speed, and it was amusing to watch their gravity of countenance while using the paddle and sitting upright as statues,

' She with her paddling oar and dancing prow,  
Shot through the surf like a reindeer through the snow.'

After we reached the landing place, I presented them with some tobacco, then they broke out into laughter, quizzing my crew for allowing themselves to be beaten by women. These wenches were better looking than most of the herd." (Brooke i. 101.)

His Highness was once asked, "Tuan, what makes the noses of the white men so large and straight? Do your nurses pull them out every morning when you are young? or is it natural?" Being somewhat nonplussed for a reply, I answered, "*Sigi Berkenia*" (naturally so, or only so); and he added, "Ours are always so soft and small, and do what I will to mine I can't make it improve." (*ibid* i. 203.) "A party of Dyak ladies visited us some days ago, and after sitting a while, the young married one of the party, named Dundun, said she had climbed the hill purposely to ask if we were clever at *touching*, or *bergamah*, as her aunt was sick and had been afflicted for years; all their doctors had failed to cure her. This girl was tossing and fondling an infant quite in civilised fashion. Another girl of darker hue and jet black eyes, with rather a wicked expression, informed us she was glad to make our acquaintance, as now she would ask for tobacco and beads whenever she felt inclined. They don't consider such remarks as begging." (*ibid* i. 206.)

When Sir Chas. was once supposed to be in danger these Dyaks came up in force to aid him, and he says: "Their hearts were as true as steel." (*ibid* ii. 15.) Being once startled by a land guano (*sic*) jumping up at his feet he tells us: "The youth who followed me, though generally a plucky fellow, ran off, and said afterwards, 'There was such a tingling in my feet, that I could not keep them from running away.'" (*ibid* ii. 74.) . . . A Dyak, or even Malay, often tells anyone who tries abruptly to thwart their habits, "You do not know us; we are different to you; what is good for us is bad to others." (*ibid* ii. 75.)

"I must name an amusing occurrence which took place in the Rejang river, and is an instance of the dry humour to be found among the Dyaks. A short while ago, a celebrated Menang, or soothsayer, assembled a large concourse of the chiefs of the tribes, at his house, for the purpose of renewing the names of all his children, who, he declared in the presence of these elders, were not properly his own, but were begotten by certain spirits. He begged the assembled chiefs to appeal to his wife to confirm his statement. For this reason he desired to call his children by the names of each of these

Antus, according to the regular order. One of the chiefs of the assembly, who possessed much subdued humour, and did not quite see the fun of having come so many miles at this old Menang's bidding, merely to listen to a foolish false story about his family and the Antus, pretended, in the midst of the discourse, to faint away, and fell back gasping for breath, kicking his legs spasmodically in the air at the same time. The surrounding party were aghast at this untoward event, and immediately dispersed, leaving the Menang to convey the fainting individual to his boat, and, according to custom, he had to pay six fowls as a punishment for permitting the Antus to cause a man to faint under his roof. The chief who performed this act, for the sake of getting home quickly, with some fowls into the bargain, is named Onggat, and has often been quizzed about it; but he was a brave man, and he must have been a bold innovator to treat a solemn Dyak ceremony with contempt." (*ibid* ii. 204.)

During the Kayan expedition of 1863, Sir Chas. Brooke writes of one of his Sea Dyaks: "One man in our crew was a character. He could mimic, or talk and sing for any length of time, and must have been gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory, for he recounted adventure after adventure of the many expeditions, bringing in the different names of persons and places, and what the former said and did. He managed to introduce the names in rhyme in a most absurd manner. This amusement he kept up for five hours, keeping the boat's crew awake, and pulling hard himself all the time." (*ibid* ii. 241.)

Mr. De Windt gives a specimen of Kanowit wit in the following:—"The shouts of laughter proceeding from their corner of the house announced that business was over, and that chaff and fun, so dear to the heart of every Kanowit, was being carried on with great gusto. As we arrived and stood by the group, one of their number (evidently a privileged buffoon) begged to be allowed to speak to the Resident. 'You remember that gun, Resident,' said he, 'you gave me?' (This was an old muzzle-loader for which Mr. H. had had no further use.) 'Oh, yes,' was the reply, 'what luck have you had with it?' 'Oh, wonderful,' said the Kanowit, 'I killed fourteen deer with one bullet out of that gun!' 'What!' rejoined Mr. H., 'fourteen deer with one bullet!—but that is impossible!' 'Oh, no,' replied our friend, 'for I cut the bullet out each time!' Roars of laughter greeted this sally." (p. 74.) His second story is in any case *ben trovato*: "An amusing anecdote is told of an old Dyak living in the house we were moored off that dismal night. This old man (of some 60 years) became enamoured, while on a visit to Kuching, of an English lady's-maid residing there; so much so, that he repeatedly urged her to marry and accompany him to his jungle home. This offer was declined with thanks; but on the morning of the day of the departure of this merry old gentleman for his country residence, the lady missed her chignon, which she had placed on her dressing-table the night before on retiring to rest. Not being possessed of so much hair as she might have been, this was no inconsiderable loss. Six months later, when the event was nearly forgotten, an officer up the Simunjan, noticing what looked like a scalp on our old friend's girdle, and knowing that the Dyaks never take them,

examined the object more closely; and having heard the story of its abstraction from the lady's apartment by the elderly lover, took it from him and returned with it in triumph to Kuching! Such true love was worthy of a better cause, for the lady was considerably more annoyed than flattered by the incident, chignons not being an article kept in stock by the native *coiffeurs* of Kuching." (p. 111.)

On the Upper Batang Lupar once when Sir Chas. was very tired he induced one of his followers to carry the Dyaks off to a little distance, where the follower, assisted by one or two others, "continued to amuse them till past midnight. He discoursed on steam vessels, and carriages, underground tunnels, big guns, electric telegraphs, and sundry other latter-day discoveries, which brought forth roars of laughter, as he interspersed his small amount of truth with the most far-fetched and imaginative episodes, to make it suitable to the capacities of the Dyaks, who love the mysterious charms of spirits, and would be grieved to think that all below the sun acted steadily and regularly according to fixed laws. They swallow miraculous events with the utmost avidity." (ii. 175.)

The Dyaks are a sociable and amiable community, with strong mutual attachments. (*ibid* i. 57.) "No greater proof of their peaceful domestic and social habits could be desired than the fact that from five to fifty families, according to the size of the long-house, can live under one roof without coming to blows. . . . Among the Dyaks I never saw or heard anything like high words, much less a regular quarrel, between either children or adults. The people with whom I lived at Padang Lake and on the Sibuyau were always light-hearted, and generally even merry. It was truly refreshing to see people so universally happy and contented." (Hornaday, 466.) "If any are sick or unable to work, the rest help; and there seems to me a much stronger bond of union amongst them than I have ever seen among the labouring classes in England." (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1867, p. 162.)

"Quarrels are very rare among the Dayaks, and this is remarkable as so many live under one roof. Women do sometimes disagree, and then abuse one another in the choicest Billingsgate. At last one will completely lose control of herself, and she will rush out on to *her own* open air platform, upon which the rice, &c., is dried, and catching up the loose flooring of bamboos or other light wood, she will throw it all down to the ground beneath (eight to twelve feet below). She is then satisfied, and will retire to her room where, after much complaint and many tears, she will at last quiet down. After the heat of her anger has passed away she has to go out, pick up all the flooring again, and put it back in its place." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"I believe there are many good and even fascinating qualities in Dyak women. They are not at all wanting in sharpness of intellect, good common sense, firmness of purpose, and constancy when they have once settled down.

"In many cases they are more adept politicians than their husbands, and their advice is often followed in serious business. Likewise their assistance and good opinion go a long way to establish a successful result in any negotiation. Their general conversation is not wanting in wit, and con-

siderable acuteness of perception is evinced, but often accompanied by improper and indecent language, of which they are unaware when giving utterance to it. Their acts, however, fortunately evince more regard for modesty than their words." (Brooke, i. 70.)

"Strangers are generally very welcome; and it would be an annoying idea to enter into their heads that they were considered either mean or inhospitable. So the wayfarer is presented on his arrival with the best food in the house. Occasionally it is not very welcome to a European, as it too often consists of fish that emits a very high scent, or eggs of a very ancient date; but there is generally some fruit, or a little clean boiled rice. I was once presented with some preserved durian fruit, which stank so fearfully as to drive my friends completely out of the house. But the greatest luxury that can be presented to a native is always forthcoming, and that is the box of areca nuts, and the other chewing condiments." (St. John i. 49.)

"One night (writes Mr. Crossland) I was away from my house, and it was robbed of money and other things. The man who was suspected came the next day to the Dyak long house. All the men sat quietly near, pretending to be chatting. One man praised his short sword, and asked to look at it, and then passed it on to other men, so that the poor fellow was at their mercy. They sent for me to go up, and asked quietly if they should fine him. I whispered, 'No, I have no proof against him.' If I had said 'yes,' they would have tied him up, and I should have had work to keep their weapons from him. The man left this part of the country in two days, and went to his own tribe. The news followed him from house to house, the people always giving him notice to quit, as they fear bad luck will follow them if they harbour a thief. Two days ago he came by night to a neighbouring house, but ran away again, having had bad dreams. Now, poor fellow, he lives in a hut on his farm, with his wife, no one caring to have anything to do with him." (Miss. Life, 1864, 654.)

"Two cases, I am acquainted with, where thefts had been committed. Curses were pronounced, and in one case with the result of bringing back the stolen property, and discovery of the thief; in the other with the result of discovering the thief, though the property was not demanded back. The Dayaks are very much in fear of curses. A Dayak curse is a solemn invocation of death and calamity upon the head of the offending party. '*Mati salai mati ringkai.*' 'May you die and be smoked, may you die and be hung in the wicker basket'; *i.e.* May your enemy take your head and dry it over the smoke, and enclose it in a wicker basket as a trophy. There are a number of similar curses. There is a well authenticated case of a missionary many years ago being surprised after entering the river for his bath by a couple of Dayaks out on the war path. They were hidden by the bushes, awaiting his return to the bank, when he caught sight of them; in self-protection he cursed them as above, and they were so stricken with fear that they turned and fled. (Rev. F. W. Leggatt.)

## KAYANS.

"The Kayans are, in some ways, an enquiring and exact people, and evidently prefer peace and comfort to warfare and strife. In this respect they differ from the Dyaks, nor are they as industrious or clever as the Dyaks." (S. G. No. 245, p. 90.) Comparing the Kayans with the Dyaks the Rajah finds the latter, however, "without doubt are the finer looking people and superior in most respects, being braver, more truthful, less treacherous, and more warlike." (Brooke ii. 225.) Of two captive Kayan boys who joined him one "was a little fellow of nine years old, and the son of a chief; the other, a cousin, but a coarse-looking chap. We all became attached to the former, who was as proud as Lucifer, and on someone wishing to cut off his wild flowing mane, he raved all day. He methodically kept to his custom of unkempt hair, and the middle ribbon in the place of trousers. When in the gunboat, a man questioned him about a sister, who had also been taken captive. After hearing her name, he wept the whole day, refusing to receive any consolation. It indicated much tender feeling in the lad, and one cannot but be struck at the little fellow's thoughtful appearance, and upright and independent bearing." (ii. 305.) Sir James says of them: "Their manners are quiet, staid, and not in the slightest degree importunate or intrusive, and their character certainly more energetic than any other class of the aborigines." (Mundy i. 262.) Of some Kayans on the Baram river Sir Spencer St. John relates: "I may mention that these men have become so very conceited that they consider themselves superior to all except ourselves; and, in their pride, they have actually commenced killing the swallow, that constitutes their wealth, saying it becomes a great chief to feed on the most valuable things he possesses, regardless of the ultimate consequences." (i. 118.)

"The Kyans are said to be in the highest degree hospitable, and confiding in the honour of strangers who may have intercourse with them: they are like the Hill Dyaks, of the most scrupulous integrity, so that the Malayan trader never fears to leave his cargo in their hands, being sure that the full amount for which he has sold it will be forthcoming at the time stipulated. . .

"On reaching the Kyan village from the sea, the Malay trader first makes known his arrival to the chief, who appoints him a house to reside in. During his stay he is at liberty to help himself to anything he may see which is outside the doors of the houses: such as fowls, fruit, &c.; but to take anything from the inside would be considered a robbery. The Kyan expects, on going to other villages, the same privileges; so that when they visit Serekei, which they never do in small numbers, but only in large fleets, attending their Rajahs, the inhabitants are glad to see them gone again, as their helping themselves is troublesome. They go to the trading-boats in the river, and take cocoa-nuts, and other things; but only such as they require for immediate use. On a recent occasion, being invited by the Patingi of Serekei to assist him, they had nearly come to blows about this custom with the traders at that time in the town, as they insisted upon being done to as they did to the Serekei traders who came to them, and they were too resolute and numerous to be refused." (Low, p. 336.)

In August, 1875, H.H. the Rajah was at Balleh, and there flocked to him all the Dyaks and Kayans who had grievances. The account is so characteristic of the life of the people that its reproduction will not be out of place here.

NOTES OF THE DAILY PROCEEDINGS OF H.H. THE RAJAH  
WHILE AT BALLEH.

Kanowit.—Niuan asks permission to farm in Lasih in Kanowit with Andam, but he does not wish to give up his old place Peninlau. Sampurai recommends his going there. Niuan has permission to go there; he is tax-collector as far as Lasih. Usit asks permission to move up to Niuan. He is told that if he goes he must be responsible in having mixed up with the Ulu Ayers, who are unsettled.

July 4th.—The fine paid by the Poé Dyaks amounting to about 30 pikuls taken to Balleh fort. This is paid by the Poés of their own free will. The Government do not engage any settlement of this case, nor has it demanded the fine, but *hope* to settle the case amicably with the Kayans.

Balleh, July 5th.—Met Uniat, the chief of the Kayans, who lost his two children killed by Poés—in all fourteen children and women—besides this, the offenders stole five heads of chiefs from the graves, and took many things belonging to them. These murders were committed after they had been living for some days in Uniat's house—had been fed by him and his people—and the murders took place when the men had gone out of their house to their daily occupations in the jungle. Uniat says he has no desire to receive a fine, and asks for retaliation, but will obey the Government in whatever he is ordered to do.

6th.—A letter is sent to Abang Bonsu to order Orang Kaya Janua and the other Tuahs of Poé, to deliver up the people who murdered the Kayans, that five days are given to make their appearance in the Sibu fort, failing this Poé will be attacked. Uniat is acquainted with this decision. Letter sent to Mr. Houghton to be ready to receive these people in *strict confinement*. Met Tuahs who came of their own accord; Grinang, Jitti, Jarau, Kanniau, and several others; after talking for some time, they were told that things had become very confused up this river, that after the first attack on Tamans made by Jitti, they were not justified in attacking people in the Kapuas who were not enemies and who had never molested them. They were told that they had taken the law into their own hands, and that now it was difficult to say where matters would end, as they had brought a hornet's nest of tens of thousands against them. The Rajah said he should take his course in proceeding with them and then asked them what they had to say; Grinang was the first to speak, he said he had headed a party against the Tamans who had over and over again followed the Ukits in attacking him and he enumerated 13 names of his people who had been killed or taken prisoners by them. One, his own sister or brother (Miniaddeh), for whom he had paid five jars to get back; that he had never before retaliated owing to the restriction of Government, that the Ukits were always the leaders of the Tamans, and the

latter had made attacks on them with impunity, so long as they were stopped from going on the war-path. The Tamans purchased the captives from the Ukits; that they do not justify the attack made on the Mamulohs by Ranggau, and allow he "mungkeled" was the aggressor. They all say they will be glad now to make peace with the Tamans, and whoever breaks the peace in a future day should pay any fine imposed at the peace-making ceremony. The meeting ended by the assurance of them that they never wished to live far from traders and always should protect them as much as possible, but that they could not stand being killed with impunity without making some return.

Kanniau spoke of the murder of six of their people in the Barram by the Tinjirs, and now two years and more had passed, and that they wanted to make an attack on Tamalong's party, whose agents had since attempted to take the life of another man in Sapieng, in the Sarawak territory, and that Tamalong was frequently in the habit of sending messages to the Kayans of this side to try and dissuade them paying revenue to Sarawak Government; that *he* was independent both of Sarawak and Brunei.

7th.—Apai Bansa and one or two others say that Kling and Ego have made an attack on a Bakatan house in Palin, a tributary of Kapuas below Suai. The house has five doors, and its inhabitants killed two of Ego's people when living in Katibas last year. They were killed when fishing. Ego's people turned out and followed their tracks to their house in Palin. These Bakatans used to live in Katibas, but removed to Palin many years ago. They are living near the Malohs, many of whom (some forty or fifty) are living in this river, and who say that if their people in Palin "penguang" assist the Bakatans they deserve to be killed or attacked.

Apai Bansa says at the time of the *balla* against the Kayans, Lesom, with a party of Punans living at the head of the Rejang above all the Kapuas, killed seven of his people in Balleh river. Since then Lesom has been fined six pikuls for committing this onslaught, and has paid three. Apai Bansa asks for the remaining three, or to be allowed to make an attack on him. Apai Bansa is told that the remainder of the fine shall be demanded to be paid in full.

Mandang says that Trong, one of his following, was killed in a row by Biat some years ago (ten or more); that a short time since the case was opened among themselves, when Biat denied having killed Trong, and both parties determined to dive, and the losers were to pay a *tajau Remang* (allas) and a *chanang*. Biat's party lost, and he now refuses to pay. Gargasih, Unjup, and others who were of Biat's party, allow that he lost and should pay.

10th.—The Kayans were strongly recommended not to make an attack on the Poés, as the inhabitants in that river have either run away or removed to a great distance inland. Jok and Ukat were sent up with Uniat to recommend the Kayan Tuahs to take this advice, but if they were determined to make a demonstration against Poé, it was to come off as soon as possible, and that the *balla* was to pass on and not to stop at the fort, and return as soon as possible.

Dian (Kayan) says a Dyak named Galau, living near Kapit, was staying in his house up the river. They were in friendship according to custom, when Dian and his father gave him a boat, a parang ilang, &c., as price of a tatawak, or an interchange of presents. After this, he, Galau, came into his room at night and stole a gold peding valued at seven pikuls or more. Galau left his house, and the murders took place in Uniat's house.

10th.—The Kayan Chief, Batu, arrived in a war-boat, and during an interview this morning, says he is disinclined for the force of Kayans to go against the Poés, who he hears have all run away. He does not wish to receive the fine, which he hopes the Government will keep; nor does he wish to make peace with the Poé Dyaks or with any one who harbours them, but on a future day, when the Tuahs are able to meet, some other arrangement can be made. That he does not wish his people to kill any but those who are their enemies, and that he shall always support and obey the Government to his utmost. This is the settlement of the Dyak, Poé, and Kayan case for the present.

11th.—Uniat this morning attempts to alter the decision of yesterday in saying he wishes to take advantage of the Kayan balla being prepared for making an attack on Poé. He is told that if the balla attempts to pass the fort it will be fired into, and on its way back. The decision of yesterday will hold good, and Uniat engages to accompany the Rajah to Kuching.

14th.—The Dyak Tuahs, Grinang, Jitti, Kanniau, Lang, Bubau, and others came and were told that whoever went on an expedition after this without the sanction of the Government would be considered an enemy. Ranggau was declared an enemy, and whoever received him would be fined a jar; this to hold good throughout the country. That the murderers of the Kayans will also be considered enemies, and on the return of Ego, Kling, and Onggat's expedition that they may despatch messages of peace to the Tamans and others in Kapuas waters, and that should Ongatt's, Kling's, and Ego's expedition have killed any others except those who killed them, that they will be fined and the heads delivered up.

In consideration of Grinang's people having suffered so much from the enemy he attacked, the one captive shall be given back and one kept, to be returned to his connection in case of peace-making on a future day.

The Tuahs ask about the Peng Kayans, who live two days from Balleh river, and are in the habit of trading in this river.

Ingan states, about fifteen years ago, his father, Ribut, and fifteen of his anak buah in two boats were killed at the mouth of the Poé river; the Peng Kayans were in six boats, and came down the river to make an attack on the lower part of the population. They met the two boats' crew and killed them all. Ingan and the Tuahs say they would be glad to make peace, but they, in consequence of these murders, make a demand on the Pengs. They have traded at different times since, and have always said they will pay a fine to make peace.

The Peng Kayans live in a tributary of the Kapuas river. (S. G. No. 106.)

## MILANAUS.

"The Malanaus are an industrious and well-to-do people. . . . They are litigious, and they have less regard for truth than their neighbours the Malays and the Dayaks. But they are good-natured and hospitable; the men avoid ostentation, and very seldom array themselves in rich costume, but like to see their women wear gold ornaments and clothes of fine stuff fringed with valuable beads." (De Crespigny, J.A.I. v. 34.)

"They are mild and peaceful, being quiet and gentle in disposition; they care not for heads, although a few are still kept in their houses. They are submissive to the authority of their superiors, and crime is of rare occurrence amongst them; the most serious cases with which the European residents are troubled are *becharas*, or suits connected with their sago lands. Several of them have shown a great aptitude for learning, and have even learnt to write the English character." (p. 199.)

## BAKATANS.

"This was the first time they had been to the mouths of any of the rivers; the sight of the sea was entirely beyond their comprehension. They explored my house and belongings with keen curiosity, my large looking-glass claiming a fair share of attention, and causing bursts of laughter when they discovered there was really no one behind the frame. My kangaroo bitch they called a deer, never having seen a dog so large or of that description before; the horse they thought a remarkable bird. On seeing an oil-painting of a lady, which was painted in relief with a dark background, they would not believe it was not alive, but climbed a chair to pass their hand across it; they asked me to desire the lady to 'come down.' It was amusing to watch the air of superiority with which the intelligent Dyak lad introduced his friends. Breech-loading weapons and strange things to the Bakatans, which called forth expressions of wonder and delight, were treated by him with stoical indifference; his manner somewhat resembled an habitué of town life showing his country cousin round on his first visit." (W. M. Crocker, S. G. No. 122, p. 8.)

## DUSUNS.

"The Dusuns in character are quiet and orderly and not particularly brave, but no doubt would be industrious if occasion arose; a very good rural population, with somewhat yokelish notions. Any slight bloodthirsty tendencies that circumstances and the want of proper restraint have driven them to, are gladly abandoned wherever our influence has spread. They show every symptom of thriving and increasing, under a proper firm government, and there is no fear of their melting away and disappearing like so many races have done, when brought into contact with the white man." (Pryer, Jour. Anth. Inst. xvi. 236.) The same author writing from Imbok says: "The chief and men were a lithe, active leopard-like lot; very light-brown colour; wearing their hair about fifteen inches long, hanging down over their shoulders, in the same way as I have seen the Sarawak Dyaks do; but whereas in their case it has an uncouth effect, here it seemed to add a

grace to the people. They also had a cheerful springy sort of way of setting about things that was quite taking." (Diary 4 Mar.)

"Dusuns are a tribe open to sensible advice." (Witti, Diary 18 May.) "Theft is of rare occurrence among those of the interior." (*ibid* 29 May.) "Dusuns are not given to telling gratuitous fibs, but you have in every case to go and see for yourself to make sure." (*ibid* 31 May.) "Having had occasion to observe Tambonuas in four different rivers pretty far apart, I can safely assert them to be superior to the Dusuns proper in several respects. Industry and quick perception are common to all the aborigines in the northern-most Borneo; but the Tambonua is free from drink and dirt, and there is about Tambonuas not only nothing ferocious known, but they are possessed of the only redeeming feature of the pure Malay race, namely, a sense of decency and politeness." (*ibid* 12 June.) "Bravery in combat scarcely gives a man so much credit among these tribes as when he has walked so many miles further inland than the 'old men did.'" (*ibid* 25 Nov.) "If a traveller were first to become acquainted with the Dusuns of Tambiyao, Mukab and Sumalang, he would scarcely take a bias to the tribe, as these are greedy, inhospitable and addicted to lying." (*ibid* 26 Nov.) At Souzogou a child whispered to a blind old man: "Grandpa, the white man is not *white* at all, only his teeth and his hat." (*ibid* 26 Mar.)

At Gimmbu, as at Buñgol, Sir S. St. John could not purchase fowls except at absurd rates. "It is curious that these people show no hospitality—never offering us a single thing; but, instead, trying to overreach us in every transaction." (i. 248.) And later when also among the Dusuns he writes: "It is an universal custom in Borneo to afford shelter to travellers, but they very rarely like to enter houses whose owners are absent." (i. 305.) "In disposition the Dusun is hospitable and kind, a visitor from another tribe nearly always meeting with hospitality; but I have known the Melangkaps receive a cold reception in Kiau, and they would have gone without rice if we had not supplied them; these villagers, however, seldom visit each other." (Whitehead, p. 108.) "There is, however, in all their dealings with one another a certain callousness and a desire to ridicule the sufferings of the less fortunate. This feeling I especially noticed on the march when mere boys got into difficulties with their heavy loads; instead of being assisted by their stronger comrades they were more often chaffed. The women mix freely with the men, and some of the old hags carry great weight in the village discussions. They are good-tempered and easily managed with firmness and kindness, though of course, as amongst ourselves, there are men with whom it is impossible to deal." (*ibid* 109.) "Their most amusing anecdotes are generally more or less lewd, the more so the greater the merriment; they often chatter and laugh long past midnight, especially when there is a good supply of 'tuak' or arrack in the house, when the men get quarrelsome at times in their cups." (*ibid* 109.) "As all porters in Borneo receive their wages in advance, they are expected to keep to their part of the contract, and I must say always do, for though I have paid dozens of natives in advance, I have never once been swindled; if a man cannot go he pays over his wages to a substitute." (*ibid* 112.) "The Dusuns are very honest people;

during the whole of my lengthened intercourse with the Melangkaps I never had the smallest article stolen by them, though opportunities were many. The only thieves I met with amongst these tribes were the Kuro family at Kiau; and when I informed the villagers of this fact, they were most anxious that I should not give their village a bad name." (*ibid* 114.)

It is very curious that Sir Spencer St. John in 1858 had also to complain of the dishonesty of the Kiau Dusuns. Speaking of these people he says: "We have never found the aborigines inclined to pilfer; on the contrary, they are remarkably honest; and should these prove to be of a different disposition, it will be an unique instance." (i. 248.) Then he continues: "To-day, we had a specimen of the thieving of our Ida'an followers. One man was caught burying a tin of sardines; another stole a Bologna sausage, for which, when hungry, I remembered him, and another a fowl." (*ibid* i. 266.) . . . "The aborigines, in general, are so honest that little notice is taken of this good quality; however, to our surprise, we found that these Ida'an were not to be trusted. We were warned by the Bajus to take care of our things, but we felt no distrust. However, at Kiau they proved their thievish qualities, which, however, we frightened out of them, as during our second residence we lost nothing there. At the village of Nilu one made an attempt, which we checked." (*ibid* i. 376.)

"At Kiau we amused ourselves in collecting vocabularies, and trying to make ourselves understood by the people. They showed a great readiness to assist us, particularly the girls, who made us repeat sentences after them, and then burst into loud laughter either at our pronunciation or the comical things they had made us utter. (*ibid* i. 315.) The villagers appeared to be very glad to get us back among them, and the girls became friendly and familiar; they even approached us and sat at the end of our mats, and talked, and laughed, and addressed us little speeches, which were, of course, nearly unintelligible, though we were making progress in the language. They had evidently been very much interested in all our movements; and as our toilettes were made in public, they could observe that every morning we bathed, cleaned our teeth, brushed and combed our hair, and went through our other ordinary occupations. To-day they had grown more bold, and were evidently making fun of the scrupulous care we were bestowing on our persons while the cook was preparing our breakfast. We thought that we would good-humouredly turn the laugh against them, so we selected one who had the dirtiest face among them—and it was difficult to select where all were dirty—and asked her to glance at herself in the looking-glass. She did so, and then passed it round to the others; we then asked them which they thought looked best, cleanliness or dirt: this was received with a universal giggle. We had brought with us several dozen cheap looking-glasses, so we told Iseiom, the daughter of Li Moun, our host, that if she would go and wash her face we would give her one. She treated the offer with scorn, tossed her head, and went into her father's room. But, about half an hour afterwards, we saw her come into the house and try to mix quietly with the crowd; but it was of no use, her companions soon noticed she had a clean face, and pushed her into the front to be inspected. She blushing received her

looking-glass and ran away, amid the laughter of the crowd of girls. The example had a great effect, however, and before evening the following girls had received a looking-glass. I mention their names as specimens:—Ikara, Beiom Sugan, Rambeiong, Idungat, Tirandam, Idong, Sei and Sineo. Among the males near were Kadsio, the trouser-maker, Bintarang, Lakaman, and Banul who had lent us the kitchen." (*ibid* i. 331.) The following is the account of what made Kadsio remarkable: "Among those who accompanied us to Marei Parei was a young lad, who was paid for his services in gray shirting and thin brass wire. As soon as he had received them, he cut off three inches of the wire, and began beating out one end and sharpening the other; it was to make a needle. His sister brought him some native-made thread; then with his knife he cut the cloth into a proper shape, and set to work to make a pair of trousers; nor did he cease his occupation till they were finished, and by evening he was wearing them." (*ibid* i. 321.)

#### KADAYANS.

"By treating them with kindness and consideration I always found them willing to do their best to please me, though towards each other they are excessively selfish. On arriving at a village I have seen two men drink the contents of a large cocoa-nut, while a third, equally thirsty, would not be offered a drop, though these men had been travelling companions for months." (Whitehead, p. 126.)

#### MURUTS.

"While the British North Borneo Government have had considerable trouble with the Muruts on the Padass river, the Sarawak Government, since the annexation of the Limbang and Trusan rivers, have had no such troubles, on the contrary, during 1889, when Mr. O. F. Ricketts and Dr. Havilland penetrated into the far interior of the district, they were received in an hospitable manner at all the different villages they visited." (S. G. No. 347 p. 198.)

"The Muruts are not as treacherous as the Bajows or Sulu, nor as blood-thirsty as many other tribes in Borneo, though quite bad enough; but the Government of Brunei had a good deal to do with this, as it never made the least attempt to stop feuds which existed between various tribes—in fact rather encouraged them, so that they should not combine to resist its authority; thus these feuds increased instead of being suppressed, and the Muruts obtained the name of being the worst race along the coast." (O. F. Ricketts, S. G. No. 347 p. 213.)

"It may be mentioned that the Muruts where they have come under the influence of the Government have altered considerably for the better, their blood feuds have almost died out and the custom of handing over two slaves as part of the compensation is a thing of the past. They have now turned their attention to making more extensive farms and working jungle produce and are amenable to law and order. Neither the influence of civilization, however, or anything else will, it is to be feared, ever cure them of their drunkenness." (Ricketts, S. G. No. 348, p. 18.)

"The morality of these people does not appear to be worse than that of other tribes; they have a respect for each other's property and quarrels

amongst them are uncommon: their greatest failing is drunkenness, but strange to say they are generally very good tempered when intoxicated, as, though during these drinking bouts large numbers of people collect in one house, brawls do not occur as often as one would expect, but it is often on these occasions that they make up their minds to go on the war-path and retaliate on some house, whereas in their more sober moments they would probably have put it off." (*ibid* No. 347, p. 213.)

"The occasions on which there are feasts given are numerous, such as during the planting of the paddy, the harvest, a wedding, a death, a house newly built and many others; all these mean continuous drinking day and night.

"Savages as these people are they possess some notions of hospitality; no one going on a journey ever takes rice with him, he is always sure of food and drink at any friendly house; the custom is that the guest eats a little with each family—after having a bite with one he sits down outside and is presently called by another when he has another snack and a refusal will not be taken. Arrack too is always brought out when there is a brew going (as there generally is). It is a rule that anything growing in the paddy field, such as cucumbers, pumpkins, maize, etc., may be taken and eaten by those passing through, they are expected to do so.

"It is sometimes considered sufficient to breed ill-feeling between two adjacent houses if a guest at one should by any chance come to harm at the hands of the other." (*Ricketts ibid.*)

Sir Spencer St. John tells us of a case where he had relieved a Murut of pain in the eyes, and the man in return brought him a jar of arrack. "I mention the circumstance of the poor fellow bringing the arrack, as, how grateful soever they may be in their hearts for a kindness, they seldom show it. I have not known half a dozen instances during my whole residence in the East." (ii. 133).

#### AMOKING.

"I have never yet known a case of a Dyak amoking." So wrote Sir Charles Brooke (i. 55) thirty years ago. Ten years later Mr. G. Gueritz, Resident at Semanggang, wrote as follows: "I am exceedingly sorry to have to report a very serious case of amoking at Lingga. A Kalaka man named S'Apong on returning to his house the other evening, from fishing, drew his parang and cut down his wife, father-in-law and a child; the woman is desperately wounded. Mr. Crossland, who kindly consented to go down and do what he could for the sufferers, writes me that he does not expect her to live. Four of her fingers are cut off, and she is wounded in no less than eight different places. The other two are badly wounded, but not dangerously so I hope. The wretch afterwards escaped into the jungle, but I ordered out all the people and I am happy to say I have him safe in irons in the fort here. He told Abang Aing that he did it in a dream, he fancied he was killing fish in a pungari with a club." (S. G., No. 69.)

A man who ran amok in Oct., 1894, at Seduan, a village near Sibuan, was a Seduan Milano on his mother's side by a Chinese father. He attacked and

wounded thirteen people—all the occupants of the house. "On arriving at the house and entering the door the infuriated amok was discovered fully armed and ready to attack anyone who should approach him. The discharge of a gun loaded with shot, by one of the party, at once put the murderer *hors de combat*, however, he being struck in the face and blinded and fell at once. The scene in the house was dreadful to behold—young children, old and young women, were lying about wallowing in blood, four literally hacked to pieces; of the rest, some who were past all help had to be left to die, and the others were at once bandaged and ultimately sent to hospital in Kuching." This man had only just returned from two months' surveillance under the principal medical officer for supposed unsoundness of mind. (S. G. 1894, p. 171.)

"Amongst Land Dyaks an amok is announced as having occurred at Kujang, Upper Sadong, four or five men being mutilated, one man losing, it is reported, his hand; the amoker has made tracks but he is being followed up and will doubtless be caught very soon." (S. G. Dec. 1894, p. 202.) A reference apparently to this same man named Sugoy is made in the same paper (p. 200) where it is stated he is awaiting his trial at Kuching.

## CHAPTER V.

### CHILDBIRTH AND CHILDREN.

Couvade—At birth husband restricted, confined and dieted—Attendance of Manangs—Husband's malign influence—Midwife—Family tabued—Husband dieted—*Penti versus mali*—Restrictions on both parents—Spilt water—Handing articles through window—Other strictures—Hunting—How *Tabus* are overcome—A blacksmith's child—*Manang's* assistance—Painful operations—Sitting by fire—Blistered—Parturition easy—Old women as midwives—Little suffering—Inhuman custom—A death—Children's clothing—Cradles—Babies carried astride—Rattan seats—Long suckling—Periods—Troubles rare—Smearing the babies—Shawls—Infanticide—Motherless babes buried alive—"It killed its mother"—Malay influence—Idiots and deformed killed—No wilful miscarriages—Ceremony at birth—First bath—Spirit propitiation—Head shaving—Babe's physique—Spirits invoked—Naming—First visit—Purification—Launching the child—Feasts—Kayan naming—Fondness for children—Childlessness—Adoption—Girls equally desired—Spoilt children—Tops preferred to school—Preference for girls or boys—Enslaved children restored—Mother's bravery—Father's courage—Tender parents—Interesting children—Politeness—Toys—Models of boats—A European (?) toy—Shields—Spears—Swords—*Bows* and arrows—Large families—Small families—More boys—More girls—Adult males in excess—Child-bearing age—Thin population—Exceptional families—Families dying out—Lundus all gone—Singges—Milanaus—Sea Dyak increase in Batang Lupar—Wallace's explanation—Conditions to increase favourable—Malthus's checks—British *versus* Dyak families—Cause of small families—Due to women's hard work—Advancing civilization makes thick populations.

We find the Couvade in existence both among the Land Dyaks and the Sea Dyaks, thus: "If a Land Dyak's wife be with child, he must strike nothing, never tie things tight, nor do any household work with his *parang* (chopping-knife), or some deadly harm will happen to his unborn offspring. At a birth the husband is confined to his house for eight days, and obliged to stay his appetite with rice and salt only. For one month, moreover, he may not go out at night, unless he wishes his infant to cry continually during his absence." (Chalmers in Grant's Tour.)

Among the Land Dyaks "after pregnancy is declared a ceremony [*beruri*] takes place. Two priestesses attend, a fowl is killed, rice provided, and for two nights they howl and chant, during which time the apartment is 'pamali,' or interdicted. The husband of the pregnant woman, until the time of her delivery, may not do work with any sharp instrument, except what may be absolutely necessary for the cultivation of his farm; he may not tie things together with rattans, or strike animals, or fire guns, or do anything of a violent character—all such things being imagined to exercise a malign influence on the formation and development of the unborn child. The delivery is attended by an old woman, called a *Penyading*, or midwife. A fowl is killed, the family tabooed for eight days, during which time the unfortunate husband is dieted on rice and salt, and may not go out in the

sun, or even bathe for four days: the rice and salt diet is to prevent the baby's stomach swelling to an unnatural size." (St. John i. 160.)

"When it is known that a Sea Dayak mother is enceinte, custom among the Dayaks imposes the following *penti*. The difference between *penti* and *mali* is that whereas the latter absolutely forbids certain work under fear of very dire consequences, the former is not so absolute, and the forbidden work may be undertaken if first set going by some person not under the influence of the *penti*, or the evil consequences may be avoided by going through some small ceremony. The *penti* following are imposed on both parents. Neither may cut anything in the way of cloth, cotton, &c., nor lay hold of the handle of a duku or chopper, nor bind up anything in the way of tying a string round a post, nor suffer the cord of a water gourd to break when carrying water. (In this case the water may be drunk without fear of evil consequences if after the accident the woman steps astride over the gourd or other vessel three times, backwards and forwards.) Neither may either parent eat anything whilst in the act of walking; if the neighbour in the next room should hand anything through the small window in the partition wall, the hand must not be passed through the window, so as to be on the other side of the partition wall, in the next room, to receive it, but must be kept on its own side of the wall. Nor must either let fall a stone; e.g. when bathing, if the stone used to rub the skin with should drop into the water it betokens evil, but this evil may be averted if a person can be procured to dive for and recover the stone; nor must any creeper overhanging the water be cut through; nor must any post be planted in the earth; nor any trench dug; nor plaiting of basket or mat-work; nor anything fixed up tightly, as nailing up a wall or fastening together the planks of a boat; nor any dog, cat, pig, or fowl be struck at; nor any animal wild or tame, be killed whether by trap, spearing, or shooting; though even in this case if the father should be hunting in company with others, he need not allow the animal to escape should it come his way, but if he should succeed in killing it, some other member of the hunting party at once lays claim to it as his spoil, thus averting evil from the father or his still unborn child. There are a great many other matters of the sort forbidden, but in most cases they can be easily avoided, as in basket and mat work, the mother may do such if some other woman will begin the work for her, and the man may dig trenches or erect a post or undertake any work of the sort if the hands of others are first laid to it. These *penti* prevail until the child cuts its first teeth." (F. W. Leggatt.)

We may here add what is perhaps the result of the custom of *tabu* or *mali* on the minds of some of the natives in the curious statement made to Sir Chas. Brooke on the Lingga river. A Panguan, a blacksmith by trade, said "that he could not touch any ironwork without the body of his infant son turning the colour of fire; and on his lifting the hammer while engaged at his forge, the child instantly commenced screeching and crying." (*ibid* 98.)

"Should any difficulty occur in child delivery the *manangs* or medicine men are called in. One takes charge of the proceedings in the lying-in chamber, the remainder set themselves on the *ruai* or common verandah. The

manang inside the room wraps a long loop of cloth around the woman, above the womb. A manang outside wraps his body around in the same manner, but first places within its fold a large stone corresponding to the position of the child in the mother's womb. A long incantation is then sung by the manangs outside, while the one within the room strives with all his power to force the child downwards and so compel delivery. As soon as he has done so, he draws down upon it the loop of cloth and twists it tightly around the mother's body, so as to prevent the upward return of the child. A shout from him proclaims to his companions on the ruai his success, and the manang who is for the occasion personating the mother, moves the loop of cloth containing the stone which encircles his own body a stage downwards. And so the matter proceeds until the child is born, alive or dead, usually alive, or until all concerned become assured of the fruitlessness of their efforts. Fortunately for Dayak mothers difficulties of the sort seldom occur. The mother may generally be found sitting up with her back to a fire within half an hour of the delivery, looking none the worse for what she has gone through, and within a week she is back at her work as usual. Her body is wrapped round with several folds of thick stiff bark cloth to give it support, and she is placed in a sitting position with a fire at her back to dry up any issues tending to flooding. Thus she continues day and night with very little change of position, and generally suffers more from this and from the scorching and blistering from the fire than in the delivery itself." (F. W. Leggatt.)

Parturition, from the more hardy and robust frames of the women, is not here attended with the danger and consequent weakness peculiar to more civilized and polite nations. . . . "I have been told that women among the Hill Dyaks are rarely confined to the house more than two or three days, and frequently are seen at their ordinary employment within that time: their attendants, during the period of labour, are the old women of the tribe." (Low, p. 307.)

"The Dayak women suffer very little at their confinements, and seldom remain quiet beyond a few days. . . . Among the Kayans I may mention one inhuman custom, which is, that women who appear to be dying in childbirth, are taken to the woods and placed in a hastily-constructed hut; they are looked upon as interdicted, and none but the meanest slaves may approach them, either to give them food or to attend to them." (St. John i. 48, 112.)

Lieut. de Crespigny was present at a Dusun birth when the mother died from hemorrhage and exhaustion. (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc., 1858, ii. 349.)

"The dressing of [Land Dyak] children, as well as of grown-up people, is very plain. A cloth round the waist in the case of males, and a short petticoat in the case of the females, is all their dress. If it is very wet and cool weather, they use the rind of a tree as a kind of blanket in which to wrap children. The cradle consists of the hollowed trunk of a tree, suspended by strings from the ceiling. There are no circumstances connected with the dressing or cradling of children tending in any way to modify the shape of the body." (Houghton M. A. S. iii. 198.)

"The babies are carried astride the left hip or on the back in a strip of cloth (*slandiek*) slung round the shoulder." (Brooke Low.) Sir S. St. John, visiting the wife of a Kayan Chief, found "she had made a rattan seat, covered with fine bead-work, for her expected baby. When the women go out, the child is placed in this, which is slung over the back." (i. 120.)

"Upper Sarawak mothers suckle their children very long. There are cases where children suck till they are three to five years of age. The women have in general an abundance of milk and are very strong. The menstrual period lasts about four days. The time of uterogestation is the same as with Europeans. Miscarriages and premature delivery are not rare occurrences." (Houghton M. A. S. iii. 196.)

KAYAN *Abat*, BABY'S CHAIR,  
Carved and studded with ground shells.  
Worn slung over the back  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

"The Sea Dyak child is wrapped round with bark cloth or calico after birth, in the same way as the mother, but in both cases a mess of betel (areca) nut, pepper leaf, lime and gambier (*terra japonica*) is chewed up and smeared very freely over the abdomens of both mother and child." (Leggatt.)

In the Brooke Low collection there are the following Sea Dyak children's *pua menyandiek* shawls used for strapping babies on the back or hip. Patterns *gaja*, *leku sawa*, *manang ilieng*, *orang chaiam*, *grama murong*, *merkatak*, frog, *ighi nibong*; *tangkong sapepat*, *ighi nibong*, *kara jangkiet*.

"Sea Dyaks custom required (until a civilised government interfered to prevent such atrocious murders) that if the death of a mother followed in consequence of delivery, the child should pay the penalty (i.) as being the cause of the mother's death, (ii) because no one remained to nurse and care for it. Therefore the child was placed *alive* in the coffin with the mother, and both buried together, not unfrequently without consulting the father, who might venture to dare custom and be willing to spare his child. No woman would consent to suckle such an orphan lest it should bring misfortune upon her own children. One case I am acquainted with where the mother, in the father's absence, gave birth to twins and died immediately afterwards. By the grandfather's orders (the paternal grandfather) both children were buried with the mother." (F. W. Leggatt.) The Rev. Mr. Holland writes: "A young woman died in giving birth to twins. One of the children died soon after its birth, but the other was a fine healthy child. Early the following morning they tied up the living child with the two dead bodies, and carried them all to the graveyard, and buried the living with the dead. The little one was heard crying as they passed down the river on the way to the jungle, but its plaintive cries fell on dull ears, and hard hearts, for no one offered to rescue the child by adopting it. This is an old Dyak custom, but it is a long time



KAYAN *Abat* *Laa*, or  
Newborn Baby's  
Crib, carried  
before.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

since it was carried out to the letter. I believe that on the death of a woman in childbirth they have intentionally allowed the little one to die of hunger and neglect. When asked why they take the life of an innocent babe, by burying it with its mother, they answer, 'Why should it be allowed to live? it has caused the death of its mother.' The case above mentioned the Government heard of and fined the husband \$60." (Miss. Field, 1879, p. 365.)

But His Highness says of the Sea Dyaks: "The practice of infanticide is rarely heard of; but the contact with the Malays has much increased it in some tribes." (ii. 337.)

Among the Undups when children are born idiots or deformed they are nipped in the throat and so killed.<sup>1</sup> (Rev. W. Crossland.)

Among the Dyaks wilful miscarriage is never resorted to under any circumstances. (Low, p. 309.)

When the child is born a fowl is sometimes killed and cooked, and brought to the parents and friends of the child to be eaten. For the first three days the child receives its bath in a wooden tray in the house, but afterwards it is taken to the river. On the first occasion of receiving its bath in the river a fowl is killed on the bank, a wing is cut off and if the child should be a boy, this wing is stuck upon a spear, if a girl it is stuck upon the slip used to pass between the threads in weaving, and this is then erected on the bank and the blood is allowed to drop into the stream as an offering to propitiate the spirit supposed to inhabit the waters, that no accident by water should at any time happen to the child. The remainder of the fowl is cooked and eaten in the house after the return of the child.—(F. W. Leggatt.)

"Shortly after birth, though whether a few days or a few weeks is indefinite, all hair is shaven from the child's head excepting immediately over the fontanelles, and the head is so kept shaven until the child can run about. Dayak children have generally a thick crop of hair when born. A new-born child is very small, but as a rule bright and happy and strong.

"At some period after a child's birth, it may be within a few weeks, or it may be deferred for years, a ceremony<sup>2</sup> is gone through in which the gods are invoked to grant health and wealth and fortune. This invocation is not considered complete until it has been repeated also at some indefinite period.

"The naming of the child is not made an occasion for any ceremony and I have known children attain the age of seven or eight years without having received a name. They are known by a pet name, e.g. *endun* little girl, or *anggat* little boy." (F. W. Leggatt.)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. W. M. Crocker informs me that on one occasion when he crossed into Dutch territory to the head of the Kapuas river, he met with a case of infanticide—two children being left to die suspended in baskets high up in a tree.

<sup>2</sup> I went out to see what the performance was like, and saw on the same platform under Rajah Djinda's house, quite in the dark, thirteen [Modang] Dyaks, all men, singing, and walking round in a circle, first turning their feet to the right and stamping on the floor, then pausing a moment, and turning to the left, still stamping. Occasionally another recruit joined the company. What was all this about? I kept asking. A woman had given birth to a child! was the answer. And so this jollification was kept up half the night in honour of the little stranger. (Bock, p. 77.)

"When a Sea Dyak baby is taken to visit strangers for the first time, it is customary to make it a small present, which is called *Jerukan atap*. *Atap* signifies thatch, but *Jerukan* is a word of which I am unable to tell the meaning apart from its connection with *atap*." (F. W. Leggatt.)

The Balaus "have likewise a ceremony somewhat analogous to purification after childbirth. A portion of the platform is fenced off, in the centre of which the mother, holding the child in her arms, takes her seat. A female attendant shades her with an umbrella, and the manangs walk round her chanting, beating time with their staves, and making offerings, till at a certain stage of the proceedings two of them lift her up, together with the stool on which she sits, while the rest continue their chant around her." (Horsburgh, p. 26.)

"The Sea Dayaks naturally look upon childbirth as a very ordinary event; occasionally guns are fired to celebrate it, but even that practice has almost fallen into disuse. However, a few months after the birth of the infant, the Sakarang Dayaks give a feast in its honour, which generally takes place before they commence preparing their land for the rice crop, and another after the harvest to "launch the child" on the world. During these feasts the *manang*, or priest, waves the odoriferous areca-blossom over the babe, and moves about the house chanting monotonous tunes. The festival lasts a day and a night. . . . In some respects, the Kayans differ in their customs from the other aboriginal tribes of Borneo. At the birth of a chief's child there are great rejoicings; a feast is given, pigs, and fowls, and goats being freely sacrificed. Jars of arrack are brought forward, and all the neighbours are called upon to rejoice with their leader. They say that on this occasion a name is given if the omen be good. A feather is inserted up the child's nostril, to tickle it; if it sneeze it is a good sign, but if not, the ceremony is put off to another day." (St. John i. 48, 112.)

"Milanos and Dayaks have the strongest possible affection for their children, it being considered a disgrace for any woman to be childless; so strong is this affection among the Milanos that they will readily part with a child in order to better its condition, and money never passes on such occasions. People will often thus adopt the children of others poorer than themselves, not with any idea of making slaves of them, but showing them the same affection that they would do were they their own." (Denison Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc. No. 10, p. 182.)

The Dyaks are exceedingly fond of their children; if they have none of their own they adopt some. (Mrs. Chambers Gosp. Miss., May, 1858, p. 69.)

"The girls are equally the objects of the tender care of their parents [Sea Dyaks] with the boys; and though, in their prayers, the Dyaks always ask for male children, the females, who are nearly equally useful to them, are not treated with less kindness, and are never neglected." (Low, p. 198.) "They are fond of their children, and the children are fond of them. Indeed, the latter are quite spoilt, and the more mischievous a boy is the prouder they are of him, and prognosticate great things from him when he gets older. They clothe their children earlier than the Malays do, disliking to see them

run about naked. They rarely if ever punish them when naughty, so that they grow up wayward and self-willed, and though they are extremely fond of their parents they do pretty much as they please, and not as they are told. As they grow older, however, they do as they are required, not caring to displease their relations." (Brooke Low.) "Among Sea Dyaks there is but little authority and discipline in matters which are beyond the ordinary routine of daily life, and a boy will come perhaps one day and stay away a week, and then come again for a day or two, upon which system nothing can be done. A father will say in the morning, 'Go, and learn, son,' and away the son will go, but on the way he meets some companions, who persuade him to play tops with them. Tops have more immediate interest for boys than school, and so the young urchin never presents himself at the Mission at a time when any teaching is going on." (Archdeacon Perham Miss. Field 1878, p. 136.) They are very anxious to have children, but if they have a preference, it is for boys; and when the only child is a daughter, they often make a vow to fire guns and give a feast, should the next prove a son. . . . The Sea Dayaks, as I have observed, generally prefer male children; and the more mischievous and boisterous they are when young the greater the delight they afford their parents. The observation, "He is very wicked," is the greatest praise. They indulge them in everything, and at home give way to their caprices in an extraordinary manner. If the parents are affectionate to their children, the latter warmly return it. Instances have even occurred when, oppressed by sorrow at the reproaches of a father, a child has privately taken poison and destroyed himself. . . . All children are very desirable in Land Dayak eyes. Mr. Chalmers thinks that if a Dayak could have but one child, he would prefer a female, as she will always assist in getting wood and water (labours held in little esteem by those males who have arrived at the age of puberty); and, moreover, at marriage a son may have to follow his wife, whereas a daughter obtains for her parents the benefit of her husband's labour and assistance; but my opinion is contrary, I think male children are generally desired. (St. John i. 48, 165.)

Sir H. Low "had frequent proofs of the love they bear their children, and the longing with which they desire the return of such as have been carried into slavery. Mr. Brook [Sir James] has been the means of restoring many of those objects of their solicitude by his negotiations with the Sakarran and Sarebas Dyaks, although this has not been accomplished without a large pecuniary sacrifice: the gratitude they show for the happiness he has conferred upon them has amply repaid him for his liberality." (p. 197.)

"Some years ago a Banting woman saw her child seized by an alligator. Without a thought she sprang into the river, swam straight at the monster's head, and gouged out his eyes. The brute dropped the child, and swam away." (Bishop Chambers Miss. Field, 1868, p. 256.)

During the Chinese insurrection "One man saved his child's life at the expense of his own. Leaving himself exposed to the parangs of his enemies, he held the boy above his head, and swam with him until he had placed him safely on the bank." (Mrs. Chambers Gosp. Miss., 1st May, 1859, p. 72.)

Madame Pfeiffer, describing a Dyak cooking a bird and distributing pieces amongst some by-standing children, remarks: "He did not taste of it himself. I had previously noticed what tender parents the Dyaks make." (p. 101.) Sir Spencer St. John on arriving at a Kanowit village says: "I have never before entered a village without noticing some interesting children, but I observed none here; though active enough, they looked unhealthy and dirty." (i. 39.) And Mr. Hornaday likewise among the Sea Dyaks, "The children were, without exception, very dirty, but all were good-natured and polite." (p. 413.)

There are few references to children's toys. One is by Mr. Whitehead (p. 69): "In our house the Kadyans have left some children's toys; this was the only attempt towards making models to amuse children that I ever noticed in Borneo. The toys consisted of several well-made models of boats; but the chief object of interest was a peculiar wooden animal on four wheels, which looked more like a rabbit than anything else, but when told it was the model of a buffalo, it became more grotesque still in my sight." This looks very much like a copy of a European toy, but in the Brooke Low collection there are several Dyak children's toys (apart from tops) such as Dyaks and Kanowit boys playing shields, a Dyak boy's play spear head and play sword, and a Kanowit boy's play sword. We have seen above that Archdeacon found the boys fonder of playing tops than going to mission school, and Mr. Crossland tells me the Undup boys had miniature *bows* and arrows.

SEA DYAK  
SPINNING TOP  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

The small number of children of which a family consists has often been referred to by travellers. Sir S. St. John says of the Land Dyaks: "They appear to marry very young, and have for Asiatics rather large families—four, five, and six children were quite common." (i. 142.) Dr. Houghton, writing about the Upper Sarawak Dyaks, says: "Puberty takes place, as far as I have been able to ascertain, at the age of from twelve to fourteen years, though the people do not marry young. Births of more than one child are not common. In general there are more than two children in a family; on an average there are four, very seldom only one child. There are more males than females among adults, but in general the proportion is about equal. There are families with two, three, four boys, but also others with the same number of girls, or mixed. Women continue to bear children to about the age of forty. This is, however, a matter not very easy to determine with certainty, as before the Europeans arrived in the country the people had no mode of calculating their years." (M.A.S. iii. 195.)

Speaking in 1858 of the Dusuns, Lieut. de Crespigny remarks: "With regard to their numbers, if the whole district is as thinly peopled as the parts I visited, there cannot be more than 12,000 in the whole tribe or nation. How it is that, with a well watered country, a healthy climate, peaceful occupations, and a perfect independence for their freedom, unlike that of the Dyaks of the South, is not at all affected by the proximity of the Malays—they have not increased and multiplied to a greater extent, I am at a loss to conceive." (Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. ii. 1858, p. 348.) Mr. Whitehead, some thirty years

later, also notes the smallness of the population. He says: "The families of the natives are very small: in one or two instances I have known them to contain eight or more by one mother, but many women have only three or four, most one or two children; and it is by no means uncommon to find them childless." (p. 52.) It was mentioned in Chapter I. that the Lundu had died out. Sir Ch. Brooke, writing in the year 1866, describes two peoples who were then dying out: "There are two sub-divisions of tribes all but extinct in the Sarawak territory. One of the principal reasons for their decay and decrease may, at all events, be attributed to marrying and breeding in and in. There are about six doors left of these unfortunates in one place, who are a branch of the Singgei Dyaks, residing up the Sarawak river, and on a visit to them some years ago, they despondently told us that their women refused to fructify, and asked in what manner such a misfortune could be remedied. The other remnant of a branch tribe is an offshoot from the Malanau race, now not mustering more than thirty or forty doors, and much scattered in very small communities. Their men are noted for bravery, but are very poor, and more dirty than the other people whose numbers and power have much oppressed them. They are named Suru, and reside on the smaller streams of the Kaluka and Rejang waters. These two instances are, however, exceptions, for there is far from being any appearance of decay among the principal Dyak tribes, whose fecundity on an average produces four or five births to every married woman. The barren females are not over one in five among the Sakarang and Saribus Dyaks, whereas the proportion is over one in three in New Zealand, and the entire population of that country scarcely amounts to a twentieth part of the population of Sarawak, and only equals in number some of the most populous rivers in Borneo. As a proof of the increase of the Dyak population we have only to make inquiry into the localities where they live, both past and present, and the result shows that populations have migrated to rivers farther and farther removed from their original abode, which remains at the same time as thickly populated as the land will permit. To offer one instance of the multiplying process I will mention the Upper Batang Lupar River, which has now a population of eighteen or twenty thousand souls residing on it, and has emitted a supply, about fifty years ago, to a neighbouring stream (a tributary of Rejang), from which a population has now increased to from ten to twelve thousand souls, without the aid of any intermixture from other directions. Many other instances might be adduced of a similar nature, which have come under my immediate observation." (ii. 235.)

Mr. A. R. Wallace endeavours to explain the smallness of the population as follows:—"During my residence among the Hill Dyaks, I was struck by the apparent absence of those causes which are generally supposed to check the increase of population, although there were plain indications of stationary or but slowly increasing numbers. The conditions most favourable to a rapid increase of population are, an abundance of food, a healthy climate, and early marriages. Here, these conditions all exist. The people produce far more food than they consume, and exchange the surplus for gongs and brass cannon, ancient jars, and gold and silver ornaments, which constitute their

wealth. On the whole they appear very free from disease; marriages take place early (but not too early), and old bachelors and old maids are alike unknown. Why, then, we must inquire, has not a greater population been produced? Why are the Dyak villages so small and so widely scattered while nine-tenths of the country is still covered with forest?

“Of all the checks to population among savage nations, mentioned by Malthus—starvation, disease, war, infanticide, immorality, and infertility of the women—the last is that which he seems to think least important, and of doubtful efficacy; and yet it is the only one that seems to me capable of accounting for the state of the population among the Sarawak Dyaks. The population of Great Britain increases so as to double itself in about fifty years. To do this it is evident that each married couple must average three children who live to be married at the age of about twenty-five. Add to these those who die in infancy, those who never marry, or those who marry late in life and have no offspring, the number of children born to each marriage must average four or five; and we know that families of seven or eight are very common, and of ten and twelve by no means rare. But from inquiries at almost every Dyak tribe I visited, I ascertained that the women rarely had more than three or four children, and an old chief assured me that he had never known a woman have more than seven. In a village consisting of a hundred and fifty families only one consisted of six children living, and only six of five children, the majority appearing to be two, three, or four. Comparing this with the known proportions in European countries, it is evident that the number of children to each marriage can hardly average more than three or four; and, as even in civilized countries half the population die before the age of twenty-five, we should have only two left to replace their parents; and, so long as this state of things continued, the population must remain stationary. Of course, this is a mere illustration, but the facts I have stated seem to indicate that something of the kind really takes place, and if so, there is no difficulty in understanding the smallness and almost stationary population of the Dyak tribes.

“We have next to inquire what is the cause of the small number of births and of living children in a family. Climate and race may have something to do with this, but a more real and efficient cause seems to me to be the hard labour of the women, and the heavy weights they constantly carry. A Dyak woman generally spends the whole day in the field, and carries home every night a heavy load of vegetables and firewood, often for several miles, over tough and hilly paths, and not unfrequently has to climb up a rocky mountain by ladders and over slippery stepping-stones, to an elevation of a thousand feet. Besides this, she has an hour's work every evening to pound the rice with a heavy wooden stamper, which violently strains every part of the body. She begins this kind of labour when nine or ten years old, and it never ceases but with the extreme decrepitude of age. Surely we need not wonder at the limited number of her progeny, but rather be surprised at the successful efforts of nature to prevent the extermination of the race.

“One of the surest and most beneficial effects of advancing civilization will be the amelioration of the condition of these women. The precept and

example of higher races will make the Dyak ashamed of his comparatively idle life, while his weaker partner labours like a beast of burden. As his wants become increased and his tastes refined, the women will have more household duties to attend to, and will then cease to labour in the field—a change which has already to a great extent taken place in the allied Malay, Japanese, and Bugies tribes. Population will then certainly increase more rapidly, improved system of agriculture and some division of labour will become necessary in order to provide the means of existence, and a more complicated social state will take the place of the simple conditions of society which now obtain among them.” (i. 144.)

CYLINDRICAL BASKET OF PLAITED COLOURED RATAN

Strengthened by four uprights, two being carved Square bottom Cowrie shells along top, two boars' tusks and a Chinese *celadon* snuff bottle and a series of brass *aigrettes* hang from centre Shoulder straps are attached and also a small bambu box containing pointed bambu sticks (calthrops) Height 15½ inches.

(Brit. Mus.)

## CHAPTER VI.

### MARRIAGE.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE : Land Dyaks, no betrothment—Presents—Ceremony—Bride to husband's parents and *vice versa*—Brang, Bukar, and Sibungo ceremony—Sintah ceremony—Sinah ceremony—Sea Dyak lover's night visits—Another version—"Please blow up the fire"—A third version—Jews' harps—Marriage—Gauntlet running—A sooty farewell—No money can win women—A pledge of honour—Ceremonial visits—Splitting the betel nut—Marriage at house of future home—Processions—Betel nut divinations—The oath—Arranging fines for desertion—The gods' will ascertained—Final visits—Bride's mother-in-law's rooms—M-i-l's blessings—A wedding dress—Bridal bed—A farewell—Early marriages—Balaus and Sibuya's, no betrothment—Sibuyau ceremony—Another account—Kayan wedlocks—Dusun marriage—The *brian*—Rarity of the unmarried—Death preferable to shame—Men generally honourable—A high-class scandal—Naming a husband—Kayan youthful intercourse—Mulcted lovers—Batang Lupar immorality—Suicide of women—Skarang and Sarebas immorality—Girl companions for visitors. LOVERS' TROUBLES : Match-making parents—Runaway matches—Sibuyau pride of birth—Lover's suicide—Courtship presents—Woman's love—A Sea Dyak love song. PROHIBITED DEGREES : Deceased wife's sister—Fines for offending—Deceased husband's brother—First cousins—Incest—Marrying a granddaughter—Sea Dyak degrees—Evil consequences averted. TRIBAL INTERMARRIAGE : Land Dyak in-marrying—Chinese inter-marriage—Good examples. RESIDENCE : No fixed rule—The Serambo women object—Return to parents—Lundu and Sibuyau rule—Rule according to conditions—Sons a curse—Daughters are blessings. FATHERS-IN-LAW : Respect given them. MOTHERS-IN-LAW : Her blessing. POLYGAMY : Exists amongst Milanaus—Not elsewhere—Dusuns occasionally polygamous. POLYANDRY : Punans. DIVORCE : Frequency—Trivial causes for—Marriage a business partnership—Fines for adultery—Omens for the newly-married—A philosophical bridegroom—Seven or eight times married—Omens averted—The divorce ring—Wife entitled to half property—Dreams as causes—Further causes—Barrenness. MATRIMONIAL TROUBLES : Dead husband's return—A Maloh's trouble. CONJUGAL AFFECTION : Domesticated men—Loving husbands—A married fop—An afflicted wife—A bold husband. ADULTERY : Faithful spouses—The guilty fined—Widow's early re-marriage considered adultery—Skarangs—Punishable by death—Adulterers beaten—Christians no better than heathens—What constitutes adultery—Almost amusing—Hupé's charges—Conduct correct after marriage—Standard not low—Apparent contradictions—"Not strictly faithful"—Hornaday's classification—Dangerous games—Bathing in public—An Englishman's offence. JEALOUSY : Women jealous—The husband goes head-hunting—Puerile spirit of jealousy.

### COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

AMONG the Land Dyaks there is practically no ceremony at a betrothment, "the bridegroom expectant (if a young bachelor) generally presents his betrothed with a set of three small boxes made of bamboo, in which are placed the tobacco, gambier and lime, with the sirih and betel-nut, and sometimes also with a cheap ring or two, purchased from the Malays or in a Sarawak bazaar. At a Land Dyak marriage a fowl is killed, rice boiled, and a feast made by the relations of the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom then generally betakes himself to the apartment of his wife's parents or

relations; and becomes one of the family. Occasionally, as for example, when the bride has many brothers and sisters, or when the bridegroom is the support of aged parents, or of younger brothers and sisters, the bride enters and becomes one of the family of her husband. It is a rare occurrence for a young couple at once to commence housekeeping on their own account; the reason is, that the labours of a young man go to augment the store of the head of the family in which he lives, be it that of his parents or others, and not till their death can he claim any share of the property in rice, jars, crockery, or gongs, which, by his industry, he has helped to create; yet most young men now have generally a small hoard of copper coin, or even a few dollars, which they have acquired by trading, or by working for Europeans, Malays, or Chinese during the intervals of farm labour." (St. John i. 162.)

"Amongst the three tribes of Bukar, Brang and Sabungo the marriage ceremony is performed by swinging fowls round their heads seven times and feasting and getting drunk." (James Brooke, Mundy i. 199.) They marry but one wife. (*ibid.*) "The Sintahs present clothes, rice, etc., to the parents of the bride, and on the occasion of the marriage give a feast to the tribe, which lasts for four days and nights. The marriage ceremony is as follows:—They smear a paste made of saffron mixed with a little gold dust and fowl's blood over the chest, forehead and hands. The man and woman each take a fowl and pass it *seven times* across the chest, then kill it, and a small string of beads being attached to the *right* wrist of either party, the ceremony is complete. After this the new-married pair *remain in absolute* seclusion for the space of seven days." (*ibid* i. 203.) "It is not necessary amongst the Sinars to possess a head<sup>1</sup> before marriage, as making presents to the parents of the bride is sufficient. Their marriage ceremony is as follows: They have four cups in which are hog's blood, fowl's blood, rice, and gold dust, each in a separate cup. Four cups are carried by the bride, four by the bridegroom, in a tray on their heads, and when they retire to rest are placed over their couch. They do not assemble the tribe, nor do they feast, the immediate relatives of the parties only being present." (*ibid* i. p. 205.)

The Sea Dyak girls receive "their male visitors at night; they sleep apart from their parents, sometimes in the same room, but more often in the loft. The young men are not invited to sleep with them unless they are old friends, but they may sit with them and chat, and if they get to be fond of each other after a short acquaintance, and wish to make a match of it, they are united in marriage, if the parents on either side have no objections to offer. It is in fact the only way open to the man and woman to become acquainted with each other, as privacy during the day time is out of the question in a Dyak village." (Brooke Low.) This curious method of courtship which is found both among the Land and Sea-Dyaks, and appears to have been first mentioned by Sir S. St. John (i. 161) as follows: "Besides the ordinary attention which a young man is able to pay to the girl he desires to make his wife—as helping her in her farm work, and in carrying home her load of vegetables or wood, as well as in making her little presents, as a ring, or some brass chain work with

<sup>1</sup> For particulars as to the necessity in pre-European times for the young man to obtain a head before marriage, see *infra*, Chapter on "Heads."

which the women adorn their waists, or even a petticoat—there is a very peculiar testimony of regard, which is worthy of note. About nine or ten at night, when the family is supposed to be fast asleep within the musquito curtains in the private apartment, the lover quietly slips back the bolt by which the door is fastened on the inside and enters the room on tip-toe. He goes to the curtains of his beloved, gently awakes her, and she on hearing who it is rises at once, and they sit conversing together, and making arrangements for the future in the dark over a plentiful supply of sirrah-leaf and betel-nut, which it is the gentleman's duty to provide. If when awoke the young lady rises and accepts the prepared betel-nut, happy is the lover, for his suit is in a fair way to prosper, but if on the other hand she rises and says, 'Be good enough to blow up the fire,' or to light the lamp (a bamboo filled with resin), then his hopes are at an end, as that is the usual form of dismissal. Of course if this kind of nocturnal visit is frequently repeated, the parents do not fail to discover it, although it is a point of honour among them to take no notice of their visitor, and if they approve of him matters take their course, but if not, they use their influence with their daughter to ensure the utterance of the fatal 'Please blow up the fire.' It is said on good authority that these nocturnal visits but seldom result in immorality." Another account is given by the Rev. Mr. Crossland: "The mode of courtship in this country is peculiar. No courting goes on by day; but at night, when all is quiet, a young lover creeps to the side of his lady-love's curtains, and awakes her; if she cares for him she admits him, and after chewing sirih and betel-nut, they discourse through the medium of a species of Jew's harp, one handing it to the other, asking questions and returning answers. This goes on for a month or more, and then having made sure of his bird, he asks the important question of the parents; should they be willing, the day is fixed, all in the house are invited to eat pinang sirih; should the young man live in another house, the women of his house dress themselves in their best, and go to fetch the bride. Then comes the tug of war; shall they run the gauntlet of all the young men and boys of the house, who are waiting with sooted hands to begrime their faces and bodies? They generally show fight, though they come away like niggers, for the boys here are full of mischief. If a young lady is unwilling to hear the suit of a lover, she tells him to 'go home;' if he still persists she gets up and blows up the fire. All this goes on in a room where the parents are sleeping, and often married brothers and sisters. No one interferes, unless asked; but should a young man misbehave, woe betide him; naked weapons would soon be thrown at him. I believe you would not find in England, amongst an equal number of persons, a morality half as good. If a girl cares for a man she will let him know; if not, no amount of money can win her." (Miss. Life, 1864, p. 650.)

A different and more detailed account is given by Mr. Leggatt: "If during nightly courtship the girl should be pleased with her lover he remains until close upon daybreak, when he leaves with her some article as a pledge of his honour, such as a necklace, or ring, or his turban, or anything else that may seem appropriate which he may have about him. He will, if he is very much in love with the young lady, probably at once awaken her parents

before leaving the house, and professing his love for their daughter request to be accepted as their son-in-law. Or he may at once take his departure and defer the trying moment of appearing before the young lady's friends to some future time, or until his own friends have first broken the ground for him.

"Having decided the question of the future to his own and the young lady's satisfaction, he in time makes known to his own parents his wishes, and the next step in the proceedings is a visit on the part of the man's friends to request of the girl's friends the hand of their daughter in marriage for their son. Consent having been obtained, a day is fixed upon for the ceremony of *mlah pinang*, i.e., the splitting of the betel-nut, though not until the advisability of the proposed connection between the two families, the compatibility of the tempers of the parties most intimately concerned, their virtues and their faults, &c., have been discussed.

"The day before the ceremony is to take place is spent by the bridegroom in obtaining a supply of betel-nut, sirih leaf (a species of pepper), lime, gambier, tobacco, &c., all concomitants of the betel necessary for chewing during the proceedings connected with the marriage.

"The wedding may take place at either the house of the bride or bridegroom, but it is generally at the house which has to be left, and not that in which the newly-married couple intend to settle. Thus, if it has been decided that the newly-married wife shall settle down in the house of her husband's friends, the wedding will take place at her home; if the husband is to remove to the home of his wife's friends, the women folk of his village house set out in a boat, gaily decorated with an awning of parti-coloured sheets and with streamers and flags flying, and to the accompaniment of gongs and drums fetch the bride for the ceremony to her husband's house. At whichever house it may be, the other party having arrived, all enter the *bilik* or private room, and sit down and talk over the future prospects of the young couple, chewing betel-nut and sirih the while, which has been provided by the bridegroom, though not without having set aside a portion with which to perform the divination connected with the ceremony.

"Afterwards, all repair to the *ruai*, or common verandah, taking with them the pinang and sirih for chewing, and that for divination which has been placed apart from the rest. An elderly female relative then places upon a plate some gum dammar which she carries out upon the *tanju*, or open platform adjoining the house, and there burns.

"Next, an old man or woman, who is constituted Master of Ceremonies for the occasion, takes from the stock reserved for the purpose one or two betel-nuts, which are then split up into eight pieces and placed upon a plate with some sirih, tobacco, &c., as representing the obligations of the husband, as will be subsequently seen. Afterwards one or two betel-nuts are in like manner split into seven divisions, and placed with similar accompaniments upon the same plate as representing the wife's responsibilities.

"The plate containing the betel-nut, &c., is then placed at the uppermost part of the verandah upon a brass tray, and a sheet is gathered together at its centre and suspended by a string from a beam overhead, so as to cover and surround the tray.

"A bamboo is then brought and cut into two pieces, or two separate pieces of bamboo may be made use of. One piece is split into eight, as was the betel-nut, and the other into seven; and each is again tied together with red thread and suspended over the hearth-stone upon the verandah, while the Master of Ceremonies repeats the form of obligation, which is merely a declaration that if either party should desert the other by reason of sickness or accident, or for any other insufficient reason, then the deserting party must be fined to the extent of—in the case of the husband deserting the wife—eight *iruns*, or *menukuls*, or *jabirs*, or *pandings*, or *alas*, according as may already have been agreed upon, and corresponding to the number of the pieces of the betel-nut, and of bamboo; in the case of a wife deserting the husband, seven of the aforesaid jars.

"The relative value of the jars above named are:—1 *irun* = 2 plates; 1 *menukul* = 2 *iruns*; 1 *jabir* = 2 *menukuls*; 1 *panding* = 2 *jabirs*; 1 *alas* = 2 *pandings*. The value of a plate is from 9 to 12 cents (3 or 4 pence).<sup>2</sup>

"The plate containing the split pieces of pinang is then uncovered and the contents examined to ascertain the will of the gods. An increase in the number of the pieces is considered to signify the gratification and goodwill of the spirits; a decrease, their displeasure. Neither increase nor decrease is expected, and perhaps now no examination ever takes place. To find the same number of pieces in the plate signifies a future of just ordinary good fortune and happiness.

"The contents of the plate are chewed just as other pinang and sirih is at the end of the proceedings, and the whole marriage ceremony is completed—the young couple are lawfully man and wife.

"But etiquette requires that they shall remain in the house where the marriage has taken place during the space of three days. Then on the fourth day a visit is paid lasting over three days to the family in the other village with whom alliance has been made, and with whom the home is to be made.

"At the conclusion of this three days' visit, a farewell visit has to be paid to the friends who are being forsaken by bride or bridegroom, and this visit extends over six days, after which the young couple return to the house which is to be in future their home.

"On the occasion of the first visit after the wedding to the friends of the man, after entering the house the newly-made bride must not enter her mother-in-law's room until she has first been led over the threshold by that austere relative herself, or by some female relative deputed by her to perform the office.

"The bride therefore goes into the room of any female friend that she may have, and there awaits the coming of her mother-in-law, while her husband sits down upon the verandah outside his mother's room. The old lady, having ascertained the whereabouts of her daughter-in-law, goes to fetch her, and having brought her into her room sits her down upon a mat spread for the purpose. She then goes out to her son upon the verandah,

<sup>2</sup> See JARS, *infra*.

and leads him in and places him to sit by his wife's side. Having caught a fowl she next proceeds to wave it in blessing over their heads, praying

' *Asoh bidik, asoh lansik,*  
' *Asoh betuah, asoh berimpah ;*  
' *Baka pisang kena tambak,*  
' *Baka keladi kena terenak,*  
' *Baka tebu kena ujak.*  
' *Adai ti minta asi,*  
' *Adai ti minta ai,*  
' *Adai ti minta anjong mandi.*

' May they be fortunate and lucky, may they be prosperous and happy : May they be fruitful like the banana which is planted out, like the caladium planted as a seedling, like the sugar cane stuck in the ground. May they have some to ask of them rice, to ask water, and to ask to be carried to the bath (*i.e.* children who will require from them food and drink and washing).'

" For the wedding and subsequent visiting the bride will deck herself out in all the finery she possesses and all she can borrow in addition.

" Her wedding dress consists of a short skirt reaching to her knees, along the bottom of which may be sewn several rows of tinsel and of silver coins, below which probably hang two or three rows of hawk-bells. Round her waist she may have several coils of brass or silver chain, and in addition a row of dollars or other silver coins linked together. From her waist upwards as far as her armpits she will wear a corset formed by threading upon cane a great number of small brass rings, her armlets are also of brass and extend up to her elbow. As many rings as she can borrow are upon her fingers, she will wear necklaces of very small beads worked in very beautiful patterns and finished off in a tassel of beads round her neck. Her ears will be furnished with studs of silver gilt, with a setting of red cloth behind the filagree work to show them off, and her head decorated with a towering comb of silver filagree work to which is attached a number of silver spangles which glitter and glimmer with every movement of her head. Perhaps also in addition she will stick into her hair a number of skewers, decorated with beads and little tags or red and yellow and white cloth. No jacket is worn, but a silken scarf is thrown over her shoulders, crossed in front and the ends tied behind her. In place of a bouquet she will carry in her hand a bunch of large silver buttons, each measuring about two inches in diameter. The weight of her jewelry and ornaments is so great that she can hardly walk along. The bridegroom takes no especial pains to ornament his person.

" The bridal bed is gaily ornamented with bright coloured curtains and is generally carved and decorated for the occasion.

" When returning from the last visit to settle in the home which she is to occupy in the future, the young folk of her village send her forth, not with showers of rice, but with splashings of water and scattering and smearing of mud and soot, for good luck, unless she cries off by declaring that in her case such practices are *mali* (forbidden.)

"I am told that marriages used not to take place at so early an age as they now do, for the rule was that no young man was allowed to marry before he had *makai isi tachu*, *lit.* eaten the contents of the coconut shell, an idiom to express having been on the warpath, it being the rule for the men on an expedition to take with them a cocoanut shell with which to ladle out the rice from their provision bag into the pot for cooking." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"Among the Balaus, or Sea Dayaks of Lingga, there is also no ceremony at a betrothment: in fact Mr. Chambers informs me that the word is not known in their language. Indeed their manners preclude the necessity of any such formal arrangement. . . . Among the Sibuyau Dayaks of Lundu, no ceremony attends a betrothment, but when the consent of the parents of the bride has been obtained, an early day is appointed for the marriage.

"The men of the Sibuyaues marry but one wife, and that not until they have attained the age of seventeen or eighteen. Their wedding ceremony is curious; and, as related, is performed by the bride and bridegroom being brought in procession along the large room, where a brace of fowls is placed over the bridegroom's neck, which he whirls seven times round his head. The fowls are then killed, and their blood sprinkled on the forehead of the pair, which done, they are cooked and eaten by the new-married couple *alone*, whilst the rest feast and drink during the whole night." (Keppel i. 56.) A different version is given by Sir S. St. John: "On the wedding day, the bride and bridegroom are brought from opposite ends of the village to the spot where the ceremony is to be performed. They are made to sit on two bars of iron, that blessings as lasting, and health as vigorous, as the metal may attend the pair. A cigar and betel leaf prepared with the areca nut are next put into the hands of the bride and bridegroom. One of the priests then waves two fowls over the heads of the couple, and in a long address to the Supreme Being, calls down blessings upon the pair, and implores that peace and happiness may attend the union. After the heads of the affianced have been knocked against each other three or four times, the bridegroom puts the prepared siri leaf and the cigar into the mouth of the bride, while she does the same to him, whom she thus acknowledges as her husband. The fowls are then killed, and the blood caught in two cups, and from its colour the priest foretells the future happiness or misery of the newly-married. The ceremony is closed by a feast, with dancing and noisy music." (i. 51.)

"Amongst the Kayans there are more ceremonies observed at the birth and naming of children than at marriage, the performance of which is not encumbered by many formalities. The man, on selecting his bride, makes presents to her, and if these are accepted by her parents and others connected, a day is appointed for her removal to the house of her future guardian; but, independent of the presents, it is necessary on the part of the bridegroom to present the bride with a prescribed number of beads of different sorts, which are made into a necklace and worn by her as a badge of wedlock." (Burns, *Jour. Ind. Arch.* 150.) "Marriages are celebrated with great pomp [by the Kayans]; many men have ruined themselves by their extravagance on this occasion. Tamading, with princely munificence,

gave away or spent the whole of his property on his wedding-day." (St. John i. 112.)

A Dusun marriage, at which Lieut. de Crespigny was once present, and at which he says there was no ceremony, "was performed by torch-light; a hog was killed and a feast held, after which a chorus was sung by all the women and children for several hours which was really very pretty; but of its purport I am ignorant, and the happy couple were at length dismissed with loud acclamations." (Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. ii. 1858, p. 349.) Mr. Whitehead's account of Dusun marriage is as follows: "Children are betrothed when very young and of about the same age; their parents seem to arrange all for them. The marriage ceremony is somewhat complicated to European ideas. When the young people have arrived at a marriageable age the parents of the bridegroom visit the bride's family dressed in their best, bringing with them a buffalo and a brass gong—but I have known only a gong given. This is the *berrihan*,<sup>3</sup> or payment for the wife; the parents then return to their own home. The following day the bride pays a visit to her future husband's house, but the young people do not converse; the next day she returns to her home. In a few days she again pays a visit, this time attended by two of her girl friends, dressed in their holiday clothes. In the evening there is a feast of buffalo-meat and 'arrak.' The night and, in some tribes, the next two days and nights are spent in dancing; but the Melangkap brides return home the next morning, where they remain for five days, after which the ceremony is over and the happy pair considered man and wife." (p. 110.)

"It is very rare that a [Sea Dyak] man or woman is not married. A man will rarely marry a woman who has a child, and intercourse before marriage is strictly to ascertain that the marriage will be fruitful, as the Dyaks want children. The women are so keenly sensitive to disgrace that they will not part with their virtue for fear of the consequences. They prefer death to a life of shame, and many girls have committed suicide rather than face the displeasure of their parents and the jibes of their sex. If the man be false to his word, and the woman commits suicide, he is held responsible for the value of her life, and is very heavily fined. It is unusual, however, for the men to prove false to their vows. It is absolutely necessary for them to marry as early in life as possible, and if a suitable woman is already found, and her fertility ascertained beyond a doubt, there is no inducement to hang back. The young men as a rule marry at 18 and settle down, and the girls at 16." (Brooke Low.)

"A case occurred at Banting which created much scandal among the higher circles of the Dyak community. The eldest daughter of one of the chiefs of a long house was found to be in a state of pregnancy, and, according to the custom, this incident is not allowed to pass without considerable ado in bringing the father to acknowledge the paternity. The young lady claimed a man of rank, but the young chief disowned any share in the business, and was ready to stand as a witness that a slave was the father of the coming child.

<sup>3</sup> *Brian* (*barian*) is really payment for the virginity of the bride, and is practically of Malay introduction.—H. L. R.

This dispute occasioned many days' litigation, and in the long run the lady had to prove her accusation by diving against the man of rank. If the latter won he would thus prove that he was innocent and the slave at fault. The dive came off amid hundreds of spectators, but the woman lost her claim on the young chief, who was generally considered to be innocent of the matter. The chiefs in council afterwards gave their opinions gravely:—"That the Almighty had decided the case with an omniscient power, and brought the proper father to light to answer for his sins." The scandal and disgrace caused the lady to flee inland to a distance, and the old chief lost all his followers, who separated from him to seek another and more respectable leader, the sins of the child in these cases being visited upon the father. I saw the old man shortly after it happened, and a greater picture of misery I never cast eyes on. I pitied him from my heart. Deserted by all, he left the country for a neighbouring river." (Brooke i. 147.)

"They marry at an early age, and separate frequently before they find a partner to please them, under the plea of bad dreams or birds. Strangers frequently look on their conduct (irrespectively of these temporary and probationary marriages) as being remarkably volatile and disreputable; and this idea has been circulated by the teachers of the Gospel. But an impartial observer, after making inquiry, will find there are many more penalties attached to their peccadilloes than, I believe, are found under similar circumstances in Europe. The greatest disgrace is attached to a woman found in a state of pregnancy without being able to name her husband; and cases of self-poisoning, to avoid the shame, are not of unusual occurrence. If one be found in this state, a fine must be paid of pigs and other things. Few even of the chiefs will come forward without incurring considerable responsibility. Pig is killed, which nominally becomes the father, for want, it is supposed, of another and better one. Then the surrounding neighbours have to be furnished with a share of the fine to banish the *jabu*, which exists after such an event. If the fine be not forthcoming, the woman dare not move out of her room for fear of being molested, as she is supposed to have brought evil (*Kudi*) and confusion upon the inhabitants and their belongings." (Brooke i. 69.)

"Among the Kyans, when two young people take a fancy to each other, their intercourse is unrestrained. Should the girl prove with child, a marriage takes place; their great anxiety for children makes them take this precaution against sterility. . . . As among the Sea Dayaks, the young people have almost unrestrained intercourse; but if the girl prove with child, a marriage immediately takes place, the bridegroom making the richest presents he can to her relatives." (St. John i. 88, 113.)

"The Sibuyaus, though they do not consider the sexual intercourse of their young people as a positive crime, yet are careful of the honour of their daughters, as they attach an idea of great indecency to promiscuous connection. They are far advanced beyond their brethren in this respect, and are of opinion that an unmarried girl proving with child must be offensive to the superior powers, who, instead of always chastising the individual, punish the tribe by misfortunes happening to its members. They, therefore, on the

discovery of the pregnancy, fine the lovers and sacrifice a pig to propitiate offended Heaven, and to avert that sickness or those misfortunes that might otherwise follow; and they inflict heavy mulcts for every one who may have suffered from any severe accident, or who may have been drowned within a month before the religious atonement was made; lighter fines are levied if a person be simply wounded.

"As these pecuniary demands fall upon the families of both parties, great care is taken of the young girls, and seldom is it found necessary to sacrifice the pig. After marriage the women also are generally chaste, though cases of adultery are occasionally brought before the Orang Kayas.

"Among the Dayaks on the Batang Lupar, however, unchastity is more common, but the favours of the women are generally confined to their own countrymen, and usually to one lover. Should the girl prove with child, it is an understanding between them that they marry, and men seldom, by denying, refuse to fulfil their engagements. Should, however, the girl be unable to name the father she is exposed to the reproaches of her relatives, and many to escape them have taken poison. In respectable families they sacrifice a pig and sprinkle the doors with its blood to wash away the sin; and the erring maiden's position is rendered so uncomfortable that she generally tries to get away from home." (St. John i. 53.)

"Suicide is of frequent occurrence among the females, but is rarely resorted to by the males. The women, as we have said before, are so keenly sensitive of disgrace that many prefer, if anything untoward happen, to perish by their own act. They cannot bear to be found fault with by those whom they love, and if reproached by their parents or their husbands in at all bitter terms for any irregularity in their conduct they take poison; but the doses do not always prove fatal, and if a powerful emetic is administered in time death does not ensue. Fowl's dung is forced into their mouth to produce nausea, and the body is immersed in water. (Brooke Low.)

"The state of morality among the Sakarran and Saribas Dyaks is strangely more lax than in any of the other tribes. . . . The license granted to the young women appears amongst these people only to extend to their own nation, but it is probable, and in fact certain, in some tribes, that their favours are liberally extended to the Malays, should any happen to reside in their vicinity. This laxity of manners has been carried so far, that I have been assured that should a chief, or distinguished warrior of another tribe, travelling through the country, rest for a night at a village, it is a necessary part of their hospitality to provide a girl for his companion; but my information on this particular is derived from the Malays. I, however, think it correct, as a similar custom is always followed by the Kyans." (Low, p. 195.)

#### LOVERS' TROUBLES.

"There is a hill in Sabaian (the next world), says tradition, covered with *uba*, and suicides there enjoy undisturbed repose beneath the shade of the poisonous shrub. Despairing lovers, whose union upon earth was forbidden by harsh and unfeeling parents, are here re-united. Women have also been

known within recent times to commit suicide to avoid the shame and disgrace of being sold into slavery." (Brooke Low.)

"Match-making parents sometimes invite a likely young lad of their acquaintance to *ngaiap* (as it is called) their daughter while both are yet young; they do all they can to render his visits agreeable to him in the hope that he may learn to get fond of the girl and take her to wife when they are both old enough to think of such matters. . . . When a young woman is in love with a man who is not acceptable to her parents, there is an old custom called *nunghup bui*, which permits him to carry her off to his own village. She will meet him by arrangement at the water-side, and step into his boat with a paddle in her hand, and both will pull away as fast as they can. If pursued he will stop every now and then to deposit some article of value on the bank, such as a gun, a jar, or a *tavor* for the acceptance of her family, and when he has exhausted his resources he will leave his own sword. When the pursuers observe this they will cease to follow, knowing he is cleared out. As soon as he reaches his own village he tidies up the house and spreads the mats, and when his pursuers arrive he gives them food to eat and toddy to drink, and sends them home satisfied. In the meanwhile he is left in possession of his wife." (Brooke Low.)

"I may notice that among the Sibuyau Dayaks there is great pride of birth, and that parents will seldom consent to their daughters marrying a man of very inferior condition. Many lamentable occurrences have arisen from this." (St. John i. 52.)

"During one of my visits to the Sakarang I heard a story which is rather French in its termination. A young man proposed to a girl and was accepted by her, but her parents refused to give their consent, as he was of very inferior birth. Every means was tried to soften their hearts, but they were obstinate, and endeavoured to induce her to give up her lover and marry another. In their despair the lovers retired to the jungle, and swallowed the poisonous juice of the tuba plant: next morning they were found dead, with their cold and stiff arms entwined round each other. Cases are not of very rare occurrence among the Sakarang Dayaks, where disappointed love has sought solace in the grave." (*ibid* i. 54.)

"Presents given to a girl during courtship can never be recovered whatever the event." (Brooke Low.)

"With the woman of Eastern clime, love is like the sun's rays in warmth; she runs from her parents, casts off brother and sister, and all other relations, for the man to whom she has taken a fancy; even though he be ugly, deformed, poor and degraded, it matters not: she follows him after having been even separated by force, and threatened with excommunication and death if she again approaches the man of her choice. She is heedless, and elopes at night adorned in man's shabby habiliments, with a tattered head-dress and short rusty sword, steals a small broken canoe, and pulls night and day from one river to another, crossing their ripply entrances with trepidation and alarm, but dexterously dragging her crazy craft over the surf, until she finds him who is nearest her heart. She gains her haven exhausted from exposure and hunger, for she has perhaps only taken a handful of dry

rice, and has crossed over eighty miles without help from anyone, her eager heart alone surmounting the many intervening difficulties and dangers. This episode happened while I was in Sarawak. A *Seripa* had fallen in love with a working man, whom, according to custom, she was not permitted to marry. Death would have been the penalty in olden times; but this young lady of sweet seventeen underwent what is above narrated, and said, "If I fell in love with a wild beast, no one should prevent me marrying it." (Brooke ii. 106.)

## DAYAK LOVE SONG.

## TRANSLATION.

- |    |  |    |  |
|----|--|----|--|
| 1  | Aku Kantok Libau nuran sium<br>bali-ali,                                       | 1  | I am the tender shoot of the<br>drooping libau with its fragrant<br>scent,   |
| 2  | Aku repai panjai daun nuchik<br>ujong jari,                                    | 2  | I am the long-leafed repai tickling<br>the finger tips,  |
| 3  | Aku baya nanga Lingga napat ka<br>selat bunga jambu                            | 3  | I am the crocodile from the mouth<br>of the Lingga coming repeatedly<br>for the striped flower of the rose-<br>apple.              |
| 4  | Aku tedong beratong ngili batang<br>Kanyau napat ka selat sengan<br>moa pintu. | 4  | I am the cobra floating down the<br>Kanyau river, coming often to<br>the threshold of the door,                                    |
| 5  | Aku bujang besai mandi di jembai<br>tandok labong                              | 5  | I am a bachelor of full age, so agile<br>that I can cut away the drooping<br>corner of a man's turban while<br>springing past him; |
| 6  | Aku pedang panjai penyelai kan-<br>dong nibong,                                | 6  | I am the long sword, sweeping off<br>the long sheathed nibong palm   |
| 7  | Aku kijang bejalai punggu parai<br>pengenyan tangkai lenga nyaman,             | 7  | I am the antelope, walking among<br>the dead tree-stumps, carrying<br>the ears of sweet millet,                                    |
| 8  | Aku kijang mengkanjong punggu<br>pumpong pengenyan tekuyong<br>pulau Santan    | 8  | I am the antelope, springing from<br>the beheaded trees, carrying the<br>shells from Santan Island,                                |
| 9  | Aku kijang nyungkah punggu rebah<br>pengenyan buah raba masam,                 | 9  | I am the antelope, leaping over<br>the fallen logs, carrying the sour<br>raba fruit,   |
| 10 | Aku kijang rari punggu mati pen-<br>genyan sligi bala penikam.                 | 10 | I am the antelope, fleeing over the<br>dead stumps, carrying the javelin<br>of the spearmen.                                       |
| 11 | Aku buang nanga S'karang munyi<br>kijang rarah tandok, <sup>4</sup>            | 11 | I am the crocodile, from the mouth<br>of the Skarang, with the cry of<br>the dehorned antelope,                                    |

<sup>4</sup> Lines 11, 12, 13—*Buang, Buah, Buit*. No such words really exist in the Dyak language, but considerable license is allowed in Dyak poetry, and for the sake of rhyme and euphony, the word *baya* (meaning a crocodile) takes the above forms, so as to rhyme with Skarang, Lemanak, and Angit respectively.

- |    |   |    |   |
|----|---|----|---|
| 12 | Aku buak nanga Lemanak munyi<br>pekak anak manok,                 | 12 | I am the crocodile, from the mouth<br>of the Lemanak, clucking like a<br>young chicken.                       |
| 13 | Aku buit nanga Angit pengigit pala<br>pelandok.                   | 13 | I am the crocodile from the mouth<br>of the Angit, that bites off the<br>head of the mouse-deer,              |
| 14 | Aku antu puchok kemedu madah<br>ka bulu rendam basah ;            | 14 | I am the spirit from the summit of<br>the Kemedu-creeper, to say that<br>I am wet from diving ;               |
| 15 | Aku remaung puchok merkubong<br>madah ka rekong turun darah ;     | 15 | I am the tiger, from the top of the<br>merkubong tree, to say that the<br>blood is running down my throat ;   |
| 16 | Aku langkan meruan tali, rambing<br>pergandau danau batang Kapuas | 16 | I am the hollow boat-keel with a<br>loop of rope for a bridge across<br>the lake of Kapuas,                   |
| 17 | Aku biliong panjai puting penglum-<br>pong nibong panjai sablas.  | 17 | I am the long-necked axe, to cut<br>the nibong palm which measures<br>eleven fathoms.                         |
| 18 | Aku brangai punjai lunchong ngaiau<br>mubai langgai Kapuas ;      | 18 | I am the boat with the long-<br>projecting figure-head, to war<br>against the source of the River<br>Kapuas ; |
| 19 | Aku chapak besiring kuning tisi<br>glamit benang mas,             | 19 | I am the yellow-striped plate with<br>a border-like gold thread,  |
| 20 | Aku ma punga unggan rerengut<br>empa api,                         | 20 | I am the ma wood, cut for a live<br>fire log, with which to keep alive<br>the fire ;                          |
| 21 | Aku repai panjai daun nuchik<br>ujong jari                        | 21 | I am the long-leafed repai tree,<br>tickling the finger-tips,   |
| 22 | Aku blia bandir tapang pemantang<br>penegi rebor api              | 22 | I am the weaver's blade from the<br>buttress of the bee tree, for<br>knocking up the red thread ;             |
| 23 | Aku samak mansau batang sararai<br>empa api                       | 23 | I am the samak tree with the red<br>trunk withered by the fire ;  |
| 24 | Aku jugok manok menang di-<br>sabong enda rari.                   | 24 | I am the comb of the champion<br>fighting-cock that never runs<br>away.                                       |
| 25 | Aku tapang nanga Menyang betum-<br>bok takang tujuh puluh,        | 25 | I am the bee tree at the mouth<br>of the Menyang, from which<br>radiates seventy branches ;                   |
| 26 | Aku ipoh nanga Seriang ngerarah<br>ka kaban jelu nyumbuh,         | 26 | I am the upas tree at the mouth of<br>the Seriang, causing to fall the<br>troops of nyumbuh monkeys ;         |
| 27 | Aku temiang lunti batang turun<br>ambun belaboh,                  | 27 | I am the temiang bamboo, with the<br>graceful stems, from which the<br>dewdrops fall ;                        |
| 28 | Aku glamit ubong benang pengung-<br>kong kaki Jawai,              | 28 | I am the gold thread twisted for<br>anklets for the feet of Jawai,  |

- |    |   |    |   |
|----|---|----|---|
| 29 | Aku limau tan parang pengurong<br>anak Mandai ;                           | 29 | I am the lime tree resisting a<br>sword, a cage for the daughter<br>of Mandai. <sup>5</sup>                     |
| 30 | Aku baya nanga Lingga madah ka<br>nyawa nukang perdah,                    | 30 | I am the crocodile from the mouth<br>of the Lingga, with wide open<br>mouth, as the angle of an axe-<br>handle, |
| 31 | Aku tedong tuchong lampong madah<br>ka rekong turun darah ;               | 31 | I am the cobra at the summit of<br>Lampong, to say that my throat<br>runs with blood ;                          |
| 32 | Aku lang terebang ngelingi batang<br>Kanyau napat ka menoa babas<br>bulu, | 32 | I am the hawk flying down the<br>Kanyau river, coming after the<br>fine feathered fowl ;                        |
| 33 | Aku semah berayah rantau Lumau<br>napat ka kilat bunga jambu,             | 33 | I am the semah fish, coquetting<br>down the Lumau river, coming<br>after the acrid rose-apple flower ;          |
| 34 | Aku tempekok manok jagau napat<br>ka ruman padi baru :                    | 34 | I am the clucking young cock,<br>calling to come after the stalks<br>of new padi.                               |
| 35 | Aku enteran ban singit ;  | 35 | I am the spear-shaft cut sidewise ;   |
| 36 | Aku dinding sanggit rapat ;   | 36 | I am the wall tied up closely,  |
| 37 | Aku blia bandir tapang penegi<br>rebor api,                               | 37 | I am the weaver's blade from the<br>buttress of the bee tree, for<br>knocking up the red thread,                |
| 38 | Aku sabong manok menang di<br>sabong mali mati ;                          | 38 | I am the champion fighting-cock,<br>always victorious, never beaten ;   |
| 39 | Aku nabau tuchong Nyambau<br>madah ka likau betatah timah,                | 39 | I am the python at the summit of<br>Nyambau, with spotted stripes<br>like lead ;                                |
| 40 | Aku ensing batu mandi di terumbu<br>sarong tedong ;                       | 40 | I am the kingfisher that bathes at<br>the arch of the cobra's nest,   |
| 41 | Aku ensing banda mandi di krapa<br>lulong jungkong ;                      | 41 | I am the red kingfisher that bathes<br>in the mangrove swamp ;  |
| 42 | Aku lelabi nanga Engkari madah<br>ka kaki ngereman basah,                 | 42 | I am the tortoise from the mouth<br>of the Engkari, with my feet wet<br>from wading,                            |
| 43 | Aku remaung tuchong Talong<br>madah ka rekong kungkong<br>darah,          | 43 | I am the tiger from the summit of<br>Talong, with the throat encircled<br>with blood,                           |
| 44 | Aku tedong ulu Lampong pala<br>belantak timah,                            | 44 | I am the cobra from the source of<br>the Lampong, with head spotted<br>like lead ;                              |
| 45 | Aku ringan, nanga Brin, kain<br>nengan pah.                               | 45 | I am the fishing fox from the mouth<br>of the Brin, with my skirt about<br>my hips.                             |

The above is really only a fragment. In different districts variations are found, and many people say that the whole recitation is much longer. (Brooke Low.)

<sup>5</sup> In some parts of Dutch Borneo girls until they arrive at a marriageable age are kept in cages. See Schwaner.—H. L. R.

## PROHIBITED DEGREES.

"No Land Dyak may marry his first cousin, and no man may marry his deceased wife's sister; to do either would, according to them, provoke exceedingly the divine displeasure, and bring down a temporal infliction of it upon the guilty parties." (Chalmers in Grant's Tour.)

Sir S. St. John gives us more detail about the prohibited degrees among the Land Dyaks (i. 198). "The prohibited degrees seem to be the same as adopted among ourselves: marriage with a deceased wife's sister, it is said, is prohibited, as well as that between first cousins; and second cousins are only permitted after the exchange of a fine of a jar, the woman paying it to the relation of her lover, and he to her relations. Among the Sibuyaus, however, I have known an uncle marry his niece." Of the Sea Dyaks he says: "It is contrary to custom for a man to marry a first cousin, as they look upon them as sisters. No marriage is allowed with aunt or niece, and some objection is made in a few of the communities to a man marrying a deceased wife's sister, or a woman taking her husband's brother: but these customs are not always followed, and I have heard of uncles marrying nieces, and a marriage with a deceased wife's sister is also permitted, provided her parents approve of the man; and it is then often encouraged by them in order to bring up the children as one family." (i. 73.)

"On the subject of marrying in and in, it is to be observed that Dyak customs prohibit any near consanguineous nuptials, and they are more particular in this respect than Europeans. They consider first cousins in the light of brothers and sisters, and a further removal only entitles a customary marriage. Nieces are not allowed to marry their uncles, nor nephews their aunts. They are particular in these points, and the person who disregards them is harshly reproached and heavily mulcted." (Brooke ii. 336.)

"Incest is held [by the Skarans] in abhorrence, and even the marriage of cousins is not allowed. During my visit to Betah, a village of the 'Goon' tribe, in 1846, the Baddat Dyaks came with presents of fowls and rice, their village being about ten miles distant. They had also a serious complaint to make against one of the chiefs of their tribe, for having disturbed the peace and prosperity of their village by marrying his own grand-daughter!—his wife and the girl's mother, his own child, being still alive. The chiefs who visited me, said, that since the occurrence of the above event, no bright day had blest their territory; but that rain and darkness alone prevailed, and that unless the plague-spot were removed, the tribe would soon be ruined." (Low, p. 301.)

"The Sea Dyaks are very particular as to their prohibited degrees of marriage, and are opposed in principle to the inter-marriage of relatives. This is one reason for the fertility of their women as compared with other tribes who are fast vanishing around them. As with us, a man may not marry his mother,

Nor his step-mother,

Nor his mother-in-law,

Nor his mother-in-law's sister,

Nor his mother-in-law's cousin,  
 Nor his mother-in-law's relations to within two degrees,  
 Nor his daughter,  
 Nor his step-daughter,  
 Nor his daughter-in-law,  
 Nor his adopted daughter,  
 Nor his sister,  
 Nor his step-sister,  
 Nor his half-sister,  
 Nor his wife's sister,  
 Nor his aunt,  
 Nor his step-mother,  
 Nor his father's sister,  
 Nor his mother's sister,

and for a woman the prohibited degrees are the same. He may not marry his first cousin, except he perform a special act called *bergaput*, to avert evil consequences to the land. The couple adjourn to the water-side and fill a small earthenware jar with their personal ornaments; this they sink in the river, or instead of a jar they may fling a *duku* (chopper) and a plate into the river. A pig is then sacrificed on the bank and its carcase, drained of its blood, is flung in after the jar. The pair are then pushed into the water by their friends and ordered to bathe together. A joint of bamboo is then filled with pig's blood, and they have to perambulate the country, scattering it upon the ground and in the villages round about. They are then free to marry." (Brooke Low.) "Once an Undup Dyak married his first cousin, and the people refused to visit him unless he asked *ampun*, *i.e.* forgiveness. To obtain this he killed a pig and threw the whole of it into the river with one plate and a *duku* (chopper). I tried once to make out of whom they asked pardon, and I was told, as I always am, '*sighi adat kami*—only our custom.' They said it was to no evil spirit, but to the whole country, in order that their paddy might not be blasted." (Crossland.)

#### TRIBAL INTERMARRIAGE.

"Tribes do not intermarry much, probably owing to the wars." (Brooke Low.) At Brang, a Land Dyak village, Mr. Grant (p. 21) writes: "There were some really good-looking young fellows here, and their dresses were quite in keeping with their looks and bearing. Some of the best-looking were of a party of Serambo Dyaks, young bachelors who had come across country, probably as much to court and to win the regards of some of the fair damsels of Brang as to join in the feast. I find there is more intermarriage between the various tribes than formerly, and this is a change for the better."

Mr. Denison writes: "From all I can learn regarding marriage among the Serambo Dyaks they may intermarry where and with what tribes they choose, but they all seem to prefer marrying in their own village." (Jottings, ch. ii. p. 14.)

But intermarriage with the Chinese seems to be common: "In August I acceded to the request of the Raja to open a school for the benefit of the children of the Chinese and for the offspring of the mixed marriages between Chinese and Dyaks. Truly speaking, the Chinese women up here are themselves the offspring of mixed marriages, but, having been brought up in all the manners and customs of the Chinese, are looked upon as Chinese. . . . The more Chinese blood there is in the boys the more diligent they are in their studies; but in all hard work or play they fall short of the Chinese-Dyak or mixed race." <sup>6</sup> (Chambers Miss. Field, 1869, p. 266.)

The settled agricultural tribes between Brunei and Marudu Bays are good examples of Chinese and native intermarrying.

#### RESIDENCE.

"With the Upper Sarawak Dyaks the bride follows the bridegroom to his house or his parents' and is considered a member of his family." (Haughton M. A. S. iii. 200.) "With other Land Dyaks the reverse is the case." (St. John i. 162.)

"The Serambo women object to being taken from their homes, and the men to following their wives, as is the Dyak custom. When a Dyak marries he enters the family of his wife, and lives in her parents' house till the couple set up for themselves, which is generally not for some time afterwards, though in some cases when the bride is one of a large family, or the husband has others dependent on him, this custom may be reversed, and the woman go over to the man's dwelling." (Denison, Jottings, ch. ii. p. 14.)

"It is usual for the husband to reside with the father-in-law until he has a family of his own and is prepared to set up a house for himself. If his wife is the only daughter and he is permitted to take her away to his own home, her parents have a right to demand of him a *taju*<sup>7</sup> or *brian* (*barian*) to replace her loss of service; but if she has a sister or sister-in-law to attend to her parents no such demand can be made, and she is at liberty to follow her husband if she be so disposed. Self-interest governs the father in connection with his daughter's marriage. He makes certain requisitions as the price of his consent. He would stipulate that his daughter should continue to live with him or near him, so that her children should belong to him as head of the family group. In this case, not only would the children form part of the family to which the mother belonged, but the husband himself would become united to it, and would be required to labour for the benefit of his father-in-law. It frequently happens that

<sup>6</sup> Many of the Chinese on the west coast of Borneo are married to Dyak women, and their exemplary conduct both as wives and mothers is very highly spoken of. No matrimonial connexion has, I believe, ever been formed between a Malay of Sambas and a Dyak female because of the jealousy of the Malay women. . . . A small Dyak tribe, under the protection of the Chinese, is established a few miles of Montradok. The Chinese often intermarry with them, and many Dyak families are established among them, it being the custom of the former when they marry Dyak women, to take the parents, and sometimes the whole family, under their protection. (Earl, pp. 259, 293.)

<sup>7</sup> *Taju* = a jar, often given as *brian*.—H. L. R.

when a husband refuses to live with his wife's family she will leave him and go back to her relatives." (Brooke Low.)

"Among the Lundus, as a general rule, if the bride be an only daughter, or of higher rank, the husband joins her family—if he be of higher rank, or an only son, she follows him, and then she is conducted under a canopy of red cloth to the house of his parents. If they should be of equal condition, and similarly circumstanced, they divide their time among their respective families until they set up housekeeping on their own account . . . while amongst the Sibuyaus, as a general rule, the husband follows the wife, that is, lives with and works for the parents of the latter." (St. John i. 50.)

"If it should happen that the family of the bride should be lacking in male members to do the heavier part of the labour on the farm, &c., they will require that their daughter's husband shall live with them. If the husband's family should stand in need of a woman's help to assist the mother in the household duties, they will require that their son's wife should take up her residence with her mother-in-law. This question has to be decided early in the proceedings. It sometimes happens that the girl will consent to accompany her husband to his home, trusting to her influence over him to induce him afterwards to leave his parents and reside with hers, and in case of his refusal, a separation often follows." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"Lieut. De Crespigny tells me that in his district sons are a curse and daughters a blessing to their parents, both amongst the Malays and Milanos, for this curious reason: that when the sons grow up they look to the parents to help them with the *bri-an*, or wedding portion, and when married they leave their home to live in the house of their father-in-law." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"A man and woman with a family of daughters would thus be gainers by a number of young men coming to live in their house and working for them on their sago plantations, and would at the same time have the pleasure of seeing the gongs ranged round the posts and walls which the young men have brought as *bri-an* into the family." (Denison, Jour. Straits Asiat. Soc., No. 10, p. 183.)

"Among the Dusuns at Melangkap a man marries into his wife's household, she not leaving her father's house; thus, by this arrangement, the man's labour goes to enrich his wife's family. This is the old patriarchal system. In Melangkap some of the women were married to men who belonged to villages a few miles distant, in which case, when the men owned paddi fields in their own districts, they worked there during the busy season separated from their wives. Thus a father of several daughters always has sufficient labourers for his household, while sons, if they are not possessors of land, leave their own family and join that of their wife." (Whitehead, p. 110.)

#### FATHERS-IN-LAW.

"Among the Sibuyau it is worthy of remark that the respect paid by a son-in-law to the father of his wife is greater than that paid to his own father. He treats him with much ceremony, must never pronounce his name, nor must he take the liberty of eating off the same plate, or drinking out of the same cup, or even of lying down on the same mat." (St. John i. 51.)

This is confirmed by Mr. Brooke Low, who says a "son-in-law may not even walk in front of his father-in-law." Mr. Whitehead notes one case in which a father-in-law divorces his son-in-law for making himself generally obnoxious and declining to pay a fine for so doing, and another case in which a son orders his father to leave his (the son's) house. (p. 111.)

#### MOTHERS-IN-LAW.

The only reference to mothers-in-law appears to be the one above relating to the bride receiving the former's blessing.

#### POLYGAMY.

"Polygamy exists amongst the Milanows, but they rarely marry more than one wife; and their domestic affairs being so arranged that the work is equally divided amongst all the members of the family, they are happy and contented." (Crocker, Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. 1881, p. 199.) "It does not appear to exist amongst the Dusuns." (Burbidge, p. 255.) "Nor is it practised by the Land Dyaks." (Haughton M.A.S. iii. 200.) "Clear cases of bigamy are of rare occurrence and not tolerated. No Sea Dyak can have more than one wife at a time." (Brooke Low.) "The Sakarans marry but one wife, though I have seen two or three instances where a chief had two: the Chief of Tabiah is one of these, and in consequence of breaking through the custom of the tribe, had lost all his influence with its members." (Low, p. 300.) "The men among the Kayans, even the greatest chief, take but one wife, and, it is said, consider it shameful to mix their blood, and never, therefore, have any intercourse with the inferior women or slaves." (St. John i. 113.) "The inhabitants of the Lukan are unconverted Tambonuas. They incline towards Islamism, for they are polygamists; Dusuns as a rule are not, that is to say, they usually take a second wife if the first be getting old." (Witti's Diary, 12 June.)

#### POLYANDRY.

"Polyandry is occasionally practised amongst the Punans, but the instances are very rare, and then it is generally found that a difference of some thirty or forty years exists between the ages of the two husbands, the age of the younger usually corresponding with that of the wife" (Hose, J. A. I. xxiii. 158.) "Polyandry with Sea Dyaks is unknown." (Brooke Low.)

#### DIVORCE.

"Among the Upper Sarawak Dyaks divorce is very frequent, owing to the great extent of adultery, and thus a criminal practise of intermarrying exists, which contributes very much to the debilitating of the tribes." (Haughton M.A.S. iii. 200.)

"Sir Spencer St. John gives the following very full account of Divorce among the Land Dyaks of Siranibau:—*Divorces* are very common, one can scarcely meet with a middle-aged Dayak who has not had two, and often three or more wives. I have heard of a girl of seventeen or eighteen years who had already had three husbands. Repudiation, which is generally done by the man or woman running away to the house of a near relation, takes

place for the slightest cause—personal dislike or disappointments, a sudden quarrel, bad dreams, discontent with their partners' powers of labour or their industry, or, in fact, any excuse which will help to give force to the expression, 'I do not want to live with him, or her, any longer.'

"A woman has deserted her husband when laid up with a bad foot, and consequently unable to work, and returned to him when recovered, but this is perhaps to obtain her food on easier terms. A lad once forced his mother to divorce her husband, the lad's stepfather, because the latter tried to get too much work out of his stepson, and let his own children by a former marriage remain idle. The stepson did not understand why he should contribute to the support of his half-brothers, so he told his mother she must leave her husband, or he would leave her and live with his late father's relatives. She preferred her son's society to her husband's.

"In fact, marriage among the Dayaks is a business of partnership for the purpose of having children, dividing labour, and by means of their offspring providing for their old age. It is, therefore, entered into and dissolved almost at pleasure. If a husband divorces his wife, except for the sake of adultery, he has to pay her a fine of two small jars, or about two rupees. If a woman puts away her husband she pays him a jar, or one rupee. If a wife commits adultery the husband can put her away if he please, though, if she be a strong, useful woman, he sometimes does not do so, and her lover pays him a fine of one *tajau*, a large jar equal to twelve small jars, valued at twelve rupees. If a separation takes place, the guilty wife also gives her husband about two rupees. If a husband commit adultery the wife can divorce him, and fine his paramour eight rupees, but she gets nothing from her unfaithful spouse. There is one cause of divorce where the blame rests on neither party, but on their superstitions. When a couple are newly-married, if a deer or a gazelle, or a mouse deer utter a cry at night near the house in which the pair are living, it is an omen of ill—they must separate, or the death of one would ensue. This might be a great trial to a European lover; the Dayaks, however, take the matter very philosophically.

"Mr. Chalmers mentions to me the case of a young Peninjau man who was divorced from his wife on the third day after marriage. The previous night a deer had uttered its warning cry, and separate they must. The morning of the divorce he chanced to go into the 'Head House,' and there sat the bridegroom contentedly at work.

"'Why are you here?' he was asked, as the 'Head House' is frequented by bachelors and boys only; 'What news of your new wife?'

"'I have no wife, we were separated this morning because the deer cried last night.'

"'Are you sorry?'

"'Very sorry.'

"'What are you doing with that brass wire?'

"'Making *perik*'—the brass chain-work which the women wear round their waists—'for a young woman whom I want to get for my new wife.'" (i. 165-167.)

Of the Sea Dyaks the same author says:—"Husbands and wives appear

to pass their lives very agreeably together, which may partly be caused by the facility of divorce. Many men and women have been married seven or eight times before they find the partner with whom they desire to spend the rest of their lives. These divorces take place at varied times, from a few days after marriage to one or two years. However, after the birth of a child, they seldom seek to separate, and if they do the husband is fined but not the wife.

"The causes of divorce are innumerable, but incompatibility of temper is, perhaps, the most common; when they are tired of each other they do not say so, but put the fault upon an unfavourable omen or a bad dream, either of which is allowed to be a legitimate cause of divorce. Should they, however, be still fond of each other, the sacrifice of a pig will effectually prevent any misfortune happening to them from neglecting to separate. Partners often divorce from pique, or from a petty quarrel, and are then allowed to come together again without any fresh marriage ceremony. Among the Balau Dayaks it is necessary for the offended husband to send a ring to his wife before the marriage can be considered as finally dissolved, without which, should they marry again, they would be liable to be punished for infidelity.

"I may add, that as the wife does an equal share of work with her husband, at a divorce she is entitled to half the wealth created by their mutual labours." (i. 55 and 57.)

Mr. Brooke Low fully confirms in detail what St. John says, and adds: "Dyak women when they want to separate from their husbands and have taken a liking for another man, allege that they have dreamt that if they do not separate they will die in pregnancy. This is generally accepted, as it is customary to put faith in dreams, and there seems to be no test whether the alleged dream be true or not. If either wish to separate from the other, and there is no issue to the marriage, nothing is simpler; it is merely necessary to allege a bad dream or adverse omen, and both are free to marry again; but if the dream, or omen, be a reality, and the pair are not desirous of parting company, they can avert any evil consequences from neglecting to do so by sacrificing a pig. The women fully understand the value of a husband and are careful to keep him in good humour, especially when there are extra mouths to feed."

"But bad temper, a quarrelsome disposition, an evil tongue, gossiping, laziness, unfaithfulness, are all deemed sufficient reasons for divorce without incurring the fine, as are also troublesome dreams, the appearance of birds of evil omen, and other apparently insignificant occurrences which are still held to declare the will of the gods." (F. W. Leggatt.)

Speaking of an Undup Dyak woman, the Rajah says:—"I was told she had been, or was about to be, separated from her husband, on a plea of barrenness, after two years of matrimonial life. I thought, and remarked that, perhaps, on a future day there might be a family forthcoming; but no, they said, she would never be fruitful." (ii. 85.)

#### MATRIMONIAL TROUBLES.

"A rather amusing incident happened here the other day. Two Tanjongs went to the Fort to complain that during their absence on a visit to some

friends, their respective spouses had each taken unto herself a new husband, and they requested to know what they were to do under the circumstances; one of them darkly hinting that as life had no longer any attraction for him, it was possible that he might do something desperate. On further enquiry it came out that they belonged to a party of men who were falsely reported to have been attacked and murdered by a hostile tribe; and after wearing the willow for two months, the two bereaved wives thought fit to marry again. The complainants were told that the matter should be enquired into. The same day, however, the case was settled amongst themselves to the satisfaction of all parties, by the women returning to their former husbands." (S.G., No. 125, p. 4.)

"I was interrupted this morning by two men, and this was the substance of our conversation. The younger one came to ask me what he had better do under the following circumstances:—

"A year ago he married a girl from the upper country, and she came here and lived with him. About a month ago she went to visit her parents, and when her husband went to fetch her, her father and mother refused to let her go, and since then they had threatened to fine the husband. The husband is a Maloh, and their trade is to work all the brass ornaments of the men and women. Close to my house is a Maloh-house, where the happy couple used to live. The girl is an Undup, one of my own tribe. The custom is for the husband to follow the wife, or in other words, live with his father-in-law.

"My friend being a Maloh, could not very well do so, as his means of living depend in a great measure on the sale of his wares. The wife is willing to come here, but the mother-in-law says it cannot be; if the husband won't go there, he must be fined. By fining is meant a recompense to the wife in the shape of a jar or gong, value about £2." (Crossland, *Miss. Life*, 1864, p. 650.)

#### CONJUGAL AFFECTION.

"Some of the men seemed thoroughly domesticated, and I saw them affectionately nursing their naked little babies at night, or in the daytime, while mamma had gone to the field for food, or the forest for fuel. I particularly noticed the younger married men standing behind their nice little wives at night when we were at dinner. They folded their brown arms around their necks, and whispered loving gossip into their ears, evidently well contented with themselves and with each other; and, perhaps, their love is as real and as ardent and as true here as it is in high places where dress clothes are worn." (Burbidge, p. 110.)

Speaking of a Dusun named the Fop, Sir S. St. John says (i. 323):—"When we were here in April, he had just married a fine girl, named Sukan, and used always, when the crowd surrounded us, to be seen standing behind her with his arms folded round her neck."

"Of the warmth of married affection, I have never heard a more striking instance than the following, the story has been told before, but it is worth repeating:—Ijau, a Balau chief, was bathing with his wife in the Lingga river, a place notorious for man-eating alligators, when Indra Lela; a Malay, passing in a boat remarked—"I have just seen a very large animal swimming

up the stream.' Upon hearing this, Ijau told his wife to go up the steps and he would follow; she got safely up, but he, stopping to wash his feet, was seized by the alligator, dragged into the middle of the stream, and disappeared from view. His wife hearing a cry turned round, and seeing her husband's fate sprang into the river, shrieking—'Take me also,' and dived down at the spot where she had seen the alligator sink with his prey. No persuasion could induce her to come out of the water: she swam about, diving in all the places most dreaded from being a resort of ferocious reptiles, seeking to die with her husband; at last her friends came down and forcibly removed her to their house. About two miles below the town of Kuching, is a place called Tanah Putih. Here a man and his wife were working in a small canoe, when an alligator seized the latter by the thigh and bore her along the surface of the water, calling for that help, which her husband swimming after, in vain endeavoured to afford. The bold fellow with a kris in his mouth neared the reptile, but as soon as he was heard, the beast sank with his shrieking prey and ended a scene almost too painful for description." (*ibid* i. 55.)

#### ADULTERY.

"The women, as a rule, are faithful to their husbands, and adultery is uncommon when we consider the density of the population. If a woman commit adultery with a husband his wife may fine that woman whoever she may be, or if she prefer it she may waylay her on the ground and thrash her; but if she does this she must forego one-half the fine she would otherwise be entitled to demand. If her husband deserts her she may fine him or require him to provide for her children. If he forsake her in order to marry some other person, she has a right to fine her rival in his affection for enticing him away from her.

"When a wife loses her husband by death she cannot marry again (except by a special payment) until she has performed the last rites required by custom at the *Gawai Antu* (spirit feast). If she do she is fined by the relatives of the deceased, for this is a slight upon his memory. The amount of fine is just the same as if he were still alive and she had abandoned him for another; and her new husband is fined at the same time for seduction. The fact is, a widow is regarded as belonging to her deceased husband until she is formally freed from him by the feast of the *Sungkup*. She is obliged to lead a virtuous life as long as she is in mourning or abide the consequences, which are severe in their nature, and involve her lover as well as herself." (Brooke Low.)

"Among the Sakarans adultery is a crime unknown, and no Dyak ever recollected an instance of its occurrence." (Low, p. 300.)

"I must not neglect to mention that the manners of the young female Kyans resemble those of the Sea Dyaks; but, that adultery after marriage is punished by death to the man, who, under whatever circumstances the criminal action takes place, is always considered the guilty and responsible party concerned." (Low, p. 335.)

The following case came before the Court at Simmangang: "Gima says that Bit and Ilok came to his house and asked him to accompany them to

beat Unggam, whom Bit said was guilty of adultery with his wife. He accordingly accompanied Bit and Ilok and Umpul and Rangan went with them. On the way they met Engkong of Gemong's house and asked him where Unggam was. Engkong said, 'He is there in the *babas tebassing*' his farm, and asked them what they were after, they told him, and replied that they wanted to beat Unggam (according to custom) for adultery with Bit's wife, and Engkong then passed them and went on his way, simply saying—'Alright, but don't go into the house.' They went on and found Unggam *tebassing* by himself, and Bit then went for him with a billet of wood which he had brought with him for the purpose. It was a piece of *Empini*—a hard wood. Neither witness nor any of his companions interfered—when Bit had given Unggam a good thrashing they left him." (Deshon, S. G. No. 250, p. 176.)

"Dyak law respecting adultery being peculiar, is worthy of notice. If a married man commits adultery with a married woman, the husband of the woman is allowed to strike him on the head with a club, or otherwise maltreat him, while the wife of the adulterer would be allowed to treat the adulteress in the same way, provided they keep their design secret; if the affair has been talked about or confessed, it is usually settled by fining the guilty parties.

"Should a husband suspect a man of having committed adultery with his wife, he says nothing about it, but prepares a club, and in company with a friend or two, lurks about watching for the offender; he may meet him going to or returning from bathing, and wherever he does meet him he is entitled to strike him, only he must not go into the man's house for the purpose. Lives are sometimes sacrificed in this manner.

"The husband of a blind woman living near our Mission station committed adultery with a blind woman; his wife on account of her affliction not being able to avenge herself, the duty or right devolved on her nearest female relative, a strong young married woman, who sought out the offender and struck her such blows on the head as to fell her to the ground. A man working near thought the sound of blows was made by someone cutting down a tree; the blind woman was heard to exclaim against the cruelty of striking one who could not see her enemy.

"The Christians, I am sorry to say, get into these troubles as often as the heathen, indeed in point of morality I have not been able to discover any difference between Christian and heathen. Dyak ideas of what constitutes adultery are very different from ours. If a woman handed to a man betel nut and sirih to eat, or if a man paid her the smallest attention, such as we should term only common politeness, it would be sufficient to excuse a jealous husband for striking a man.

"A young man here was near getting 'cracked'—as I have sometimes heard it called—for the following offence: A slave belonging to a woman was doing some work for her, cutting something out of a piece of wood and doing it clumsily, the young man coming into the house at the time, said 'Oh, is that the way you are working,' took the hatchet out of the slave's hands and showed her how it should be done, that was nearly sufficient according to Dyak ideas to deserve punishment, and the young man had a narrow escape.

However, except in the case of a jealous husband there is usually pretty strong evidence of wrong doing before the people proceed to extremities.

"Last month, early one morning, before I had left my bedroom, I heard a great deal of loud talking going on in the sitting-room below; on going down stairs I found a young man, one of our Christians, with his head cut open, his neck and shoulders smeared over with blood; a jealous husband assisted by his brother had struck him with a club, and, as it was afterwards proved, without cause. The young man on receiving the blow immediately seized a *parang* (a Dyak chopper) to defend himself with. The husband, seeing him armed, dropped his club and ran away; his brother was less fortunate, for while running away the young man struck him on the back with his weapon, inflicting a severe cut, which would have been worse had he not been partially protected by the thick folds of a cloth he wore round his waist, which was chopped in two. The young man gave me the particulars while I was dressing his wound, finishing by requesting me not to dress his enemy's wound, or afford him any assistance should he come to the Mission House to seek it. It was almost amusing; before I had finished with him, his enemy was outside waiting for his turn to have his wound dressed. I had to send the man away by the back entrance lest he should meet his enemy, whom I then brought in and did all I could for. The patients lost a good deal of blood through not keeping quiet, exciting themselves by relating their misfortunes to their friends, who flocked from every quarter to see them as soon as the news spread." (Rev. C. S. Bubb, S.G., No. 95.)

Sir Jas. Brooke writes: "I had a discussion with Mr. Hupé, the German Missionary, regarding the state of morals among the Dyak women, which he described as comparatively low when judged by the usual standard of Asiatic countries. Indeed he appeared to imagine that there was a very imperceptible bar to a general freedom of intercourse between the opposite sexes, and his statements being so much opposed to the accounts I had previously received, I have since made more particular inquiries on the subject. I have now quite satisfied myself of the moral code amongst the Sea Dyaks, which are a very large population.

"There is no strict law to bind the conduct of young unmarried people of either sex, and parents are more or less indifferent on these points, according to their individual ideas of right and wrong. It is supposed that every young Dyak woman will eventually suit herself with a husband, and it is considered no disgrace to terms of intimacy with the youth of her fancy till she has the opportunity of selecting a suitable helpmate; and as the unmarried ladies attach much importance to bravery, they are always desirous of securing the affections of a renowned warrior. Lax, however, as this code may appear before marriage, it would seem to be sufficiently stringent after the matrimonial. One wife only is allowed, and infidelity is punished by fine on both sides—inconsistency on the part of the husband being esteemed equally bad as in the female. The breach of the marriage vows, however, appears to be infrequent, though they allow that, during the time of war more license is given. I also understand that the Dyak women seldom allowed the approaches of foreigners, or even of Malays, but that whenever the crime of

infidelity was proved, the offender was deprived of a portion of his property, and in some cases even received personal chastisement from the populace.

Upon the whole, though the standard of morality is not very high, it cannot be considered low, and, in fact, is what might be expected amongst an agricultural and warlike people."<sup>8</sup> (Mundy ii. 2.)

"The Sea Dyak women are modest and yet unchaste, love warmly and yet divorce easily, but are generally faithful to their husbands when married. . . . The morality of the Sea Dayaks is, perhaps, superior to the Malays, but inferior to that of the Land Dayaks. . . . Some of the old gentlemen Land Dyaks observed that, though they were only allowed to marry one wife, yet they were not strictly faithful to her if a favourable opportunity occurred, which observation seemed much to amuse the assembly. . . . With regard to the female chastity of the Land Dyaks I imagine they are better, certainly not worse, than the Malays. The 'Orang Kayas' have many cases of adultery to settle, which do not, however, cause much excitement in the tribe." (St. John i. 52, 54, 142, 165.)

Mr. Hornaday (p. 458) classes the people as follows :

	Morally.	Mentally.	Physically.
1st. Hill Dyaks		Sea Dyaks	Sea Dyaks
2nd. Sea Dyaks		Hill Dyaks	Kyans
3rd. Ida'ans, Dusuns, Kadayans, ) Muruts, Bisayas )		Kyans	Hill Dyaks
4th. Kyans		Ida'ans, &c., &c.	Ida'ans, &c., &c.

"When laughing and joking with the girls it is no offence to catch them round the waist and squeeze their breasts, but it is out of the question to act in this manner with a married woman ; any one venturing to squeeze the latter, even in ignorance of her condition, renders himself liable to a fine of from five to eight *mungkuls*, and if any one venture to disturb her in her curtains with ever so innocent an intention, he subjects himself to a penalty." (Brooke Low.)

"It has been mentioned once or twice that we found the women bathing at the village well. Although, generally speaking, no lack of proper modesty is shown, certainly rather an Adam and Eve-like idea of the same is displayed on such occasions by these simple people ; yet, although a deficiency of drapery would seem remarkable amongst civilized folks, it does not appear so amongst those who form the subject of this little narrative." (Grant's Tour [Land Dyaks] p. 97.)

Other tribes, however, have a very strong objection to expose what the civilised deem should be covered. We have seen above that the women are very careful to keep themselves covered by their short petticoats, and Mr. Crocker informs me that a young Englishman gave great offence to some

<sup>8</sup> "A German missionary [C. Hupé] has accused the Southern Kyans of certain gross usages ; but I heard nothing of them, and do not credit his account—his mistakes arising, most probably, from his want of knowledge of the language." (St. John i. 113.) May not the accusation lie in the fact that black sheep exist among the people in Borneo as well as elsewhere ? — H. L. R.

Sea Dyaks by his going about, after bathing, with no clothes on, considering he was only surrounded by "niggers."

#### JEALOUSY.

"As the wife works hard, she is generally very strong and capable of taking her own part. She is very jealous of her husband, much more so than he is of her. If he be found flirting with another woman, the wife may inflict a severe thrashing on her, but only with sticks, while if the offending woman have a husband, he may do the same to the man. To escape these domestic broils, he generally starts off into the jungle, and pretends to or really does go head-hunting." (St. John i. 56.)

"I will give one instance of their intense desire for admiration, and their vindictive (though puerile) spirit of jealousy. A Saribus Dyak girl formed a violent attachment to a young fellow, and they were, to the best of my knowledge, an engaged couple. On paying a visit to the long house in which they both lived, I produced a volume of Byron's *Illustrated Beauties*, and showed them to the people. The young man so admired them, that I made him a present of the lot, one of which he particularly eulogised and set apart as being angelic. He little knew what dark and deep-set frowns his remarks were calling forth from his living love. Some days after I called again, and on seeing the pictures, found the special beauty's face scratched and disfigured over the eye and nose. The young man thought it had been done by some of the children of the house; but as the remainder were unharmed, we could lay the blame to no one but his lady-love." (Brooke i. 71.)

#### SILVER PLATE.

Fastened on to pillow ends, 6in. x 3½in Baram River.  
(Hose Coll.)

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

**BURNING THE DEAD:** Extent—Wealthy burned—Poor buried—Corpses thrown into jungle—Women's wailing—A stone hollowed by tears—Sextonship hereditary—Office not popular—Villages without sextons—Sexton's pay—Sexton's children decline office—The burning—Death no terror—Mourning colours. **BURIAL:** Manangs superintend burial—Ceremonial—Cemetery dreaded—Women's wailing—Description of cemetery—Relatives' bones removed when migrating—Grave-digging—*Pulang Gana's* domain—Coffins—Burial dress of importance—Method of decorating graves—Braves not buried near women—Warriors—Suicides—Women—Enemies—*Batu Adat—Mawaing*—The bead passport—Valuables buried—Malay theft of valuables—Articles buried of the highest value—*Bauja*—A little brother's sacrifice—Poverty due to burying valuables—First head obtained buried—A Kalaka chief's funeral. **LYING IN STATE:** The Kayan ceremony—The road to Bruni—The Dusun ceremony—On the Baram—Messages to those gone before—Cigarettes as 'scent' bearers—Kajaman—Orang Kaya—Gassing never buried. **SOUL BOATS:** Dead man's property sent adrift—Show of valuables but not sent adrift—Departed spirits' boats—Slave women sent adrift—Malay plunderings—Funeral of Palabun's brother—The Bishop's mistake—A sago boat—Women's wailing. **TOMBS:** Honoured persons entombed—*Salong—Klierieng*—An unexpected coffin—Kenniah mortuary—Kajaman coffins—Coffins in trees—Coffins in caves—Embalming [*sic*]—Beauty of Tombs—Dusun Stone Circle. **JAR BURIAL:** Method—Road to Kinibalu—Another account—Murut way—Milanau system—Buried jars—Skapan arrangement—Punan disposal—Murut process—Women's wailing. **TABU:** House-forsakens—*Porich*—Apartments closed—*Man buiya*—*Pamali*—Corpse-bearers return—*Gawai antu*—Heads—*Ulit*—How mourning is laid—Floor changed—Dead man's name—*Balau ulat—Pamali mati*—Undup *tabu*—The widow's conduct—A widower's offence—A river *tabu*-ed—Dusun *tabu*—Milanau feasts. **HUMAN SACRIFICES:** Kayans—Sea Dyaks—Degenerates into fining strangers—Milanau—Belabun's victim—Sikilai's sacrifice—*Dusun sermungup*—Co-operative purchase of slaves—*Binting Marrous—Sermungup*-ed—Messages to the dead—Pigs substituted—Slaves' assistance required—Murut sacrifice. **BURIAL CUSTOMS IN DUTCH BORNEO.**

#### BURNING THE DEAD.

THE disposal of the dead by the burning of the body appears to be a custom confined to the Land Dyaks: "In Western Sarawak the custom of burning the dead is universal; in the districts near the Samarahan, they are indifferently burnt or buried, and when the Sadong is reached the custom of cremation ceases, the Dayaks of the last river being in the habit of burying their dead. . . . Among the Silakau, the Lara, and the true Lundu tribes, the bodies of the elders and rich are burned, while the others are buried." (St. John i. 163 & 165.)

"The Sikongs burn their dead of the better class, after two days mourning, and flags, banners, etc., are placed over the *tinungan* or place where corpses are burnt or buried: those lower in the social scale are buried, the poorer classes again are placed on a covered stage, while the lowest are rolled in a mat and placed on the ground in the jungle." (Denison, ch. v. p. 52.)

"The Sentah Dyaks burn their dead of the higher class; the poor are wrapped in a mat and cast out in the jungle, though in the same spot where also the corpses are burnt." (*ibid*, ch. viii. p. 87.) "In times of epidemic disease, and when the deceased is very poor, or the relatives do not feel inclined to be at much expense for the sexton's services, corpses are not unfrequently thrown into some solitary piece of jungle not far from the village, and there left." (St. John i. 164.) "The Serambo Dyaks burn all their dead, and not only those of the better class as some seem to imagine." (Denison, ch. ii. p. 14.) "Within a few hours of death the body is rolled up in the sleeping mat of the deceased, and carried by the *Peninu*, or sexton of the village, to the place of burial or burning (*tinungan*)." . . . "The body is accompanied for a little distance from the village by the women, uttering a loud and melancholy lament. In the Peninjau tribe the women follow the corpse a short way down the path below the village to the spot where it divides, one branch leading to the burning ground, the other to the Chinese town of Siniawan. Here they mount upon a broad stone, and weep and utter doleful cries, till the sexton and his melancholy burden have disappeared from view. Curiously enough, the top of this stone is hollowed; and the Dayaks declare that this has been occasioned by the tears of their women, which during many ages have fallen so abundantly, and so often, as to wear away the stone by their continual dropping." (St. John i. 163.)

"The office of sexton is hereditary, descending from father to son, and when the line fails, great indeed is the difficulty of inducing another family to undertake its unpleasant duties, involving, as it is supposed, too familiar an association with the dead and the other world to be at all beneficial. Though the prospect of fees is good, and perhaps every family in the village offers six gallons of unpounded rice to start the sexton elect in his new, and certainly useful career, among the Quop Dayaks it is difficult to find a candidate." (*ibid* i. 164.) "Having no sexton here among the Sentahs, or at Kuap, the relatives of the dead take on themselves this function, but the duty does not appear to be popular." (Denison, ch. viii. p. 87.) According to Mr. Chalmers the "burner is called *Orang Paninu* and he is well paid for his trouble. It is a duty which few care to undertake, and at the present time the Bombok tribe on this hill have no one willing to do so, and they have to depend upon the good offices of the Peninjau *Paninu*." (Occas. Papers, p. 6.) "The Tringus burn their dead, but having no *peninu*, the members of the deceased Dyak's family must act as sexton when necessity calls." (Denison, ch. iv. p. 39.) "The Grogos Dyaks like all the Sauh tribes burn their dead. There is one sexton and another at Beratak Tambawang, Suba the neighbouring village is without one, and borrows from Grogos when there is necessity." (*ibid*, ch. iii. p. 25.)

"The Singhis tribe has two sextons, the fees charged are 1 passu of rice for a child, 3 for a boy, 4 for a young man, 5 for a woman, and 8 for a full grown Dyak." (*ibid*, chap. ii. p. 18.)

"The usual burial fee is one jar, valued at a rupee, though if great care be bestowed on the interment, a dollar is asked; at other places as much as two dollars are occasionally demanded, and obtained when the corpse is

offensive." (St. John i. p. 163.) "The scale of prices is arranged to suit the means of all, the lowest is four *tampayangs*, and rises in proportion to the wealth of the deceased. Peninjauh and Bombok have no sexton (*belal* or *peninu*) and are therefore dependent on Serambo for this official, the office is hereditary, but the children of the late sexton of the above named villages refuse to act." (Denison, ch. ii. p. 14.)

But Sir Spencer St. John says: "The burning also is not unfrequently very inefficiently performed, and portions of the bones and flesh of a deceased person have been brought back by the dogs and pigs of the village to the space below the very houses of the relatives. . . . The Land Dayaks have very little respect for the bodies of the departed, though they have an intense fear of their ghosts." (i. 164.)

"With the dead offerings are made and animals burnt—pigs in the case of the richer people, and fowls, or a part of a fowl only, in that of the poorer." (Houghton M. A. S. iii. 199.) Speaking of the Sinar Dyaks Sir James Brooke remarks: "Their dead are burned with a great quantity of wood and cloth, rice, etc., and *one head* burnt with them." (Mundy i. 205.) "Amongst the Land Dyaks also some of the personal goods of the deceased are borne with the body to the *timunjan* (the burying or burning place), and hung up for the use of the ghost." (Grant, p. 66.)

Mr. Chalmers writing of the Bombok Dyaks says: "On the day of the death, a man, who has taken upon him the office, carries the body to a fixed spot, and there erects a pile and consumes it to ashes. At the burning none of the Dyaks are ever present." (Occas. Papers, p. 6.) Mr. Denison recollects "once meeting a Dyak funeral procession on Serambo. The sexton or *peninuch* carried the corpse (wrapped in what appeared a mat) on his back, bearing a flaming bamboo torch in his hand, and following him came a number of women clothed in white, with dishevelled hair, shrieking and crying. How far these latter accompany the corpse I cannot say, but, I am led to understand, only to a certain distance from the village, and they are not present at the last rites, which are performed by the sexton alone. When a funeral takes place, the village (or *tompok*) is *pamali*, and as it is considered unlucky to meet the procession, the Dyaks generally confine themselves to their houses while it passes. The body I learn is burnt or buried as soon as possible after death, and over the spot of cremation or burial a basket is placed, containing rice and siri-pinang for the ghost of the deceased. The above remarks apply to the Sarawak Dyaks." (Denison, ch. v. p. 52.)

"The body, being surrounded and covered with wood, is altogether consumed by the flames, the ascent of which, and of the smoke, are carefully watched by the assistant relations, who draw from its perpendicular direction an augury favourable and satisfactory to them. Should, however, the smoke ascend, from wind or other causes, in a slanting manner, they depart, assured that the Antu, or spirit, is not yet satisfied; and that soon, one or another of them will become his prey. This, however, gives them but little uneasiness; as death, to their ignorant and unenlightened minds, displays no terror; and though they shun it with that instinctive fear which

is common both to animals and men, they have by no means the dread of the King of Terror common to more enlightened nations." (Low, p. 262.)

With regard to Mr. Denison's statement that the Serambo women mourners were dressed in white, the same traveller reports of the Sennahs, who likewise burn their dead, that "the women wear a black *rambi* and some that of a brown colour. Formerly a *rambi* of cane stained yellow was in fashion, but this is discontinued, while the red is not much in favour." (Denison, ch. xi. p. 65.)

#### BURIAL.

"The Sea Dyaks dispose of their dead by burial. A person having died, the *manang* or medicine man who was in attendance during the sickness is charged also with the superintendence of the interment, for which he is paid an extra fee. All the able-bodied men in the village turn out to assist the bereaved family, as it is expedient, where possible, to bury the same day." (Brooke Low.) "Immediately the breath has left the body, the female relations commence loud and melancholy laments; they wash the corpse, and dress it in its finest garments, and often, if a man, fully armed, and bear it forth to the great common hall, where it is surrounded by its friends to be mourned over. In some villages a hireling leads the lament, which is continued till the corpse leaves the house. Before this takes place, however, the body is rolled up in cloths and fine mats, kept together by pieces of bamboo tied on with rattans, and taken to the burial ground." (St. John i. 58.) "The *pendam*, as the burial ground is called, is never far away from the village, and is always, when practicable, on the side of a hill rising abruptly from the river, and is covered with immense trees, which throw a sombre shadow across the water. The Dyaks regard it with a superstitious terror as the abode of spirits, and never visit it except to deposit their dead, and when obliged to do this they never stay longer than they can possibly help, but hurry away as soon as their business is dispatched, for fear of meeting with ghosts. The consequence is that the place is uncared for; the graves, being shallow and ill-secured, are rummaged by forest animals, and bones and skulls strew the ground. The women are not permitted to accompany the coffin to the grave, so they raise a dismal wail as it is being carried by the men to the river bank, to be conveyed from thence by water to the burial ground of the tribe. The women renew the wailing as the funeral procession sweeps past the village, and only discontinue it when the boats are out of sight." (Brooke Low.) After describing the death of an Undop, Mr. Crossland writes: "There was no sleeping that night for the wailing, which, once heard is never forgotten. I would walk miles to avoid hearing it." (Gosp. Miss., 1866, p. 108.) "When passing a burial ground they throw on it something they consider acceptable to the departed." (St. John i. 71.) "There are certain times when the relatives of a deceased person visit his grave, but without there is some special reason, such as a division of property among the descendants of the dead, this is but seldom done." (Hose, J. A. I., xxiii. 171.)

It will be remembered Sir Spencer St. John wrote that burning of the dead as a custom ceased at the Sadong river. Sir Jas. Brooke thus describes

a cemetery on this river : " It was situated on the slightly elevated ridge near the channel, shaded by fine trees. Each grave was entirely covered by a bundle of sticks a foot and a half or two feet in height. These were kept together by a transverse cross. On the graves of the men were placed the scabbard of their swords, their arm-rings, and other light ornaments, whilst over those of the women were hung their waist-rings of rattan : a jar of water and food were placed at the head and foot of each, and in a hole amid the burying place I saw two skulls ; but they had the appearance of being the heads of young persons accidentally disinterred. The Dyaks had never taken me before to a burying ground, and I fancied they wished to hurry me from this, and appeared unwilling to remain themselves. On the whole, this place of interment bore the aspect of neglect." (Mundy i. 219.) " On the other hand the Lundus are very scrupulous regarding their cemeteries, paying the greatest respect to the graves of their ancestors. When a tribe quits one place to reside at another, they exhume the bones of their relations, and take them with them." (Marryat, p. 77.) Speaking of a catechist whom he buried the Rev. J. Holland writes : " If the body had been buried in the Dyaks' burial ground, it would have been placed upon the ground and covered up with a few pieces of wood and left for wild pigs and ants to eat. The graves are rarely more than three feet deep, if so much ; they use no hoe or spade to turn up the soil with, but cut at it with their choppers, and throw up the mould with their hands. They dare not get into the grave to make it deeper, but they kneel to it, and lie on the brink, and dig into it as far as their arms will reach, and no farther. This they do from a superstitious belief that any person stepping into an open grave will die a violent death. But before they can commence to excavate at all, a fowl must be killed and its blood sprinkled on the ground as well as smeared on the feet of the corpse to propitiate *Pulang Gana*, whose domain they are invading. If they omitted to do this, they would incur his serious displeasure, and would die next." (Miss. Life, 1875, p. 285.) According to Sir Spencer St. John the Sea Dyaks grave is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep according to the person's rank ; deeper than 5 feet would be unlawful. Whilst this operation is going on, others fell a large tree, and cutting off about six feet, split it in two, and then hollow them out with an adze. One part serves as the coffin, the other as the lid ; the body is placed within, and the two are secured together by means of strips of pliable canes bound round them." (St. John i. 59.) " As soon as the coffin is got ready, by their united effort the body is laid in it, dressed in its finest apparel, and shrouded from head to foot in a winding sheet of new cloth." (Brooke Low.) " They are often very particular about the dress in which they are to be buried. Many of the old Sakarang women have asked Mr. Johnson <sup>1</sup> for handsome jackets to be used after their death for this purpose, saying that when they arrived in the other world, they would mention his name with respect and gratitude on account of the kindness shown to them in this." (St. John i. 59.) " With the corpse are placed, for use in the next world, various articles of clothing, personal ornaments, weapons of warfare and

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Johnson, the present Rajah's elder late brother.

instruments of music, according to its sex and natural proclivities. Some of these things belong to it, others are given to it by friends and relatives as tokens of affectionate regard. The grave is then fenced round, food and drink are placed in the enclosure, and at either end of it something is put indicative of the sex and favourite occupation of the deceased. If the grave be that of a warrior it is roofed and curtained and decorated with streamers, his weapons and his war-gear (such as are not buried with him) are hung about, and the ground around is palisaded and spiked. If that of a hunter his blow-pipe and quiver will serve to distinguish it, together with some trophies of the chase—stags' antlers, or boars' tusks. The graves of women are indicated by some article of feminine occupation or feminine attire, spindles, or petticoats, or waist-rings, or water-gourds. The graves of rich persons of either sex are distinguished by jars and gongs, secured in their places by stakes driven through them." (Brooke Low.) Among the Undups "they say the braves cannot lie in the same burial ground with the women and that is why they die in war." (Crossland, *Gosp. Miss.*, 1871, p. 166.)

"The Sea Dayaks who have fallen in battle are seldom interred, but a paling is put round them to keep away the pigs, and they are left there. Those who commit suicide are buried in different places from others, as it is supposed that they will not be allowed to mix in the seven-storied Sabayan with such of their fellow-countrymen as come by their death in a natural manner or from the influences of the spirits." (St. John i. 59.)

"The bodies of those Sea Dyaks who die from an outpour of blood and of women in child-birth, are not allowed to remain in the house, but are taken away at once and buried in the earth without ceremony and without a coffin. The bones of such are not collected." (Brooke Low.) During the present Rajah's great expedition against the Kayans his Dyaks buried their dead in the most secret spots, covering their graves over with leaves and dead wood, but I subsequently heard the enemy found out the places, and dug the bodies up. It is nearly an impossibility to bury so as to prevent Dyaks finding out the spot." (Brooke i. 316-317.)

According to the Milanaus, "There is a beautiful female spirit, named 'Balu Adad,' who conducts departed souls to their future abode, but not until the three or four days' feasting and cock-fighting is over and the corpse has been conveyed to its resting-place. The narrow road leading to Elysium is guarded by a ferocious double-headed dog, named 'Mawiang,' to whom it is necessary to present a valuable bead. This bead is always carefully fastened to the right arm of a corpse, with whom are buried gold ornaments, weapons, gongs,

\* "On the death of a chief or rajah, they dress him out in his war habiliments, and carry him to the grave (after keeping him in the house a certain time according to his rank, seldom longer than ten days) on a large litter enveloped in white cloth; they lay the body in a place prepared, without a coffin; by his side are deposited his arms, particularly his shield, spear, and mandow; a quantity of rice and fruit are likewise enclosed with other such articles of food as the deceased was most partial to; the grave is then closed up; a high mound raised; and this is encircled with strong bamboo, upon which fresh heads are placed as the most acceptable offering to the deceased. No warrior would dare to appear before the family of the chief without at least one head as a consolatory present; these are thickly studded round the grave and occasionally renewed during the first year or two, the old ones being considered the property of the succeeding chief." (Dalton, p. 53.)

and rich clothes for use in the other world, and at whose tomb it was formerly the practice to bind a slave, or sometimes as many as ten slaves, who were left thus miserably to die, that their spirits might wait upon their master." De Crespigny, J. A. I. v. 35.)

Rice, tobacco, and betel nut are also cast in, as they believe they "may prove useful in the other world, or as it is called by them Sabayan. It was an old custom, but now perhaps falling somewhat into disuse, to place money, gold and silver ornaments, clothes, and various china and brass utensils in the grave; but these treasures were too great temptations to those Malays who were addicted to gambling; and the rifling of the place of interment has often given great and deserved offence to the relations. As it is almost impossible to discover the offenders, it is now the practice to break in pieces all the utensils placed in the grave, and to conceal as carefully as possible the valuable ornaments. The whole tribe of the Lundu Sibuya was thrown into a great state of excited indignation on finding that some Malays had opened the place of interment of the old Orang Kaya Tumanggong of Lundu, and stolen the valuable property. This was the chief who was so firm a friend of the Europeans, and whose name is so often mentioned in former works on Borneo." (St. John i. 58.) At the Siratok court (Batang Lupa) in Oct., 1894, six Malays were convicted of robbing Dyak graves, having been in search of valuable jars." (S. G. 1894, p. 201.)

Mr. C. Hose says on the Baram: "The articles of clothing and weapons deposited with the dead, are of the highest value, no broken or damaged article being deemed worthy of a place in the grave, as they wish the spirit of the deceased to appear to advantage on his arrival in the other world, and from this it appears the belief is entertained that the articles are actually used." (J. A. I. xxiii. 166.) "Among the Tamudok Dyaks, *Bauja* is the term by which they designate the things which they bury with the dead, such as personal dress, ornaments, and jars, and as Ndawi had a copy of the Dyak prayer book, and St. Matthew's Gospel, these were put in the coffin with the body. *Bauja* has two meanings; first the things thus buried, or as they say given to the dead, are supposed to be of use to them in another world just as they are here; and, in the next place, they are regarded as tokens of affection to the departed. I ought to have said that such articles as jars are not buried with the corpse but put on or near the grave. . . . I have known a young boy strip off from his body his own scanty clothing to give it to his little dead brother about to be carried to the tomb." (Miss. Field, 1874, p. 313.) On account of this "custom of burying such valuable property as above described with the bodies of their deceased relations, it frequently happens that a father, unfortunate in his family, is, by the death of his children, reduced to poverty." (Low, p. 204.)

Sir Jas. Brooke says that the Sentahs put with their dead "various articles in the grave, such as spears, cloths, rice, ciri, betel, and the head which the party first gained during his lifetime." (Mundy i. 204.) It will be remembered the Sentahs live on the Samarahan river where burning and burying customs are both in vogue.

<sup>3</sup> See also Keppel i. 258, who practically gives a similar account of this desecration.

Mr. T. S. Chapman was an eye-witness to a Sea Dyak funeral and thus describes it: "A Kalaka Dyak named Naggar, a friend and follower of mine for years, the kindest in the sick-room and the bravest on every expedition, was killed in the late attack on Bangkit. His body was enclosed in an airtight coffin and brought back, and it was my painful but willing duty to follow it to its last resting place, the ceremony which I witnessed and part of which I shared was as follows: As the deceased formerly lived in the Awit river (a tributary of the Krian), it was determined to inter him there in the cemetery set apart for the remains of brave Dyaks who fall in battle. To that place we proceeded by water, a procession of boats, the one containing the corpse coming last: scarcely a word was spoken, and the wailing from the women in the house we had just left rose with painful thrilling note as we passed on. At length we reached the cemetery, where the fine old jungle trees grow down to the edge of the rocky river, and leaning over their high parasite laden branches meet over head and make a pleasant sylvan spot. On approaching the place we were warned to walk carefully as the ground in the vicinity was stuck with bamboo spikes surrounding old graves of deceased braves. Having chosen a site, we dug the grave, which in the case of a warrior is only three feet or three feet six inches in depth, and the coffin draped with gold embroidered cloths and the Sarawak flag was brought up and laid along, and pieces of wood placed across the mouth, and then followed a very harrowing scene. The brother of the deceased, a fine strapping young Dyak who had borne up well hitherto, at last broke down. It was his duty, aided by his father, to take off some of the trapping or pall from the coffin before it was lowered, and also to break his lost brother's spears and place them with his silver-mounted sword and sundry other personal effects in the grave. This was too much for him; trembling with excessive anguish of grief, he poured out lamentation upon lamentation; and, literally bathed in tears, he called upon his brother to hear him, 'Oh Naggar, Naggar, do you hear my voice? I cannot leave you!' Then pausing for a while he would go on with his work, telling us in broken accents, interrupted with deep drawn sobs, of his brother's deeds in war and at home, dwelling upon his kindness and bravery, and so on, until another burst of grief would well up and paralyze him. The bereaved father, a fine old man, went stolidly and silently about his work without shedding a tear, his woe begone face and quivering lip told however of his deep sorrow; once only he spoke, when all was ready, and I had covered the coffin all over with the Sarawak flag, and it was lowered into its shallow grave, then he cried out once, 'Oh Naggar! my son, my son!' That was all. And so we covered up the remains of my poor friend and placed at his feet a jar I had provided, and at his head his shield; over him we hung mosquito curtains, a bundle of bamboo spikes and poisoned arrows, then fenced the grave with stout stakes and covered it with kajangs. A mimic Dyak fortification was then built with queer little bamboo cannons pointing over the spiked ground. I led the brother away, who seemed quite unmanned and faint, and did my best to comfort him, telling him the old sweet story of *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, for Naggar died like a true warrior, receiving his death wound full in front fighting in the van of battle. I bade

him cheer up, but his is a deep sorrow which only time can soften or erase. When all was concluded, those present held a funeral feast on the other side of the river, but feeling unfit to join them I excused myself and left." (T. S. Chapman, S.G. No. 30.)

#### LYING IN STATE.

We have referred above to the presentation to his friends of the deceased dressed in his best apparel. This curious custom is described by Sir James Brooke as existing among the Kayans: "When a man dies, his friends and relatives meet in the house, and take their usual seats around the room. The deceased is then brought in attired in his best clothes, with a cigar fixed in the mouth, and being placed on the mat in the same manner as he would have arranged himself when alive, his betel-box by his side. The friends go through the forms of conversing with him, and offer him the best advice concerning his future proceedings, and then, having feasted, the body is deposited in a large coffin. At the end of this time, the friends and relatives again assemble, and the coffin is taken out, and deposited on a high pole or tree in a particular direction. The deceased, during the procession, is repeatedly cautioned to beware he does not lose his way:—'Follow the road (they say) till it branches in three directions; be careful in selecting the centre path, for this will conduct you to your own country, whilst that to the right leads to Borneo,<sup>4</sup> and that to the left to the sea.' After many similar cautions, the coffin is deposited, and the assembly separates." (Mundy i. 265.)

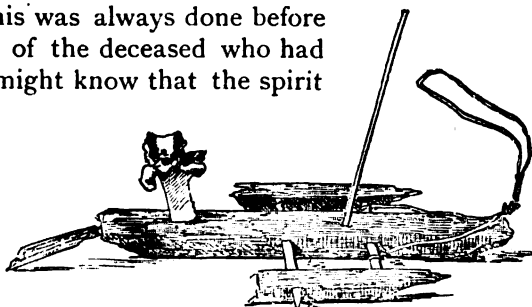
This custom is also described by Mr. Hatton (Diary, April 12), who writing among the Dusuns (?) at Koligan, says: "There was a dead man at one of the houses here, and I went to see him. He was placed in a sitting posture dressed in all the things he had; a cigarette was being held to his mouth; and a brass box containing betel, &c., was open before him. His friends were seated around, and were telling the dead man not to go to the right or the left, as they were the wrong roads, but to keep straight ahead and 'that is the way to Kinabalu.' This ceremony lasts one day and one night and the next day the man is buried with all his belongings."

"Some of the sub-tribes of the Milanaus, after the death of a chief of notoriety, dress the corpse in best clothes, with every decoration of gold about his person. The sword, and all of the available necessities of life, are also attached to him. He is then placed on an elevated platform, as a living being, and becomes a public spectacle in the house. His immediate family take up their seats around him, his slaves attend to his imagined wants with the fan, sirih, and betel-nut. On such an occasion the house is opened to all visitors; the women, both old and young, form a line on one side and the men on the other; then they romp together with the noise and confusion of a pack of maniacs. These games are carried on for some days, and long after the corpse is in a state of decomposition it is properly buried or placed in order to obtain the bones on a future day." (Brooke i. 77.)

Mr. Chas. Hose, on the Baram river, likewise reports the custom: "I was once present when the corpse of a boy was being placed in the coffin, and I watched the proceedings from a short distance. As the lid of the coffin was

<sup>4</sup> Bruni.

being closed an old man came out on the verandah of the house with a large gong (*Tetawak*) and solemnly beat it for several seconds. The chief, who was sitting near, informed me that this was always done before closing the lid, that the relations of the deceased who had already passed out of this world might know that the spirit was coming to join them : and upon his arrival in 'Apo Leggan' they would probably greet him in such terms as these: 'O grand-child, it was for you the gong was beating which we heard just now ; what have you brought ? How are they all up above ? Have they sent any messages ?' The new arrival then delivers the messages entrusted to him, and gives the cigarettes as proofs of the truth of what he says. These cigarettes retain the smell of the hands which made them, which the dead relations are able to recognise." (Geog. Jour., i. 198.)



DEGENERATED SOUL BOAT. S.E. Borneo.  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size.  
(Leiden Mus.)

Mr. Brooke Low when ascending the Rejang river reported that he saw at a "Kajaman's death the body (that of a man) lay in state inside a mosquito curtain on a raised dais in the verandah. The curtain was flung open for all to see. The dead man was propped up so as to assume the position of a person sitting up in bed ; his legs were stretched straight before him, and his chin was held up by a cloth band ; his coffin lay outside ready to receive him ; his weapons and other gear hung round the curtain. His wife sat by his side fanning his face and sobbing the while."

The body of a beloved chief is occasionally kept a considerable time above ground. Bishop Chambers, one of the first to visit the Skarang Dyaks' houses, says: "One of these is the house of the immediate followers of the late Orang Kaya Gassing, the renowned leader of the Sakarang tribe, and friend of the Sarawak Government. His survivors have never buried the corpse, but still preserve it in a little house built near their own, where it is continually fed according to their custom. So great is their regard for him that they cannot bring themselves to leave it entirely, but whenever they remove to other farm lands, it is removed along with them."<sup>5</sup> (Miss. Field, 1869, p. 107.)

#### SOUL BOATS.

"The Kanowits follow the Milanau custom of sending much of a dead man's property adrift in a frail canoe on the river: they talk of all his property, but this is confined to talk.

"We heard so much of the deceased chief's goods, which were to be thrown away, as it is considered they belong to the departed and not to those who remain, that we went to the place where they lay. We found a sort of four-sided bier erected, covered with various coloured cloths, and within it his bride-widow lay moaning and wailing, surrounded by his favourite arms,

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Hupé mentions a case in which the body of a chief was kept fourteen months in its coffin in a house before it was buried. The funeral lasted ten days and cost about 600 florins. The son had taken offence and had declined to return, and hence the body could not be buried. (p. 546.)

his gongs, his ornaments, and all that he considered valuable. Among his treasures was the handle of a kris, representing the figure of Budha in the usual sitting posture, which they said had descended to them from their ancestors. As I expected, these valuables were not sent adrift, but merely a few old things, that even sacrilegious strangers would scarcely think worth plundering." (St. John.) "The Malanaus build picturesque boats, decorated with flags and other embellishments, which are dedicated to the use of departed spirits, who are supposed to travel in them on their marine migrations. These crafts are placed near their graves. Another very absurd practice (now obsolete) was to drift the deceased's sword, eatables, clothes, jars—and often in former days a slave woman accompanied these articles, chained to the boat—out to sea, with a strong ebb-tide running, in order that the deceased might meet with these necessities in his upward flight." The unfortunate woman falls a sacrifice to this barbarous proceeding, and in many cases the Malays plunder the goods and obtain a slave free of expense. (Brooke i. 77.)

The funeral of Palabun's brother is thus described by Bishop McDougall: "The women kept up dismal weepings during the night. In the morning I went to see the young chief's things laid out preparatory to their being sent on their fruitless journey after him. They were all arranged under a canopy made of his *sarongs*. Two were of rich gold cloth (value about fifty dollars each), and the rest of his wardrobe was disposed under it, so as to represent a corpse on a bier, the gold ornaments alone, consisting of large buttons, a breast-plate, and a very rich and handsome kris handle of ancient Javanese or Indian manufacture, representing a figure of Buddha, cannot be worth less than two hundred dollars; besides this there were gongs and two brass guns. Two women were lying by the bier on either side the effigy, and the father (a very old man) sat beside it watching, the women every now and then raising a mournful howl. In three days these things will be launched down the river in a boat made for the purpose, and if any one were known to touch it he would be slain. If the body had been recovered, it would have been launched with its former property in the boat. This is the invariable mode of burial with the Milanows. The general fate of these funeral barks is to get capsized, when the things all go to the bottom; but should a Malay happen to fall in with such a treasure he would not scruple to appropriate it, and of this Palabun was doubtless aware, as he took care not to send away his brother's property until we had left the river." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 163.)

"On another occasion, seeing a boat rolling in a heavy sea, I bore down, thinking I saw a fellow sitting astern and apparently paddling. This was one of their death-boats, but there was so much sea on that I was obliged to leave her." (McDougall, T.E.S., ii. 32.)

Mr. Crocker says of these people: "When a man of property dies sago trees are cut down with the belief that they will be found ready-grown for the owner's use in the other world. An elaborately got up prahu, or small ship, is carved out of the sago palm and decorated with flags; this is placed near the grave, and is to be reproduced in the next world in the shape of a large schooner, anchored off the departed spirit's abode, ready for use, &c." He

also confirms what Mr. De Crespigny says about the Balu Adad and Mawiang, &c. (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. 1881, p. 200.)

Mr. Crocker likewise furnishes us with the following graphic account of the wailing at a Milanau funeral :—"After death the body is kept in the house three days, during which time feasting and cock-fighting is kept up amongst the men and crying amongst the women. Paid criers are called in . . . The insect world in the surrounding jungle stopped their cries, all nature seemed hushed, quietness reigned over the village, and there was scarcely a breath of air to break a stillness so solemn that not a leaf rustled. After enjoying a smoke I feel asleep. About midnight I was startled by a howl, so dismal that all the dogs joined chorus; the noise increased, and from the number of lights I saw flitting about ashore I concluded (as I afterwards found correctly) that nearly all the people were collecting at one house to join in the mournful yelling which made night hideous. The cause of this disturbance was a death. Whether their grief be real or not I cannot say, but this I know, being awake in the middle of the night in the solitudes of the Bornean jungles by a wail so wierd and heart-rending, my mind, being acted on by the peculiar situation, received impressions of the solemnity of this custom which it will take years to erase. Next day they sang a wild chant over the body. The grief of the mother continued throughout the day. I hear the relations on these occasions often throw themselves out of their houses and try to do themselves serious bodily harm, so entirely do they give themselves up to grief." (S. G., No. 121.)

#### TOMBS.

"Any Sea Dyak whom it is intended especially to honour is not buried underground, but his coffin is placed in a miniature house built for him on piles some eight or ten feet high, with a railing round it. Wise men and women are treated in this fashion, that is to say, such wise persons as are reputed to be more cunning than their fellows by reason of their superior knowledge of the stars, the Pleiades in particular, by which they regulate the season for rice cultivation." (Brooke Low.) "Among the Sea Dayaks, should a man express a wish to share the privilege of the priest and be, like them, exposed on a raised platform, the relations are bound to comply with this request." (St. John i. 57.)

On the Rejang River: "The bodies of the Dians and Batas, who formerly ruled in Baloi, rest in chambers of iron-wood. The *salong*, as it is called, is a Kayan institution, and foreign to the River Rejang. The *klirieng*, on the other hand, is indigenous. The former is a miniature house of iron-wood, built upon piles of the same material, with a single chamber large enough to contain the coffins of the chief, his brothers and sisters, his family and their families. The *klirieng* is either a single or double pillar, carved from top to bottom with niches up its side for the bodies of slaves and followers, and hollow at the top to receive the jar which contains the bones of the chief for whom it is raised. The pillar is covered with a heavy stone slab. One of the best *salongs* is built upon nine huge posts, three deep; the six side posts are 23 feet above ground, the two end posts which support the

roof-tree 26 feet. The floor of the chamber is 18 feet above the ground, and the chamber itself is 13 x 12 feet. This *salong* differs from other *salongs* in having, besides, a centre above the floor but not it is, in fact, a *klirieng* hollow towards the top, side. I shifted the yellow it, and saw the jar, a and the walling were the



MODEL KAYAN COFFIN  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

post of 7 feet girth rising reaching up to the roof; within a *salong*, being but with aperture on one curtain which hung over valuable one; between it personal effects and

funeral gifts—mats, baskets and weapons. The pillar outside was furnished with handles, upon which hung boys' nose flutes and lutes. There were four coffins in the chamber, and the *débris* of others littered the floor. There were paddles and shields up against the walling. The roof is formed of *bilian* planks, and cannot be prised open. It is 27 feet long at its greatest length. The chamber is provided with a door at

MODEL  
OF SKAPAN *Klirieng*,  
or double pillar, carved  
and capped with stone  
slab covering the mor-  
tuary chamber in the  
hollow top  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

MODEL OF KAYAN *Salong*, or Burial  
Chamber of Ironwood.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

one end, and is fastened from the inside. Faces of hideous demons are carved upon the posts, with cups for eyes. On the ridge of the roof is an enormous wooden dragon, and the rafters (five on each side) all end in a carved

monster called *Aso*, defying description. The bodies of slaves and faithful followers were placed upon scaffolds under the floor and between the posts side by side with the war boat of the chief. In front of the mausoleum is a pointed stake, 16 feet above ground, upon which human heads were stuck and prisoners impaled. Another *salong* is not so well preserved, but is larger and more massive. The chamber is 14 x 13 feet, the posts are 12 in number, three deep, but four in a row. The eight outside posts are 22 feet above the ground, and the two end ones 26 feet; the centre ones do not pierce the floor. It was formerly the practice to drive the principal post into the earth through the body of a living captive or slave, a custom still in force in some parts. A Kajaman double *klirieng*, the best in all Baloi, has the

MODEL OF OT DANOM Tomb *Karirang*  
for preserving bones of the dead  
(From Dutch Borneo. Leiden Mus.)

following dimensions: the pillars are carved from top to bottom and capped with a ponderous stone slab; they are both of the same height and stand 32 feet above the ground. The girth of one is 11 feet 7½ inches, that of the other 6 feet 11½ inches."

Mr. Hose stumbled across a coffin in an unexpected way: "We spent the night in the house of one Avan Avit, also a Barawan. Being somewhat fatigued we retired early; and it was not until the next morning that I discovered, at the head of my bed, a large box which I had not noticed the night before, and which proved to be a coffin; and on inquiry I was informed that it contained the mortal remains of the chief's wife. As this may appear strange, I may as well explain that it was the custom of these people to keep

MODEL OF BARA NAREY TOMB, *Sandong tsalang*,  
for preserving the ashes of cremated bodies.  
(From Dutch Borneo. Leiden Mus.)

a corpse in the house for three months before burying it. They make a large coffin of soft wood, and decorate it with various colours, obtained from the juice of roots, the whole being elaborately carved. The lid of this coffin is rendered air-tight with a resinous substance procured from many of the Borneo forest trees, and generally known as *dammar*. A bamboo about 20 feet long and 3 inches in diameter is then prepared by boring through the joints, so as to form it into what it is really intended for, a sort of drainpipe. One end of this pipe is driven into the ground, the other end is brought through the floor of the

MODEL OF PERMANENT DEAD HOUSE, OLO NGADJUS.  
(Dutch Borneo. Amsterdam Ethnograph Mus.)

house, and inserted in the bottom of the coffin. During the first week, after the body has been placed in the coffin, a large torch is kept burning day and night at the head and foot. After about three months a mausoleum is prepared, which is made of hard wood called billian, and raised about 12 feet off the ground on two massive pillars carved with various artistic designs, and figures of men and women. The body is then removed from the house and conveyed with much ceremony to this tomb. Everyone present sends one or more cigarettes made of native tobacco, wrapped in the dried leaves of the wild banana (*Pisang Utan*) to their dead relatives in *Apo Leggan* (Hades). These cigarettes are placed on the top and around the coffin; and, should the body be that of a man, his weapons, tools, and a small quantity of rice, with his *priok* (cooking-pot), are deposited in the tomb with him that he may be able to continue his daily pursuits in the other world. But if of a woman, her large sun-hat, her little hoe—used for weeding in the paddy fields—her beads, earrings, and other finery are placed with her body, that she may not be found wanting on her arrival the other side of the grave. The earrings are especially important." (Geogr. Journ. i. 197.)

"On the Rejang River the Kiñahs use neither the *klirieng* nor the *salong*, but a mortuary edifice of their own. The coffin with the body in it is placed on a hard wood platform elevated upon two iron-wood pillars, and is covered with a semi-cylinder of the same material. Underneath the floor the boy's (Awen's son) things are hanging together with other things put there by his friends for his use in the world of spirits—war costumes, every-day clothing, weapons, a hurricane lamp, and a bottle of kerosine.

"In Kajaman territory some coffins were slung upon a tree, the leaves of which had been plucked and replaced by strips of coloured cloth, which gave it a festive appearance. The coffin is always treated in this manner after the bones have been removed. It is perched upon a branch and either falls to pieces in the process of time or is carried away by the first big fresh." (Brooke Low.)

"The Sibuyows and Balows, and some of the Land Dyaks also, do not burn their dead; however, they place the bodies of the departed in canoes or coffins, or simply wrap them in white cloth and mats, and then bury them in graves, or, in certain cases, hang them among the branches of particular trees; various articles of apparel, arms, and valuables, frequently to a large amount, being deposited with them, and offerings to the guardian spirit, or the ghost of the departed, placed near the grave." (Grant, p. 66.)

"In some of the birds' nest caves mouldering coffins are to be seen, rudely carved with grotesque figures, said to have been deposited there in bygone days by the old Sabahans: many of them are on ledges of rock at considerable elevations." (W. B. Pryer, J.A.I., xvi. 232.)

Embalming, if such it be, is mentioned by Mr. Dalrymple (p. 45): "It is reported [of the Dusuns] if a chief of their enemies be taken, his body is embalmed with camphor, and his eyes being taken out, two couries are placed in the sockets and his arms extended, thus forming a dismal spectacle." The custom is also mentioned by Mr. Pryer: "One of the customs of the Tunbunwhas [Dusuns] worth mentioning is that of embalming the dead:

this is done with the valuable Borneo camphor, abundant in the woods in their neighbourhood, more particularly on the Kina Batungan; it is worth some 60/- or 80/- a pound; the coffins are hewn out of a solid piece of billean (ironwood), and are of considerable value." (J.A.I. xvi. 235.)

"At a Kyan grave on the Rejang River at the foot of a tree I saw the body, according to custom, exposed on a raised platform; the skull had dropped on the ground, the bones were on the scaffolding, and the personal effects hung around." (Brooke Low.)

"Captain Mundy was much struck by the simplicity and beauty of the tombs of the Dyaks.<sup>6</sup> They were generally erected on rising ground, in lovely spots, surrounded by creepers and flowering shrubs, a hundred yards from the buildings; they were of an oblong form, composed of wooden planks, standing about twelve feet from the ground on piles, and covered with a sloping roof of the branches of the sago palm; strips of broad bark were attached according to fancy on the gables, having various devices rudely painted upon them." (ii. 219.)

Mr. Burbidge came across a stone circle which represented a Dusun emergency burial ground. "One place was pointed out to me where thirty men and their chief had been slaughtered together and their heads taken, only a few years ago. This was at a ford near Sineroup, and a rude circle of stones still marks the spot where the bodies were interred; all the stones are single except that which represents the chief, which has a smaller stone on its apex. I find the custom of marking burial places with erect stones very common among these people." (p. 287.)

Lieut. de Crespigny was present at the death of a Dusun woman: "All the people gathered round her and commenced a howling chorus which emulated that of a troop of their own dogs and which was continued until the spirit had fled." (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. ii. 349.)

#### JARS.—THE FINAL DEPOSITS.

A very wide-spread custom of the natives of the island of Borneo is that of depositing the relics of their dead in a jar. "The Aborigines<sup>7</sup> generally bury their dead near their houses, erecting over the graves little sheds, adorned, in the case of chiefs, with bright coloured clothes, umbrellas, etc. I once went to see the lying-in-state of a deceased *Datoh*, who had been dead nine days. On entering the house I looked about for the corpse in vain, till my attention was drawn to an old earthen jar, tilted slightly forward, on the top of the old Chief's goods—his sword, spear, gun, and clothing. In this jar were the *Datoh's* remains, the poor old fellow having been doubled up, head and heels together, and forced through the mouth of the vessel, which was about two feet in diameter. The jar itself was about four feet high. Over the corpse was thickly sprinkled the native camphor, and the jar was closed with a piece of buffalo hide, well sealed over with gum dammar. They told us the *Datoh* was dressed in his best clothes and had his pipe with him, but

<sup>6</sup> As this was on the Mambakut River (Kimanis Bay) it is doubtful whether the people are Dyaks.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Treacher is speaking of the Dusuns.

nothing else. He was to be buried that day in a small grave excavated near the house, just large enough to contain the jar, and a buffalo was being killed and intoxicating drink prepared for the numerous friends and followers who were flocking in for the wake. Over his grave cannon would be fired to arouse the spirits, who were to lead him to Kinabalu, the people shouting out, 'Turn neither to the right nor to the left, but proceed straight to Kinabalu'—the sacred mountain, where are collected the spirits of all good Dusuns, under, I believe, the presidency of a great spirit, known as Kinaringan." (Treacher, *Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.*, No. 21, p. 103.)

Mr. Whitehead gives a somewhat different account:—"The Dusuns bury their dead at no great distance from the campong—in Melangkap, at one end of the village green. The graves are at first hung round with the personal property of the departed—the clothes, small chopper, and the bamboo basket every Dusun carries at his back; the garments are left till they rot away. I have seen jars half-sunken in the earth over some graves, but after a time these are removed, and there is nothing left to show the Dusun's last resting-place. Small children are occasionally buried under the houses." (p. 111.) The same author also states:—"The Murut burial customs are rather interesting. The corpse is for the first year potted; the dead body is doubled up, the knees to the chin, and placed in a large jar, the jar being carefully broken to admit it, and afterwards tied together with rattans and cemented, the top being secured by a plate, also cemented down. As this human jam-pot is kept in the roof of the house until the bones alone remain, it is necessary to drain off the liquid parts; this is done by inserting a long bamboo pipe through the bottom of the jar into the ground below. After the bones are dry they are placed in a smaller jar and buried." (p. 73.)

"As I have advanced into the country I have noticed many clearings on the ridges of the highest hills—perhaps fifty yards in length. It is in these places that the bones of their chief men rest. As far as I understand their ways, they place the corpse in a sort of box, fashioned sometimes like the body of a deer, or what a Murut fancies is a resemblance, until all the flesh is dissolved from the bones; these are then placed in a jar, and left on the lofty spots I have mentioned. I noticed many of these jars in my forced march from Molu, above the sites of the old Tabun villages, and to the intense disgust of my guide they were found broken, and the skulls extracted by the marauding Kayans. I lately, also, discovered one near my house with the bones nearly dissolved. It was most probably buried there before the Borneans turned Mahomedans, as no Muruts have lived on the hills near the capital since, at least so says tradition. It was found a couple of hundred yards from the site of the old East India Company's factory, which was abandoned about eighty or ninety years ago. The poor men are said to have

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Whitehead continues: "Whether this custom originated from the fear of the desecration of the graves by enemies I am unable to say; but as the Muruts have even journeyed to Labuan and stolen the skulls from the cemetery, it is not improbable that they are afraid of the same thing happening to their dead." (p. 73.) But regarding this theft he is incorrect in attributing it to the Muruts, for Mr. Treacher very distinctly states when speaking of this desecration of the European graves on Labuan: "The perpetrators of these outrages have never been discovered, notwithstanding the most stringent enquiries." (*Brit. Borneo*, p. 146.)

their bones buried, while the chiefs have theirs added to those of their ancestors. I hear the Milanaus follow a custom somewhat similar. When a chief dies, they place the body in a shed with a raised floor, and cover it over with sand: they leave it there, till all the dissolvable parts have run through the open flooring, and when the remains are perfectly dry, they collect and place them in a jar. All the relations and friends are then summoned, and they feast and rejoice for seven days." (St. John ii. 129.)

Mr. Denison confirms the custom among the Milanos:—"In this country when an aged Milano is sick unto death, and no hope remains of his recovery, it is the custom for the nearest relative to present the dying person with a shroud, generally a gold-cloth. Among the northern tribes it is the custom at this crisis for friends of the dying person to present the nearest relation—husband, wife, or child—with small tokens of affection, such as a piece of black cloth, tobacco, &c. The corpse is invariably kept in the house until it is far advanced in decomposition—from ten days to a fortnight—and then, if it can be squeezed into a jar, this is done at once, if not, the corpse is put up a tree or covered with stones until it is reduced in dimensions." (Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 184.)

And Mr. Crocker, also writing of the Milanos, says: "When a chief dies the body is allowed to decay, and the remains are placed in a jar, which is deposited in a large tree or post, hollowed out for the purpose. These mausoleums are usually made of *bilian*, or ironwood; they are sometimes of immense size and elaborately carved, and, as the wood is almost imperishable, graves and monuments are still extant which can be traced back for generations." (Proc. R. Geogr. Soc., 1881, p. 200.)

"There are a couple of tombs underneath this house [at Limbawan]. It is the custom here to bury the dead either in that position or immediately outside the doors. Thus Limba-wan is the metropolis of Nabai and its necropolis at the same time. . . . It has been so far impossible to learn what induces these people to utilise their shanties as sepulchral structures. Fears of skull hunters has nothing to do with it." . . . If the burial custom arose out of charity to the dead, those tombs would not be so neglected as they are: soon after burial the covering earth, held up by a few staves of soft wood, is allowed to slip off, and the jar to lie all but open. Many a grazing buffalo breaks through that crust of pottery, and the pigs root as if they were hyenas." (Witti, Diary, 18 March.)

"A Skapan coffin I once saw was canoe-shaped, carved, and painted; the bottom was filled with ashes upon which the body was laid with the hair hanging over the side for the mother to look at, and the lid sealed down with pitch to keep in the smell. The coffin was set in one corner of the room, and over it hung the belongings of the dead person. It was kept for a year or more and then carried out into the open air, when the lid was prised open and the bones collected for burial in a jar.

<sup>9</sup> "Subsequently we found that all the other Pagalan tribes bury their dead at a reasonable distance outside the village. The lonely Dyak grave is rather a peculiarity of its jungle. In Dalit you see certain tombs raised on poles above the ground; that arrangement shows that the party died of blow-pipe poison." (*ibid.*)

"On the Rejang river I met a funeral procession of a Punan on the water. The boats, three in number, carrying their precious burden, the bones of the Punan in a jar, were lashed together; the company was composed of a dozen women and some eighteen men, and the centre boat carried in her bows a tree, the branches of which flare with streamers, red and yellow, black and white. The jar was deposited in the hollow at the top of the pillar, and a trophy of flags was planted on a mound by the waterside, a few hundred yards away." (Brooke Low.)

"Death in a Murut family is an occasion for horrible wailing and moaning; the women sit in the verandah of the house opposite the door of the deceased's room, with their heads covered with cloths, and sing a most mournful dirge, with intervals for sobs and cries, whilst the men call on their friends to drink. The nearest relatives shave their heads; this custom adds much to the ugliness of the women. The mode of burial depends much on the status of the deceased. In the case of a slave, he or she is just buried as a dog would be; if, on the contrary, the head of a house or any one of property dies, the body is placed in an old jar, often of the value of 100 dollars or more. A description of this process was sent to the *Gazette* some years ago, but it will make this paper a little more complete if described again. The corpse is first tied up in such a manner that the elbows and knees rest against the chest, and is then placed in the jar, which has been previously prepared by being cut at its widest circumference, the top forming a cover. A hole about four inches in diameter is cut out of the bottom, into which a bamboo pipe is fitted. The cover being put on, the mouth of the jar is closed with a china bowl and the whole is sealed with a gutta-like substance made by crushing the bark of a tree called by the Muruts 'Palabang.' The Kaladi is sometimes used for this purpose also. The next process is to cover the whole of the jar with bright red cloth, often edged with gold tinsel. Small pieces of wood carved in curious shapes are inserted here and there in the cord which binds the cloth round the jar, these being charms. Sometimes the jar is placed just outside the door of the deceased's room, his parang, shield, umbrella, cooking-pots, gongs, &c., being hung about all round. In the former case a staging is erected a few yards from the house, the floor being about 5 feet from the ground and the roof about 4 feet higher. On this staging the jar is placed, and the bamboo pipe is fixed into the bottom of it, the other end terminating in a hole in the earth. The reason of this arrangement is to allow all the decomposing flesh to run into the earth. In the latter case it is simply placed about 2 feet from the floor of the house and tied securely against the wall, the pipe, as before, passing through the floor. When jars cannot be afforded wooden coffins are used, and these are mostly placed in little huts a short distance from the house. Generally a long box is used, but on one occasion I came across one in a house some distance up country which was so grotesque that a separate description is given below. After a period ranging from one to (some say) as many as ten years, though generally about two, the last rites are performed, the relatives giving a big feast, for which buffaloes and pigs are killed and quantities of arrack brewed. The jar containing the corpse, or rather skeleton, is taken

down and opened, the bones cleaned, transferred to a smaller jar, and finally buried in the graveyard amidst firing of guns and apparently much rejoicing. These ceremonies nearly always take place after the harvest as the Muruts are then better supplied with the wherewithal for feasts. Widowers and widows cannot marry again until these last rites have been performed. The coffin above referred to was about seven feet long over all and made to represent a bird with a tail like a fish; the body was painted with a curious design in red, black, and white, above and below were attached flat pieces of wood running along the length of the body and about three inches deep, the upper was white with a row of little figures joining hands, the lower had a number of tassels hanging from it; the head was ornamented with small white squares with black dots in the centre of each, and the beak ended in a ball painted black; the wings were partly in stripes and partly in dots in black and white; the pipe leading to the earth was also painted in design. Above the coffin were suspended a number of charms; these consisted of boats with people in them, some firing guns, some sitting under a red cloth awning, birds of the stiffest appearance flying, fish of novel shapes, tigers with heads larger than their bodies (it was necessary to ask what these were intended for), semi-circular pieces of wood painted white and dotted with black. The whole arrangement was so curious that I endeavoured to obtain a model of it, but was unsuccessful." (O. F. Ricketts S. G. 348, p. 17.)

Sir Spencer St. John witnessed the following mourning ceremony among the Muruts: "Twenty-four girls and boys, with a few grown women, are walking up and down the verandah, chanting, 'Woh, weh, woh, Isana, mourning for the son of the chief, who has just been wounded up country. They march in Indian file, their arms resting on the shoulders of the person in front. It appears to be a mere ceremony, there being very little grief in the tone. At first I thought it might be connected with the heavy rain and crashing thunderstorm.'" (ii. 124.)

#### BURIAL TABU.

"The Land Dyaks are spoken of as being very fickle as to their abode, one year here, another there, for if two or three die the house is forsaken and another built." (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1867, p. 68.) Similarly Mr. Grant relates: "It appeared that many of the people of their village of Kuap had died, and Dyaks do not much like to live on at a place where they think themselves likely to be haunted by the ghosts of the dead." (p. 10.) The house in which a death occurs must be *porich* or shut up for seven days, or the ghost of the deceased will haunt it continually." (Chalmers.)

"On the day of a Land Dyak's death, a feast (*Man buiya*) is given by the family to their relations; if the deceased be rich, a pig and a fowl are killed, but if poor, a fowl is considered sufficient. The apartment, and the family in which the death occurs, are tabooed for seven days and nights, and if the interdict be not rigidly kept, the ghost of the departed will haunt the house." (St. John i. 165.)

"The hill tribes have the custom of *pamoli*, or taboo, which on certain occasions they enforce with great strictness; they close their houses to all

strangers, and no one can go inside under the penalty of death. Some burn, others bury their dead." (McDougall, T.E.S., ii. 32.)

"Amongst the Sea Dyaks the relatives and bearers of the corpse must return direct to the house from which they started before entering another, as it is unlawful or unlucky to stop, whatever may be the distance to be traversed." (St. John i. 59.) "And then at once an *ulit* commences, which ends with the feast called *gawai antu*, held, when required, as early as possible after the interment. Should, however, a human head have been obtained in the interval and paraded in the village, the restrictions are partially removed and ornaments are permitted to be worn. The *ulit* is confined to the immediate relatives of the deceased, and does not concern the community at large. During its celebration music is tabued, and so is uproarious mirth; ornaments and gay clothing are laid aside, and deep mourning assumed. The dead man's groves and water-courses are tabued to furnish fruit and fish for the feast to his memory to be held after the harvest." (Brooke Low.)

"If a Dayak lose his wife, he gives a feast, which is really an offering to the departed spirit. After the death of relatives, they seek for the heads of enemies, and until one is brought in they consider themselves to be in mourning, wearing no fine clothes, striking no gongs, nor is laughing or merry-making in the house allowed; but they have a steady desire to grieve for the one lost to them, and to seek a head of an enemy, as a means of consoling themselves for the death of the departed. At the launching of a new boat, preparatory to head-hunting, the spirits presiding over it are appeased and fed, and the women collect in and about it, and chant monotonous tunes; invoking the heavenly spirits to grant their lovers and husbands success in finding heads, by which they may remove their mourning and obtain a plentiful supply of the luxuries and necessities of life." (St. John i. 63.)

"When a Sea Dyak person dies the floor of the room in which he died is changed." (Brooke Low.)

"Formerly among the Balaus the death of one of their tribe entailed an *ulat* or ban upon the whole country; and until this *ulat* was removed, which it only could be by the capture of a head, various restrictions were placed upon the whole community; for example, no widower could marry again, nor could the appropriate offerings at the tombs of their deceased relatives be made till the *ulat* was removed." (Horsburgh, p. 13.)

And there is a curious *tabu* regarding objects used by the names borne by the deceased, thus: "The camphor tree abounds in the forest of Balui Pé, but the Lepu Anans and others may not touch it for a couple of years, out of reverence for the memory of Ana Lian Avit, the powerful Kiñah chief, who died a few months ago. Similarly Dian's name may not be uttered in Long Sbatu, a Kiñah village, it having been the name borne by a former chief here." (Brooke Low.)

"The name of one who has died is not mentioned in the same manner as whilst he was living; the Kayans put the word *urip* before his name, which signifies 'the spirit of the deceased.'" (Hose, J. A. I., xxiii. 171.)

In Sir Hugh Low's time there was a *tabu* among the Sea Dyaks called

"*Pamali Mati*, and it is on a house, and on everything in it for twelve days after the decease of any person belonging to it; during this time no one who is not an inhabitant of the dwelling can enter it, nor are the persons usually residing in it allowed to speak to such, nor can any thing, on any pretence whatever, be removed from it until the twelve days of the prohibition be expired: its conclusion is marked by the death of a fowl or pig, according to the circumstances of the family." (p. 260.)

"When a death occurs amongst the Undups the entire village abstains from outdoor labour, and remains at home for seven days in the case of a male, for three days in that of a female, and for one in that of an infant. During the mourning none of them sleep in their rooms, but in the open verandah; I believe this is to allow the spirit to have free access into the room. The immediate relatives of the deceased are confined to their own apartments for three days, on the first of which they have to wail for the dead, and on the second and third of which hired wailers, at a plate a head, perform this office for them. Betel and rice are denied them, and the wailing is repeated at certain intervals until the *gawai antu*. If the deceased be a married man the widow may not leave her room for seven days; so everything she requires is brought to her; she wails for her dead husband morning and evening; she may not marry again until after the *gawai antu*; if she do she is fined for adultery and desertion just as if her husband were alive; she is considered by custom as still belonging to him until freed from him by the performance of the last rites of the *gawai antu*; and every infidelity on her part, if discovered, is visited by the relatives with a pecuniary penalty; and they are not slow to resent anything in her conduct which can be construed into a slur upon his memory." (Crossland, *Mission Life*, 1874, p. 543; Mrs. Chambers, *Gosp. Miss.*, 1859, pp. 67-68.)

"His Highness mentions a case on the Lingga where great offence was given by a chief for marrying again without first properly laying the *ulit*." (i. 128.)

"On the Lingga we passed one small rivulet tabooed in consequence of a rich chief having lately died. There were some spears stuck into the bank, and poles fixed across. No one could break through these impediments without incurring a severe fine; but when the time of mourning [*ulit*] is expired, the relatives of the deceased poison the fish in the stream, and any of the population can be present to spear them, after which the taboo is opened." (Brooke i. 92.)

Mr. Crossland also mentions a river being tabued owing to a death, and that the river was afterwards opened by those set apart to feast the spirit of the dead. (*Miss. Life*, 1867, p. 69.)

Lieut. De Crespigny notices a case of tabu among the Dusuns in consequence of a death.<sup>10</sup> (*Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* ii. 1858, p. 348.)

<sup>10</sup> The news of the death of Pangeran Per Batti Sari "arrived in Coti the latter part of January, when immediate orders were given to put on the usual mourning for forty days; during which period no game of any description must be played or any musical instrument. Every man and male child must have his head shaved and wear a white habit, which is their mourning colour; the whole of the women were obliged to set up a hideous scream at certain parts of the day on a given signal from the Sultan's house. This order was strictly obeyed." (Dalton, p. 58.)

"A few months after the death of a Milanow the friends assemble for a monster cock-fighting and feasting, which lasts three or four days; sometimes as many as three or four hundred cocks are killed, the sacrifice being for the benefit of the departed spirit." (Crocker, *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.*, 1881, p. 201.)

SACRIFICES.

"It appears evident that, in South Borneo at least, but I believe also in the North, human victims are massacred on the death of a chief, and on other occasions. Those slain on the death of a chief are supposed to become his attendants and slaves in a future state. Their bodies are, with those of the chief, placed in ornamented houses erected for the purpose of carved hard wood, on posts of some height above the ground; or occasionally, as I have been informed, in hollowed trunks of trees." (Low p. 335.) Mr. Burns says that, although the Kayans strenuously deny it, human sacrifices appear to have been prevalent on the occasion of a chief's death. (*Jour. Ind. Arch.* iii. 145.) Mr. Hose confirms this. (*J.A.I.* xxiii. 166.) "In olden days when a chief died, it was customary to bury living slaves along with the corpse; and only two years before the district came under Sarawak rule, three slaves were buried alive in the grave of one Balawing, a Kayan chief of the Baram." And Sir S. St. John says that these sacrifices can seldom occur, or we should have heard more of them. "There were rumours, however, that at the death of the Kayan chief Tamawan, whom I met during my expedition to the Baram, slaves were devoted to destruction, that they might follow him in the future world." (i. 36.) Writing in 1866 Sir Chas. Brooke tells us: "But it is still the custom among the Kayans and other inland branches, who seldom put to death any of their own people, but execute unfortunate captives or slaves brought from a distance." (i. 74.) But Bishop McDougall states that they formerly killed slaves for the use of their dead, whom they always provide with food, weapons, etc., for their unknown journey. (*T.E.S.* ii. 32.) Of the Sea Dyaks I can only find the following note by Sir S. St. John: "It is reported that many years ago a Sibuyau chief sacrificed some prisoners on the graves of two of his sons, who, in the same expedition, had been killed by his enemies." (i. 64.)

"I find that, as among the Kanowits and other Dayaks, after the death of a relative they go out head-hunting, but do not kill the first person met; but each one they pass must make them a trifling present, which is no doubt quickly given, to get rid of such unpleasant neighbours." (*ibid* i. 110.)

But if the Kyans had a bad name for human sacrifice on the death of a relation or chief, that of the Milanos is far worse: "Part of this tribe practise human sacrifice on the death of any chief or man of rank, although it is now quite extinct on the coast, owing to inter-mixture with more civilised peoples and the prevention by Government."

Mr. Crocker's informant (a Milano) told him his grandfather was buried in this way, and that a "slave was chained to the post and starved to death, in order that he might be ready to follow and serve his master in the other world." (*Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, 1881, p. 200.)

Mr. Denison also states that previous to Sir James Brooke's advent—and the cession of the country to him—"it was not at all an uncommon practice,

when an Orang Kaya died, to sacrifice from ten to twelve of his slaves and bury them with him, the poor wretches receiving a solemn admonition to tend well upon their master in the new world." (Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 182.)

"I made particular inquiries of Haji Abdulraman, and his followers, of Muka, whilst I was in Brunei last year. They said that the Milanaus of their town who remained unconverted to Islamism have within the last few years sacrificed slaves at the death of a respectable man, and buried them with the corpse, in order that they might be ready to attend their master in the other world. This conversation took place in the presence of the Sultan, who said he had often heard the report of such acts having been committed. One of the nobles present observed that such things were rare, but that he had known of a similar sacrifice taking place among the Bisayas of the River Kalias, opposite our colony of Labuan. He said a large hole was dug in the ground, in which was placed four slaves and the body of the dead chief. A small supply of provisions was added, when beams and boughs were thrown upon the grave, and earth heaped to a great height over the whole. A prepared bamboo was allowed to convey air to those confined, who were thus left to starve." (St. John i. 36.)

Of the Kanowits [?] the same traveller relates (i. 43):—"A short time before the Rejang came under Sir James Brooke's sway, a relation of Belabun died. Having no enemy near, he looked about for a victim. Seeing a Dayak of the Katibas passing down the river, he and a small party followed and overtook him just as he reached the junction; they persuaded him to come ashore, and then seized and killed him, taking his head home in triumph. As this murder took place before Sir James Brooke's jurisdiction extended over the country, it was difficult to bring him to account, but on his relations coming to demand satisfaction, Captain Brooke insisted upon his paying the customary fine, which satisfied the Katibas.

"The second chief of this village is Sikalei, who, when one of his children died, sallied out and killed the first man he met—they say it was one of his own tribe, but it was the custom to kill the first person, even if it were a brother: fortunately they now are brought under a Government which is strong enough to prevent such practices."

"The most objectionable custom practised by the Dusuns was that of human sacrifice, or *surmungup*, as they called it; the ostensible reason seems to have been to send messages to dead relatives, and to this end they used to get a slave, usually one bought for the purpose, tie him up and bind him round with cloths, and then after some preliminary dancing and singing, one after another they would stick a spear a little way—an inch or so—into his body, each one sending a message to his deceased friend as he did so. There was even more difficulty in getting them to abandon this custom than there was to leave off head-hunting. Down in the south-east the way of managing *surmungups* is for a lot of them to subscribe till the price of a slave is raised. He is then bought, tied up, and all the subscribers grasping simultaneously a long spear, it is thrust through him at once. This custom still exists in Tidong and the neighbourhood." (W. B. Pryer, J. A. I., xvi. 234.)

Elsewhere the same gentleman writes : " Banjer was a Sultan's man and had once been put on a *Binting Marrow*<sup>11</sup> station ; the man in charge of it thought the time had come to take a little duty in blood, just to let people see the Sultan did not keep Binting Marrow stations for nothing. So they caught a trader, accused him of wanting to evade the payment of duties, and tying a rope round his wrist, fastened him to a post with his feet off the ground, and left him hanging there. He cried continually all day long, ' I have committed no fault, I have committed no fault.' They returned in the evening with their creeses and hewed him to bits. Once he was present when the Tunbumohas *surmungup*-ed a man.<sup>12</sup> He was a bought slave, and the Tunbumohas tied him up with his arms outstretched (crucified in fact), and they danced round him. At last the head man approached, and wishing him a pleasant journey to Kina Balu, stuck his spear about an inch deep, and no more, in the man's body ; and another then said, ' Bear my kind remembrances to my brother at Kina Balu,' and did the same, and in this way, with messages to deceased relatives at Kina Balu, all those present slightly wounded the man. When the dance was over they unbound him, but he was dead. This custom is known as *surmungup*, and is practised by the far inland tribes to this day. The Tunbumohas, however, having an intuitive idea that white men might not view such a custom with approval, have now abandoned it in so far that they substitute a pig for a man." (Pryer, Diary, 27 Feb.)

This sacrificing of slaves was known in Mr. Dalrymple's time, for he reports (p. 45.) :—" Others, amongst the Idaan, think the passage for men into paradise is over a long tree, which, unless they have killed a man, is scarce practicable, perhaps for want of the slaves' assistance. When prisoners are taken in war, it is said a general meeting is called ; when the chief gives the first blow, and then the victim is struck with weapons on every side."

The Muruts would also appear to sacrifice when they thought the occasion warranted it : " One of the Muruts had been murdered by a roving party of head-hunters, *i.e.* killed with blow-pipes. The tribe, determining to avenge his death, seized an old woman belonging to the hostile tribe, who had been long living in the village, and, binding her on a bamboo grating over the grave, proceeded to dispatch her with knives, spears and daggers.

" The brother of the murdered man struck the first blow, then all joined in till life was extinct ; the blood was allowed to flow into the grave over the corpse ; the skull was cut into fragments, and with the corresponding

<sup>11</sup> A *Bintang Marrow* station is made by slinging a rattan across the stream, for raising which a heavy duty is charged. (*ibid*, Diary, 4 Mar.)

Mr. Hatton (Diary, 18 Mar.) mentions such a frontier marked, and on the following day (Diary, 19 Mar.) he writes :—" We passed under a second rattan stretched across the river between Kananap, a district of Sogolitan, and Sogolitan proper. These two rattans form one key to the country, and if one is cut down, in defiance the Dyaks never leave the war path until the offenders' heads are at rest with the others in their head store. On what seems to be the lower limit of Sogolitan we noticed a queer exhibition of animosity towards Dumpas. There a rope, *i.e.* rattan, was stretched across the river, from which dangled all sorts of friendly mementoes, such as sharpened bamboos, wooden choppers, snares, &c." (Witti, 3 June.)

<sup>12</sup> At Imbok : " Among other things brought before me was a matter in connection with an application from an interior tribe for a slave to *Surmungup*." (*ibid*, Diary, 4 Mar.)

portions of the scalp, the hair attached, was divided amongst the friends and relatives; the nails were also extracted.

"The Orang Kaya then proceeded to ornament a pole in the native fashion, with strips of plantain bark, the summit of which he surmounted with his portion of the skull; on either side of the centre pole, another pole was erected, on each of which the five nails of a hand were exposed. The body of the woman was buried with that of the murdered man." (Denison, *Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.*, No. 10, p. 183.)

#### BURIAL CUSTOMS IN DUTCH BORNEO.

"Among the Bahou Tring Dyaks, the cannibals [?] of Borneo, the following rites are observed on the death of a chief: The death of the Rajah is announced by the beating of a gong, on hearing which the people at once proceed to the house of the deceased. Whilst they are gathered there the chief's body is washed and afterwards rubbed in with salt, and dressed in his best apparel, and placed in a sitting posture; in his hands are placed his shield and mandau. After some time, the arms are taken away, the body is undressed, wrapped in a piece of cloth, and placed carefully on the ground. Whilst the garments are being removed, a singer stands close by and chants a hymn, in which he describes the road which the departed must travel, in order to come to his tribe in the other world. As a reward for instructing the spirit in the details of the long and intricate journey it has to perform, the singer receives the clothes, mandau, and shield of the deceased. The following day, the members of the tribe are again gathered together, and as a sign of mourning shave off the hair from the head, and also tear off either their sarong or their jacket, and run about with the upper or lower part of the body naked; this mourning lasts until they have had a "good harvest," by which is generally meant a few heads. When the people are all assembled, and have all adopted these signs of mourning, the body is placed in the coffin and brought to a chapel, those who are carrying the body, and the clothes which have to be deposited with the dead, taking great care that they do not stumble or fall, as such an occurrence is considered an omen that the fallen will not live long. At the tomb are generally placed four wooden idols, representing tigers, whose souls—for the Dyaks believe that every object has a soul—are to act as servants for the good Rajah in the other world. As soon as the coffin is deposited in the chapel, the people return home and have a funeral feast, which lasts one month." (Bock, p. 224.)

"The great tribe of Bejadjoes has two methods of paying last honours to the dead: The dead are either interred, which is more commonly the case, or the corpses, after being preserved for several years, are burned to ashes, and the little that there remains of their bones are deposited in small wooden cabins constructed for the purpose, and which are called *Santong toelang*, literally bone chamber. The latter method of honouring the material shell of the dead being accompanied with numerous ceremonies, entails heavy expenses; it is only customary among the rich or powerful families. The body is deposited in a box of planks called *Kakoeroeng*, or in the trunk of a dug-out tree, *Rouen*, and of which the lid is hermetically sealed by means of *damar tampoerib* (a sort of resin), with which it is coated. This operation is only completed 36 hours or more after the decease, as this lapse of time is necessary to build the coffin, and also because there are not in this country any workpeople who are employed solely at this sort of labour. Burials, on the other hand, generally take place twelve hours after death, and are accompanied with far less ceremonies. The corpse is simply washed and covered with mats, or, after having been enveloped in a white cloth, is covered with pisang leaves, the whole receives a final wrapping of split bambu. Sometimes the bodies are also deposited in a coffin. The corpse lies on its back with its arms folded over its chest. Before burial paddy is sprinkled on the upper portion of the body, and the legs are rubbed with *curcuma*, the head is turned to the east, so that the eyes which remain open, regard the setting [*sic*] sun. The Dusun Dyaks also enshroud their dead or they burn them and collect the ashes, which they preserve in tree-trunks dug out for that purpose." (S. Müller, ii. 368.)

Burial customs among the Sihongho in Borneo by Missionary Tromp (*Berichte d. Rheinischen Missions Gesell*, Barmen, 1877, p. 42).

"One afternoon as I was sitting at my desk I heard suddenly a loud and painful wailing. I hurried outside and saw a whole train of people coming along the Sihong road. First a man with a torch, then several men, then a whole row of women with masked faces crying and weeping loudly, and then some more men. The whole lot were coming along almost at a double. On enquiring what it was I was told something about a corpse. I then hurried all the more in order to

join the troop and to do this I had to run my best. . . . At a somewhat clear spot in the forest a halt was made. I saw here a whole group of coffins, some supported by six, some by four posts, and to my surprise I also saw a house. In answer to my enquiry I was told it was a burning place where the bones of the dead were cremated. . . . I found, however, it was no corpse I had been following but that the people had brought food to a child which had died seven days ago. The food consisted of fowl and rice and the necessary adjuncts. The food was put down amidst loud lamentations, and the women stood in groups taking up the wailing alternatively. They all went back in the same haste with which they came. I wondered on the quiet to myself how it was that they had buried the child there so far from the village when I knew that the cemetery was almost in the village, a few hundred paces from the house of the *suta*. But I learnt later that the spot in the forest, to which I had been, was the real rendezvous of all the village dead, but that the dead are not taken there at once. Only children up to at most six or seven years of age are buried there at once. If a child dies a fowl must be sacrificed as is the case at every death. The greater part of the fowl is, of course, eaten by the sorrowing ones, and the dead only gets the bones, but these he takes with

#### A CREMATION ON THE KAPOLAS MOEROENG RIVER.

Dutch South Central Borneo.

(After Schwaner.)

him. A pig is killed the day after the death of the child and that is then sufficient to help its soul to be able to enter purified into the city of the dead. A temporary coffin is not made for a child, as is done with grown-up people, but the child is put at once into its proper coffin, called *koni*. The prescribed mourning of the parents lasts seven days. While this lasts they must eat no rice, but must eat *djelâi*. The seeds of *djelâi* are small and brown, of unpleasant smell, and are said not to taste at all nice, so that children are not forced to partake of this mourning food. Grown-up brothers and sisters are bound to partake of this food for so long as the body remains in the house. On the seventh day a fowl is again killed and a part of it carried to the child. The parents' time of mourning then ceases. *The burial of adults* One Saturday afternoon in September last year a man who was very ill was brought from the rice fields into the village. The people like to do this, so that a man should at least die in his house. In any case, the corpse must be brought to the village to which the deceased belonged. The man who was brought in belonged to our next neighbour's house, barely five paces from the *balai*, and there I also had the opportunity of seeing everything very exactly.

Death already looked out of the man's eyes and he lay there unconscious in great pain [*sic*]. The relatives were much troubled and my heart ached on account of their wailing. Death approached slowly but surely. Amidst loud crying the dying man's children approached their father and grasped his hand in order to say adieu (*lebe wohl*). The wife did not move from his side, while the other women sat further off and held themselves ready to commence the death-wail. As the breath ceased a loud and heart-breaking cry filled the house, but as the chest of the dying man heaved once more there was a dead silence as at the word of command. But, then, when the last sigh had been really breathed, the wail sounded all the more awful. The copper kettledrums were now got ready and accompanied by their dull tones the wail was all the more horrible. As a word of sympathy was out of the question, I left. That was at about seven o'clock, and only at nine o'clock did the wailing stop, but it was only for a bit, then, always accompanied by the dull sounds of various drums it rung out awfully during night and all the night through, in fact so long as the corpse remained in the house. The next morning I found a whole row of women sitting round the corpse, their masked faces facing it, but the masking only lasts as long as real weeping is going on. All the clothes of the deceased lay on the corpse, by its side his arms and his little dish with food. The devoted fowl had already been slaughtered. The male relatives had now to prepare the temporary coffin called *karong*. Properly speaking the whole village helped in this work. The coffin was made of only two pieces of soft wood. The lower piece was adzed out like a trough and then planed so that the cover would fit on closely. The cover was likewise dug out slightly and then planed. The putting of the corpse in the coffin was done with loud lamentations and perhaps all the louder than before as additional people had come from other villages. The corpse was turned on its side, forced tightly into the coffin. This always happens, as the coffin is only dug out so far as to allow the corpse to pass in sideways. One-half of the deceased's clothes were placed on the corpse and the other half left to his widow and children. They then put money, rice and condiments, and other necessities into the coffin, whereupon it was nailed [*sic*] up and well pitched. The interment took place next day. As the coffin was taken out of the house the wail for the dead, the drum-beating, and, added to that, the gun-firing, was a perfect pandemonium of noise. The funeral procession was the same as I described above. First a man with a torch, then several men, some of them carrying wooden spades, then followed the coffin carried by two men, then a whole row of women mourners with covered-up faces, and then some more men and some youths. The procession had to pass the grave of the grandfather, Suto Ono, and a stop was made here as a tribute of sirih had to be given to him the former tribal chief. The procession then ran rapidly onwards. The wailing ceased on arrival at the burial place. A little sirih was placed on every grave, and only when that was done did they commence to dig the grave. The *Raden* [*?* chief] only had an iron hoe, the other men used partly wooden spades, partly their chopping knives, while others again used a still simpler tool—they used their hands. In this manner the grave, about four feet deep, was soon ready. The lowering of the body was accompanied by loud wailing. The weapons of the deceased, a spear with the blowpipe, the necessary arrows, a chopping knife, dagger, &c., were placed on the coffin, and some food was placed on the grave. Now all was over, and even the wailing was done with. Owing to the great crying the widow looked weary and haggard. The second devoted fowl was slaughtered on the 7th day after the death, and his portion was taken out to the deceased amidst loud wailing again. On the forty-eighth day a fowl had to be again slaughtered and his portion carried to the deceased. All burials are like the above. No weapons but only a common knife and the inevitable chopping knife are placed on the coffin of a woman or girl. The funeral foods have to be eaten for seven days by the relations, but where the survivor is a widow, a widower, or a mother of a grown-up child, or, in case of the death of the till then surviving parent, the eldest grown-up child, all these survivors must eat funeral food for forty-nine days. All obligations cease on the forty-ninth day, and it depends entirely upon the goodwill of the relations whether anything more is done. In the meantime they bring food to the deceased at least once a year, and that is sufficient until the *djama*, *i.e.*, until the spirit is taken to the real necropolis. The *djama* feast is held every two or three years, and it is not a matter for one family only but all families concerned hold the feast in common. When a *djama* is to be held the bones are dug up, and if the temporary coffin, the *karong*, has rotted a new one is made, and it is in this new one that the bones are carried to the *balai*, and thence to the cremation place. *The preservation of dead bodies in the houses*: This is an expensive affair, and therefore it is only the rich who can afford to keep their dead at home. Their behaviour at the death-scene and their obligations to the dead are the same as above described, but they have the special duty of offering food to the deceased at least twice a day. The food, consisting of rice and dried fish, is placed for a moment by the coffin and then thrown into the pig trough [*sic*]. This food must be offered daily until the *djama* feast, and for forty-nine days at least the mourning wail must be uttered. In this case they gladly do more, and hence

several times, both by day and by night, the drums are heard resounding out of such a house, and one might almost think one heard a distant bell chiming. Watch is kept at night in such a house, and to partake of this watching is considered an expression of condolence or of honour, especially do young fellows take part in the watching. At such times many a story is told, and when they are tired of telling and listening they lie down on the floor and sleep, then he who wakes first strikes the drum, and all is animation once more. The treatment of the corpse is as follows: When the corpse has been squeezed into coffin and the latter has been nailed [*sic*] and sealed, it is put on to a tressle. A hole has been previously bored in the bottom of the *Karong*, and a pot which being slightly raised above the floor is fastened to the coffin; the top of the pot is also well sealed up so that one does not notice any of the smell of decomposition, but all the more disagreeable is the bad incense burned in quantities. On the forty-ninth day, when the last fowl has been slaughtered to the deceased, the pot is loosened and placed on the floor. One of the eldest men must then sit down by it and take it between his arms and legs, and—repulsive action—it is looked into. If there be too much matter a punishment is imposed, as the relatives have not done their duty. This over the coffin and pot are carefully re-sealed, and remain in the house until the *djama*. I have not yet been able to see a *djama*, and do not care to. Only the bones of adults are burned, the ashes being laid in the real coffin *tambak*. The burning of the bones is an absolutely necessary act of purification, as by means of the burning any unatoned sins [*sic*] are blotted out. Our people have a presentiment of the Word "Who can note how often he fail." All unknown and unexpiated sin is wiped away by the burning of the bones, and then the spirit is as clean as "though washed in gold."

#### PATTERN OF SEA DYAK GIRL'S PETTICOAT.

With the exception of some red and yellow thread of warp along the edges, which were dyed before putting on the loom, the pattern is dyed brown. Depth, 11 inches; circumference, 30 inches.

(Leggatt Coll.)

## CHAPTER VIII.

### RELIGION.

#### CHALMERS' LAND DYAK GODS AND PERHAM'S SEA DYAK GODS.

Chalmers' Land Dyak mythology—Beeker's and Lobscheid's mythology—Religious observances. CHIEF SPIRITS: Tupa—*Tenubi*—*Iang*—*Jirong*—The *Umot*—*Komang*—*Triu*—*Umot Sise*—*Umot perusong* and *Tibong*—*Perubach*—*Sudaung*—The *Mino*—*Nino*—*Buan*—An embodied spirit—*Pujabun*—*Sekukoh*. ARCHDEACON PERHAM'S SEA DYAK GODS.—I.: *Petara*—*Pengaps* (recitations)—*Petara* not equivalent to *Allah Taala*—Its definition—A multitude of *Petaras*—The *Besant*—*Petaras*, how conjured—Human-like gods—Low conception of the Deity—*Sampi*, an invocation—Grandmother *Andan*—Her blessings—Unity of origin—Nature worship—*Salampandai*—Her creation of man—Her frog form—*Pulang Gana*—His origin—His manifestation—His feasts of *Gawai Batu* and *Gawai Benih*—*Singalang Burong*—His character—Mythological inconsistencies—Heroes not invoked in sickness but *Petara*—The One True Unknown—Conception of *Petara* not an exalted one—Sins atoned for—Morality degraded—*Petara* the preserver—*Petara* the image of man—II.: *Petara* equivalent to *Avatara*—The beliefs probably introduced—Question not settled—Good and bad spirits—Dyak receptivity omnivorous—*Antus*: what they are—They appear to man—Their dogs—Their magic powers—Abodes—An *antu* tree—Their benefits to mankind—Meeting friendly *antus*—*Nampok*—Seeking cure of sickness—Sickness attributed to *antus*—Smallpox, cholera are *antus*—*Antus* form a system with definite function—Take animal forms—If caught give good luck—Alligators—Diving ordeal—Reverence towards serpents—Luck bringer—Anthropolatry—Sacrifices—*Piring*—Offerings—*Ginselan*—Sacrifice eaten—The *buja*—No priest necessary—Not a petition for pardon—The gods demand satisfaction—An act of fear—Omens—Omen birds and animals—Farming omens—Housebuilding omens—Auguries—Bad and good omens in bird sounds—Dead animals—Overcoming bad omens—Omen birds sacred—Omen animals not sacred—Discussing omens—Bird cultus exists to secure good harvests—A bird invocation—Origin of bird omens—*Singalang Burong's* relations—*Siu's* son *Seragunting*—His home going—His adventures—His marvellous feats—The birds his representatives—Conclusion to be drawn—The Dyak a worshipping animal—Nature to him a terrible combination of phenomena—Practical polytheism—Desire to know the future—Belief in powers superior to himself.—III.: No religious celebrations at birth—Marriage ceremonies—Burial rites—Wailing—Premature burials—Proposed self-sacrifice—Leading the soul home—The burying—The *baiya*—Fear of the dead—Above-ground burials—After ministries—The *pana*—The bird's message—*Sumping*—*Gawai antu*—The *lumpang*—The professional wailer—Property shared with the dead—"Drinking the bambu"—Hades objects to poor *antus*—The borderland—The bridge of fear—The hill of fire—Communion with the dead—An ungrateful dead mother—*Kadawa's* adventures—The Dyak's eschatology—After a few deaths all is dissolution.

THE paper on Land Dyak religion, by the Reverend Wm. Chalmers, taken from that excellent and rare little book, Mr. Grant's "Tour" (pp. 126-128), should be compared with the paper on the Mythology of the Dyaks on the S.E. Coast of Borneo, by the Rev. F. F. Beeker, which appeared in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago. A very similar account to that of Mr. Beeker was published by the Rev. W. Lobscheid, at Hong Kong, in 1866, in pamphlet form. Judging from Mr. Lobscheid's Preface there

appears to have been some friction in the publication of these two very similar accounts.

It may be well to preface Mr. Chalmers' remarks on the Spirits with his words printed elsewhere (O. P. p. 2). They run: "Were I asked what is the religion of the Land Dyaks, I should say none worthy of the name, but their *religious observances* may be classed as follows:—

1st.—The killing and eating of fowls and pigs, of which a portion is set aside for the Deity.

2nd.—The propitiation of *Antus* by small offerings of rice, etc.

3rd.—The Pamali [*i.e. tabu.*]

4th.—Obedience to the *Borich* [priestesses] and belief in their pretentions.

5th.—Dancing.

6th.—The use of omens from the notes of various birds, the principal of which are obtained from a bird called the *Kusha*.

"*Hantu*,' or spirits, are divided by the Dyaks into two classes—*Umōt* and '*Minō*.' The '*Umōt*' are demons, the '*Minō*' ghosts of departed 'men.' But above these are certain chief spirits, and these I will mention first."

#### A. CHIEF SPIRITS.

"(1) *Tūpa*, who is so called from *Tūpa* the Dyak form of the Malay word *tūmpa*, to forge as a blacksmith—because he created mankind and everything that draws the breath of life, and daily preserves them by his power and goodness.

"(2) *Tenūbi*, who made the earth and all that grows upon it, and who, by his unceasing care, causes it to flourish, and so give seed to the sower and bread to the eater.

"(3) *Iang*, or *Iing*, who instructed the foundress of the order of '*Barich*' in the mysteries of the healing art, and causes their rites, to be effectual as medicine for both men and paddy.

"(4) *Jirong*, the Destroyer, who seems to be on an equality with the preceding three; for when *Tūpa* created man without intending him to die, *Jirong* it was who suggested that he should be made mortal, lest creation should not suffice to maintain his undying progeny, and thereupon he took into his own hands the superintendence of man's end, and it is he who causes him to leave the world by sickness, accident, battle, &c. He also looks after the procreation of children and their birth into the world.

"These four seem to be the rajahs of the spiritual world. We now come to an inferior order of beings. I must mention, however, that I have been told by a very intelligent man of the tribe of *Sitang*, that *Tūpa* and *Tenūbi* are but different names for the same great being—the creator and preserver of all things both visible and invisible. (To this belief I myself incline as the original and true one.) And with him, he says, *Jirong* alone is associated as the lord of births and deaths. *Iang*, according to him, is only a created spirit: in the beginning *Tūpa* having created—1st, *Iang*; 2nd, the *Komang*; 3rd, the *Triu*; and 4th, *Man*."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "I have always thought that the three inferior spirits mentioned by Mr. Chalmers in the extract I will give, *Tenabi*, *Iang*, and *Jirong*, are merely agents of *Tapa*, and occasionally their

## B. UMOT.

"(1) *Komang* and (2) *Triu*. These spirits live on the summits of high hills, and they delight in war, bloodshed, and death. When *Peti* (spring traps which project bamboo spears) are set to catch beasts (pigs, deer, &c.) in the jungle, an invocation is addressed to them to beg their help and countenance. They are said, moreover, always to descend from their lofty dwellings to be present at head-feasts. After death, the spirits of very brave men are supposed to be admitted into the honourable society of *Komang*.<sup>1</sup>

"(3) *Umōt Sisē*, who may be heard, if not seen, sneaking below the houses after a feast, and picking up and munching the fragments of food which have fallen through the interstices of the lath floors.

"(4) *Umōt perusong* and *Tibong*, who come and devour the paddy after it has been stored away in its boxes in the garret, and so cause it to come to a speedy end. (These *Umōt* are, I suspect, rats.)

"(5) *Perūbach*, an *Umōt* with an enormous appetite, who causes the rice cooked for the family meal to be insufficient by coming (invisibly, of course) and devouring it when still in the pot.

"(6) *Sudaing*, an *Umōt* known seemingly to the Dyaks of Mount Peninjau only, who lives amid the clefts and holes of the rocks on the hills, and who in wet weather may be heard continually therein shivering and bemoaning himself like a man with the ague."<sup>2</sup>

## C. MINO.

"(1) The simple *Minō* are the ghosts of those mortals who have died a natural death. They specially haunt the *Tinungan*, or place where corpses are burned or buried, and render it, therefore, dangerous ground for all except the *Peninuch*, or sexton. . . .

subordinate position is overlooked by the Dayak narrators. It reminds one of the three powers in the Hindoo religion, 'Brahma,' 'Vishnu,' and 'Siva,' issuing from the Godhead Bram—and, in the Dayak religion, 'Tenabi,' the maker of the material world; Iang, the Instructor, and Jirong, the Renovator and Destroyer, emanating from the Godhead Tapa, the great Creator; and Preserver." (Spencer St. John i. 169.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Hugh Low makes a considerable distinction between the *Triu* and the *Kamang*. According to him the *Triu* are the martial genii of the Dyaks. In person the *Triu* "are supposed to resemble the Dyaks themselves, whom they delight in benefiting.

"Far different from this mild and benevolent character is that of the genii of the hideous and savage *Kamang*, whose joy is in the misery of mankind, and who delight in war and bloodshed and all the other afflictions of the human race. They mix personally in the battles of their votaries, not from any wish to assist them—though they may be, in some measure, propitiated by feasts in their honour—but that the carnage may be increased, for they are said to inspire desperate valour. In person they are as disgustingly ugly as they are barbarous and cruel in their dispositions; their bodies are covered, like those of the *Oran-utan*, with long and shaggy red hair; they are mis-shapen and contorted, and their favourite food is the blood of the human race." (Low, p. 250.)

<sup>2</sup> "Among the Malanau there are several spirits who haunt the woods and streams; they are malignant, and afflict mankind with various diseases. Tow, Dalong, Doig, and Balanyan are spirits of the woods; Gin, of the sea; Naga, of the rivers. Deog Ian, the spirit who afflicts with dropsy, lives at the sources of rivers. Iblalangan Langit is a winged spirit, inhabits the sky, and kills with thunder and lightning. Siag and Abong send fever and ague upon mankind." (J.A.I. v. 35.)

"When a *Minō* dies (for he, too, is mortal) he enters *Rubang Sabayan* (Hades), and, coming out thence again, becomes a *bejāwi*. When a *bejāwi* dies, he becomes a *begūtur*, and, when he dies, his spiritual essence enters the trunks of trees, and may be seen there blotching the wood with a reddish stain; but its real personal existence is extinct for ever.

"(2) The *Buañ* are the ghosts of men killed in war, and who have lost their heads. They are very inimical to living men; their place of abode is in old forest jungle, and they have the power, moreover, of assuming the form of beasts and headless men. One day last year a young man of this village came running home from the jungle, and lay down in a high fever. When asked what was the matter he said that, as he was walking near a small stream at no great distance from the village, he saw what he imagined to be a large squirrel sitting on the spreading roots of a tall tree. He threw his spear at it and, thinking he had struck it, was running to the place where it was, when to his horror it rose up before him in the shape of a dog, which walked slowly off and then sat down facing him on the trunk of a fallen tree in the form of a headless man, with a parti-coloured body drawn up to a point just above the shoulders. He rushed away, and came home in a fever. In came the doctor, who declared that he had seen a *Buañ*, who had stolen his soul away, and that it must be recovered, or he would die. So away stalked the doctor into the jungle, tinkling his 'charm,' and in about an hour he returned with the vagrant soul, which he declared he saw and caught by the roadside near the spot where the *Buañ* was seen. He pretended to poke it into the ghost-seer's head, and next day he was better.<sup>4</sup>

"(3) The *Pujābun* are the ghosts of those who have met with an accidental death; and they spend their time in trying to injure the living, and in bewailing their own untimely fate."<sup>5</sup>

"(4) *Minō Kok Anak*, or *Sekukōk*, are the ghosts of women who die in child-bed. They live in the jungle, and frequently mount high trees, from whence they make hideous noises to frighten belated Dyaks as they are hastening home in the gloaming."<sup>6</sup>

I am under deep obligation to the Venerable Archdeacon Perham for his permission to make what use I like of his exhaustive papers, and, I think,

<sup>4</sup> Some accuse the Buau of being occasionally guilty of running off with women. In former times, a wife, named Temunyan, was, in her husband's absence, carried off. On his return he searched for, and found the spirit, slew him by a trick and recovered his wife; not, however, until she had suffered violation. She was pregnant by the Buau, and in due time she brought forth a son—a horrible monster, which her enraged husband chopped up into small pieces; and these immediately turned into leeches, with which the jungles are to this day unpleasantly infested." (Sp. St. John i. 174.)

<sup>5</sup> "Their name seems to be derived from a Dayak word meaning 'To long for,' because it is said they pass their time in useless wallings over their hard fate." (Sp. St. John i. 174.)

<sup>6</sup> The names of the *Umōt Minō* are given in the *Sentak* dialect. Other tribes have slightly different names, e.g., *Minō* is by some called *Munūa*; *Sisē*, *Sisia*; *Pujābun*, *Kejabon*; &c. Again, by the Dyaks of the river *Sadong*, *Tūpa* is called *Tūmpa*, and by the people of *Sambas*, *Penita*. I may also add that *Hantoo*, or *Hantu* (Ghost), is sometimes spelt *Antu*, and Dyak is often spelt Dayak, being derived from the word *Daya* (a man). For the sake of uniformity, however, one mode of spelling has, as a rule, been adopted. [W. C.]

as the reader goes on he will acknowledge that to reprint these papers was the best use to which I could put them. I give them in full.

In order the better to elucidate his subject Archdeacon Perham incidentally describes the marriage and funeral rites, &c., of the people, but as these rites differ in almost every river among kindred people the accounts I have given of these subjects, under separate headings, will not, I venture to think, be deemed superfluous. The other notes which I have collected from various sources, relating to the omens, ordeals, sacrifices, will, perhaps, be best considered in the light of supplementary notes to Mr. Perham's papers.

### PETARA, OR SEA DYAK GODS.<sup>7</sup>

BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON J. PERHAM.

#### I.

PETARA, otherwise *Betara*, is, according to MARSDEN, Sanskrit, and adopted into Malay from the Hindu system, and applied to various mythological personages; but whatever be its meaning and application in Malay, in Sea Dyak—a language akin to Malay—it is the one word to denote Deity. *Petara* is God, and corresponds in idea to the *Elohim* of the Old Testament.

But to elucidate the use of the term, we cannot turn to dictionary and treatises. There is no literature to which we can appeal. The Sea Dyaks never had their language committed to writing before the Missionaries began to work amongst them. For our own knowledge of their belief, we have to depend upon what individuals tell us, and upon what we can gather from various kinds of *pengap*—long songs or recitations made at certain semi-sacred services, which are invocations to supernatural powers. These are handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth: but only those who are curious and diligent enough, and have sufficiently capacious memories, are able to learn and repeat them; and, as may be expected, in course of transmission from age to age, they undergo alteration, but mostly, I believe, in the way of addition. This tendency to change is evident from the fact that, in different tribes or clans, different renderings of the *pengap*, and different accounts of individual belief may be found. What follows in this Paper is gathered from the Balau and Saribus tribes of Dyaks.

A very common statement of Dyaks, and one which may easily mislead those who have only a superficial acquaintance with them and their thought, is that *Petara* is equivalent to *Allah Taala*, or *Tuhan Allah*. "What the Malays call *Allah Taala*, we call *Petara*" is a very common saying. And it is true in so far as both mean Deity; but when we investigate the character represented under these two terms, an immense difference will be found between them, as will appear in the sequel. What *Allah Taala* is, we know; what *Petara* is, I attempt to show.

I have not unfrequently been told by Dyaks that there is only one *Petara*, but I believe the assertion was always made upon very little thought. The word itself does not help us to determine either for monotheism or for polytheism, because there are no distinct forms for singular and plural in Sea

<sup>7</sup> From the Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc. Nos. 8, 10 and 14.

Dyak. To us the word looks like a singular noun, and this appearance may have suggested to some that Dyaks believe in a hierarchy of subordinate supernatural beings with one God—*Petara*—above all. I have been told, indeed, that, among the ancients, *Petara* was represented as:—

*Patu, nadai apai*  
*Endang nadai indai.*

An orphan, without father,  
Ever without mother.

which would seem to imply an eternal unchangeable being, without beginning, without end. And this idea is perhaps slightly favoured by a passage in a *pengap*. In the song of the Head Feast,<sup>8</sup> the general object of the recitation is to "fetch," that is, invoke the presence of, *Singalang Burong* at the feast, and certain messengers are lauded, who carry the invitation from the earth to his abode in the skies. Now these are represented as passing on their way the house of *Petara*, who is described as an individual being, and who is requested to come to the feast. There may be here the relic of a belief in one God above all, and distinct from all; but this belief, notwithstanding what an individual Dyak may occasionally say, must be pronounced to be now no longer really entertained.

The general belief is that there are many *Petaras*; in fact, as many *Petaras* as men. Each man, they say, has his own peculiar *Petara*, his own tutelary Deity. "One man has one *Petara*, another man another"—*Jai orang jai Petara*. "A wretched man, a wretched *Petara*," is a common expression which professes to give the reason why any particular Dyak is poor and miserable—"He is a miserable man, because his *Petara* is miserable." The rich and poor are credited with rich and poor *Petaras* respectively, hence the state of Dyak gods may be inferred from the varying outward circumstances of men below. At the beginning of the yearly farming operations, the Dyak will address the unseen powers thus: *O kita Petara O kita Ini Inda*—"O ye gods, O ye *Ini Inda*." Of *Ini Inda* I have not been able to get any special account; but from the use of *Ini*, grandmother, it evidently refers to female deities; or it may be only another appellation of *Kita Petara*. Now, little as this is, it is unmistakeable evidence that polytheism must be regarded as the foundation of Sea Dyak religion. But the whole subject is one upon which the generality of Dyaks are very hazy, and not one of them, it may be, could give a connected and lucid account of their belief. They are not given to reasoning upon their traditions, and when an European brings the subject before them, they show a very decided unpreparedness.

The use of the term *Petara* is sufficiently elastic to be applied to men. Not unfrequently have I heard them say of us white men: "They are *Petara*." Our superior knowledge and civilization are so far above their own level, that we appear to them to partake of the supernatural. It is possible, however, that this is merely a bit of flattery to white men. When I have remonstrated with them on this application of the term, they have explained that they only mean that we appear to manifest more of the power of *Petara*, that to

<sup>8</sup> Straits Asiatic Journal, No. 2, p. 123. (J. P.)

themselves, in what we can do and teach, we are as gods. Mr. Low, in his paper on the Sultans of Bruni,<sup>9</sup> tells us that it was the title of rulers of the ancient kingdoms of Menjapahit and Sulok. It is not uninteresting to compare with this the application of the Hebrew *Elohim* to judges, as vice-regents of God. (Psalm LXXXII. 6.)

But some of the *pengap* will tell us more about *Petara* than can be got from the conversation of the natives, and the first which I lay under contribution is the *pengap* of the *Besant*, a ceremony which is performed over children, and less frequently over invalids, for their recovery. It is much in vogue amongst the Balaus, but seldom resorted to, I think, by the other clans of Sea Dyaks. Like all Dyak lore, it is prolix in the extreme, and deluged with meaningless verbosity. I only refer to such points in it as will illustrate my subject.

The object of the *Besant* is to obtain the presence and assistance of all *Petaras* on behalf of the child—that he may become strong in body, skilful in work, successful in farming, brave in war, and long in life. This is about the sum total of the essential signification of the ceremony. The performers are *manangs*, medicine men, who profess to have a special acquaintance with *Petaras* above, and with the secrets of Hades beneath, and to exercise a magic influence over all spirits and powers which produce disease among their countrymen. The performer then directs his song to the *Petaras* above, and implores them to look favourably upon the child. Somewhere at the commencement of the function, a sacrifice is offered, when the *manangs* sing as follows :—

*Raja Petara bla ngemata,  
Seragendah bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka Subak tanah lang.  
Seragendi bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka ai mesei puloh grunong sanggang.  
Seleledu bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka jumpu mesei jugu bejampong lempang.  
Seleleding bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka tinting lurus mematang.  
Silingiling bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka pating sega nsluang.  
Sengungong bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka bungkong mesei benong balang.  
Bunsu Rembia bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka jengka tapang bedindang.  
Bunsu Kamba bla meda,  
Ngemeran ka bila maram jarang.*

King of Gods all look.

*Seragendah* who has charge of the stiff, clay earth.

*Seragendi* who has charge of the waters of the Hawkbell Island.

*Seleledu* who has charge of the little hills, like *topnots* of the *bejampong* bird.

*Seleleding* who has charge of the highlands straight and well defined.

<sup>9</sup> Straits Asiatic Journal, No. 5, pp. 1-16. (J. P.)

*Selingiling* who has charge of the twigs of the *sega* rotan.

*Sengungong* who has charge of the full-grown knotted branches.

*Bunsu Rembia Abu* who has charge of the bends of the wide-spreading *tapang* branches.

*Bunsu Kamba* equally looks down, who has charge of the plants of thin *maram*.

All these beings are entreated to accept the offering. And these Royal *Petaras* are by no means all whose aid is asked. Others follow :—

*Bemata Raja Petara bla ngelala sampol nilik.*

*Ari remang rarat bla nampai ngijap, baka keempat kajang sabidang.*

*Ari pandau banyak<sup>10</sup> bla nampai Petara Guyak baka pantak labong palang.*

*Ari pintau kamarau sanggau, bla ngilau Petara Radau baka ti olih likau nabau bekengkang.*

*Ari dinding ari bla nampai maremi Petara Menani, manah mati baka kaki long tetukang.*

*Ari bulan bla nampai Petara Tebaran, betempan kaki subang.*

*Ari mata-ari bla maremi Petara kami manah mati, baka segundi manang begitang.*

*Ari jerit tisi langit bla nampai Petara Megit, baka kepit tanggi tudong temelang.*

*Ari pandau bunya Petara Megu bla nampai meki langgu katunsong laiang.*

The Royal *Petaras* having eyes, all recognise, altogether look down.

From the floating cloud, like an evenly cut *kajang*, they all look and wink.

From the Pleiades<sup>11</sup>, like the glistening patterns of the long flowing turbans, looks also *Petara Guyak*.

From the Milky Way<sup>12</sup>, like golden rings of the *nabau* snake, *Petara Radau* is observing.

From the rainbow<sup>13</sup> also, beautiful in dying like the feet of an opened box, *Petara Menani* is looking and bending.

From the moon, like a fasting earring also, *Petara Tebaran* is looking.

From the sun beautiful in setting, like the hanging *segundi*<sup>14</sup> of the *manangs*, our *Petara* is bending down.

From the end of heaven, like the binding band of the *tanggi*, *Petara Megit* is looking.

From the evening star as big as the bud of the red hibiscus, *Petara Megu* is looking.

Odd and ludicrous as this is, in its comparison of great things with small, its teaching is very clear. As men have their personal tutelary deities, so have the different parts of the natural world. The soil, the hills, and the trees have their gods, through whose guardianship they produce their fruits. And the sun, moon, stars, and clouds are peopled with deities, whose favour is invoked, whose look in itself is supposed to convey a blessing.

But these *Petaras* are very human-like gods; for they are represented as

<sup>10</sup> This word is probably a comparatively late importation. Maioh is Dyak for 'many.' (J. P.)

<sup>11</sup> Literally: "the many stars," i.e., many in one cluster. (J. P.)

<sup>12</sup> Literally: "the high ridges of long drought." (J. P.)

<sup>13</sup> "Dinding ari," "protection of the day," is a small part of the rainbow appearing just above the horizon. The whole bow is called "Anak Raja." (J. P.)

<sup>14</sup> "Segundi," a vessel used by the *manangs* in their incantations on behalf of the sick. (J. P.)

making answer to the supplications of the *manangs*—"How shall we not look after and guard the child, for next year<sup>15</sup> you will make us a grand feast of rice and pork, and fish, and venison, cakes and drink:"—carnal gods delighting in a good feed, such as the Dyaks themselves keenly appreciate.

In this way the attention of these *Petaras* is supposed to have been aroused, and a promise to undertake the child's welfare obtained. At this point, according to the assertions of the *manangs*, the *Petaras* from some point in the firmament shake their charms in the direction of the child:—

"Since we have looked down,  
Come now, friends,  
Let us, in a company, wave the medicine charms."

And so they wave the shadow of their magical influence upon the child.  
But there are still more *Petaras* to come:—

*Pupas Petara kebong langit,  
Niu Petara puchok kaiyu.*

Having finished the *Petaras* in mid-heavens,  
We come to the *Petaras* of the tree-tops.

And they sing of the gods inhabiting trees, and among these are monkeys, birds, and insects, or spirits of them. From the trees they come to the land:—

*Pupus Petara puchok kaiyu,  
Nelah Petara tengah tanah.*

Having finished the *Petaras* of the tree-tops,  
We mention the *Petaras* in the midst of the earth.

In this connection, many more *Petaras* are recounted.

But the *Besant* tells something more than the number and names of gods. The whole function consists of two celebrations, the second of which takes place at an interval of a year, and sometimes more, after the first. In the first part, the *Petaras* are "brought" to some point in the firmament, or it may be, to some neighbouring hill, from which they see the child. In the second, they are "brought" to the house where the ceremony is being performed, in order to leave there the magic virtue of their presence. A large part of the incantation is the same in both; and at a certain part of the second the *Petaras* are represented as saying:—

"Before we have looked down,  
Now a company of men are inviting us to the feast."

And in compliance with the invitation, they prepare for the journey earthwards. The female *Petaras* are described, at great length, as putting on their finest garments and most valuable ornaments—brass rings round their bodies, necklaces of precious stones, earrings and head decorations, beads and hawkbells, and everything, in short, to delight feminine taste and beauty. Then the male *Petaras* do the same, and equip themselves with waist-cloth,

<sup>15</sup> This refers to the concluding half of the ceremony which is performed at some subsequent times. (J. P.)

coat and turban, and brass ornaments on arms and legs. A start is then made with several of the goddesses, renowned for their knowledge of the way as guides, to lead the way; but these prove to be sadly at fault, for, after going some distance, they find the road leads to nowhere, and they have to retrace their steps, and go by way of the sun and moon and stars; and from the stars they get at some peculiar grassy spot, where they find a trunk of a fallen tree, down which they walk to our lower regions. Here they sing how these *Petaras* from the skies are joined by all the *Petaras* of the hills and trees and lowlands, and by *Salampondai*: and then all together, in one motley company, they wend their way to the house where the *Besant* is being made. Just as a Dyak would bathe after coming from a long walk, so these gods and goddesses are described as bathing, and their beauty descanted upon. Their approach to the house I pass over, but just before going up the ladder into it, the elder *Petaras* think it necessary to give a moral admonition to the whole company:—

*Ka abi rumah anang meda ;*

*Ŭggai ka ngumbai ngiga serenti jani.*

*Ka galenggang anang nentang ;*

*Ŭggai ka ngumbai ngiga tugang manok laki.*

*Ka ruai anang nampai ;*

*Ŭggai ka ngumbai ngiga laki.*

*Ka bilik anang nilik ;*

*Ŭggai ka ngumbai ngiga tajau menyadi.*

*Ka sadau anang ngilau ;*

*Ŭggai ka ngumbai ngiga padi.*

To the space under the house do not look ;

Lest they should think you seek a pig's tusk.

To the henroost do not sit opposite ;

Lest they should think you seek a tail feather of the fighting cock.

To the verandah do not cast your eyes ;

Lest they should think you are seeking a husband.

Into the room do not peep ;

Lest they should think you are seeking a jar.

To the attic do not look up ;

Lest they should think you are seeking rice.

After this they are supposed to enter the house, of course an invisible company; and to partake of the good things of the feast together with the Dyaks, gods and men feeding together in harmony. After all is over they return to their respective abodes.

It is a miserable, low and earthly conception of God and gods; hardly perhaps to be called belief in gods, but belief in beings just like themselves: yet they are supposed to be such as can bestow the highest blessings Dyaks naturally desire. The grosser the nature of a people, the grosser will be their conception of deities or deity. We can hardly expect a high and spiritual conception of deity from Dyaks in their present intellectual condition and

low civilisation. Their's is a conception which produces no noble aspirations, and has no power to raise the character; yet it has a touching interest for the Christian student, for it enshrines this great truth, that man needs inter-communion with the Deity in order to live a true life. The Dyak works this out in a way which most effectually appeals to his capacities and sympathies.

I turn now to a *sampi*, an invocation often said at the commencement of the yearly rice-farming; in other words, a prayer to those superior powers which are supposed to preside over the growth of rice. First of all, *Pulang Gana* is invoked; then the Sun, who is called *Datu Patinggi Mata-ari*, and his light-giving, heat-giving influence recounted in song. After the Sun comes a bird, the *Kajira*; then the padi spirit (*Saniang Padi*), then the sacred birds, that is, those whose flight and notes are observed as omens; all these are prayed to give their presence. Leaving the birds, the performer comes to *Petara* "whom he also calls, whom he also invokes." "What *Petara*," it is asked, "do you invoke?" The answer is: "*Petara* who cannot be empty-handed, who cannot be barren, who cannot be wrong, who cannot be unclean;" and thereupon follow their names:—*Sanggul Labong, Pinang Ipong, Kling Bungai Nuiying, Laja Bungai Jawa, Batu Imu, Batu Nyantau, Batu Nyantar, Batu Gawa, Batu Nyanggak, Nyawin, Jamba, Pandong, Kendawang, Panggau, Apai Mapai, Kling*; each from his mythical habitation "come all, come every one; without stragglers, without deserters." And this call of the sons of men is heard, and the *Petaras* make answer: "Be well and happy, ye sons of men living in the world."

"You give us rice,  
 "You give us cakes;  
 "You give us rice-beer,  
 "You give us spirit;  
 "You give us an offering,  
 "You give us a spread.

"If you farm, all alike shall get padi.  
 "If you go to war, all alike shall get a head.  
 "If you sleep, all alike shall have good dreams.  
 "If you trade, all alike shall be skilful in selling.  
 "In your hands, all alike shall be effective.  
 "In just dealing, all alike shall have the same heart.  
 "In discourse, all alike shall be skilful and connected."

Then, leaving this company of *Petaras*, the *sampi* proceeds to invoke in a special manner one particular *Petara*, of whom more is said than of all the preceding. This is *Ini Andan Petara Buban*—Grandmother *Andan*, the grey-haired *Petara*. Her qualities are complete. "She has a coat for thunder and heat; she is strong against the lightning, and endures in the rain, and is brave in the darkness. To cease working is impossible to her. In the house her hands are never idle, in talking her speech is pure, her heart is full of understanding. And this is why she is called, why she is beckoned to, why she is offered sacrifice, why a feast is spread. She can communicate these powers to her servants. Moreover, they would obtain her assistance as

being the chief-keeper of the broad lands and immenses, where they may farm and fill the padi bins; the chief-keeper of the long winding river, where they may beat the strong *tuba* root, as chief-keeper of the great rock, the parent stone, where they may sharpen the steel-edged weapons; as chief-keeper of the bee-trees, where they may shake the sparks of the burning torches." But to watch over the farm and guard it from evils is her special province; and for this her presence is specially desired.

"If the *mpangau*<sup>16</sup> should hover over it, let her shake at them the sparks of fire.

"If the *bengas*<sup>17</sup> should approach, let her squeeze the juice of the strong *tuba* root.

"If the ants should come forth, let her rub it (the farm) with a rag dipped in coal-tar.

"If the locusts should run over it, let her douch them with oil over a bottle full.

"If the pigs should come near, let her set traps all day long.

"If the deer should get near it, let her kill them with bamboo spikes.

"If the mouse-deer should have a look at it, let her set snares all the day long.

"If the roe should step over it, let her set bamboo traps.

"If the sparrows should peck at it, let her fetch a little gutta of the *tekalong* tree.

"If the monkeys should injure it, let her fix a rotan snare.

"That there may be nothing to hurt it, nothing to interfere with it."

In answer to their entreaty, she replies in a similar way to the *Petaras* before-mentioned, and pronounces upon them her blessings of success, prosperity and wealth, and skill, as a return for the offering made to her. And thus the Dyak thinks to buy his padi crop from the powers above.

*Ini Andan*, as she is preparing to take leave of her worshippers according to the *sampi*, bestows some charms and magical medicines, mostly in the form of stones, and afterwards gives a parting exhortation:—

"Hear my teaching, ye sons of men.

"When you farm, be industrious in work.

"When you sleep, do not be over-much slaves of the eyes.

"When people assemble, do not forget to ask the news.

"Do not quarrel with others.

"Do not give your friends bad names.

"Corrupt speech do not utter.

"Do not be envious of one another.

"And you will all alike get padi.

"All alike be clean of heart.

"All alike be clever of speech.

"I now make haste to return.

"I use the wind as my ladder.

"I go to the crashing whirlwind.

"I return to my country in the cloudy moon."

<sup>16</sup> A kind of a bug. (J. P.)

<sup>17</sup> A peculiar insect destructive to the young padi plants. (J. P.)

Traditionary lore and popular thought thus tell the same tale; the latter imagines the universe peopled with many gods, so that each man has his own guardian deity; and the former professes to put before us who and what, at least, some of these are. The traces of a belief in the unity of deity referred to at the beginning of this paper, is at most but a faint echo of an ancient and purer faith; a faith buried long ago in more earthly ideas. Yet even now Dyaks are met with who say that there is only one *Petara*; but when they are confronted with the teaching of the *pengap*, and with unmistakeable assertions of gods many, they explain this unity as implying nothing more than a unity of origin. In the beginning of things there was one *Petara* just as there was one human being; and this *Petara* was the ancestor of a whole family of *Petaras* in heaven and earth, just as the first man was the ancestor of the inhabitants of the world. But this unity of origin does not amount in their minds to a conception of a First Great Cause; yet it is an echo of a belief which is still a silent witness to the One True God.

It has been said that "every form of polytheism is sprung from nature worship." It is very clear that Dyak gods are begotten of nature's manifold manifestations. *Ini Andan* seems a concrete expression of her generating producing power. The sun and moon, stars and clouds, the earth with its hills and trees and natural fertility, are all channels of beneficial influences to man, and the Dyak feels his dependence upon them; he has to conduct his simple farming subject to their operations; his rice crop depends upon the weather, and upon freedom from many noxious pests over which he feels little or no control—rats, locusts and insects innumerable; he gets gain from the products of the jungle, and loves its fruits: high hills surrounded with floating clouds, and the violent thunder storms, are regarded with something of mysterious awe; he must invoke these powers, for he wants them to be on his side in the weary work of life's toils, and the struggle for existence; and thus he imagines each phenomenon to be the working of a god, and worships the gods he has imagined.

I must now refer to three beings which have been mentioned before, and which occupy a peculiar position in Dyak belief, as holding definite functions in the working of the world. These are *Salampandai*, *Pulang Gana*, and *Singalang Burong*.

*Salampandai* is a female spirit, and the maker of men, some say by her own independent power, some by command of *Petara*. The latter relate that in the beginning *Petara* commanded her to make a man, and she made one of stone, but it could not speak and *Petara* refused to accept it. She set to work again and fashioned one of iron, but neither could that speak, and so was rejected. The third time she made one of clay which had the power of speech, and *Petara* was pleased, and said: "Good is the man you have made, let him be the ancestor of men." And so *Salampandai* ever afterwards formed human beings, and is forming them now, at her anvil in the unseen regions. There she hammers out children as they are born into the world, and when each one is formed it is presented to *Petara*, who asks: "What would you like to handle and use?" If it answer: "The *parang*, the sword and spear," *Petara* pronounces it a boy; but if it answer: "Cotton and the

spinning wheel," *Petara* pronounces it a female. Thus they are determined boys or girls according to their own choice.

Another theory makes *Petara* the immediate creator of men and of all things :—

" *Langit Petara dulu mibit,*  
 " *Mesei dungul manok banda,*  
 " *Tanah Petara dulu naga,*  
 " *Mesei buah mbawang blanja.*  
 " *Ai Petara dulu ngiri,*  
 " *Mesei linti tali besara,*  
 " *Tana lang-Petara dulu nenchang,*  
 " *Nyadi mensia.*

" *Petara* first stretched out the heavens,  
 " As big as the comb of the red-feathered cock.  
 " The earth *Petara* first created,  
 " As big as the fruit of the horse mango,  
 " The waters *Petara* first poured out,  
 " As great as the strands of the rotan rope.  
 " The stiff clay *Petara* first beat out,  
 " And it became man."

But here *Petara* may be any particular being, and may include a multitude of gods. There are other theories of creation or cosmogony, but they cannot be examined here.

There are no special observances in direct honour of *Salampandai*. In the *Besant*, she is brought to be present along with the *Petaras*. But this great spirit, never, I presume, visible in her own person, is supposed to have a manifestation in the realm of visible things in a creature something like a frog, which is also called *Salampandai*. Naturally this creature is regarded with reverence, and must not be killed. If it goes up into a Dyak house, they offer it sacrifice, and let it go again, but it is very seldom seen. It is one with the unseen spirit. The noise it makes is said to be the sound of the spirit's hammer, as she works at her anvil. So intimate is the connection that what is attributed to the one is attributed to the other. The creature is supposed to be somewhere near the house, whenever a child is born: if it approaches from behind, they say the child will be a girl; if in front, a boy. In this case we have an instance of direct nature worship, and it is not the only one to be found amongst the Dyaks.

*Pulang Gana* is the tutelary deity of the soil, the spirit presiding over the whole work of rice-farming. According to a myth handed down in some parts, he is of human parentage. *Simfang-impang* at her first accouchement brought forth nothing but blood which was thrown away into a hole of the earth. This by some mystical means, became *Pulang Gana*, who therefore lives in the bowels of the earth, and has sovereign rights over it. Other offspring of *Simfang-impang* were ordinary human beings, who in course of time began to cut down the old jungle to make farms. On returning to their work of felling trees the second morning, they found that every tree which had been cut down the day before was, by some unknown means, set up

again, and growing as firmly as ever. Again they worked with their axes, but on coming to the ground the third morning they found the same extraordinary phenomenon repeated. They then determined to watch during the following night, in order to discover, if possible, the cause of the mystery. Under cover of darkness *Pulang Gana* came, and began to set the fallen trees upright as he had done before. They laid hold of him, and asked why he frustrated their labours. He replied: "Why do you wrong me, by not acknowledging my authority? I am *Pulang Gana*, your elder brother, who was thrown into the earth, and now I hold dominion over it. Before attempting to cut down the jungle, why did you not borrow the land from me?" "How?" they asked. "By making me sacrifice and offering." Hence, Dyaks say, arose the custom of sacrificing to *Pulang Gana* at the commencement of the yearly farming operations, a custom now universal among them. Sometimes these yearly sacrifices are accompanied by festivals held in his honour—the *Gawei Batu*, and the *Gawei Benih*, the Festival of the Whetstones and the Festival of the Seed.

In the Dyak mind, spirits and magical virtues are largely associated with stones. Any remarkable rock, especially if isolated in position, is almost sure to be the object of some kind of cultus. Small stones of many kinds are kept as charms, and I have known a common glass marble inwrought with various colours passed off as the "egg of a star," and so greatly valued as being an infallible defence against disease, &c. The whetstones, therefore, although made from a common sandstone rock, are things of some mysterious importance. They sharpen the chopper and the axe which have to clear the jungle and prepare the farm. There is something more than mere matter about them, and they must be blessed. At the *Gawei Batu*, the neighbours are assembled to witness the ceremony and share in the feast, and the whetstones are arranged along the public verandah of the house, and the performers go round and round them, chanting a request to *Pulang Gana* for his presence and aid, and for good luck to the farm. The result is supposed to be that *Pulang Gana* comes up from his subterranean abode to bestow his presence and occult influence, and a pig is then sacrificed to him. In the *Gawei Benih*, the proceeding is similar, but having the seed for its object.

*Pulang Gana* is, therefore, an important power in Dyak belief, as upon his good-will is supposed to depend, in great measure, the staff of life.

*Singalang Burong* must now be mentioned. His name probably means the Bird-Chief. Dyaks are great omen observers, and amongst the omens, the notes and flight of certain birds are the most important. These birds are regarded with reverence. On one occasion, when walking through the jungle, I shot one, a beautiful creature, and I asked a Dyak who was with me to carry it. He shrank from touching it with his fingers, and carefully wrapped it in leaves before carrying it. No doubt he regarded my act as somewhat impious. All the birds, to which this cultus is given, are supposed to be personifications and manifestations of the same number of beings in the spirit world, which beings are the sons-in-law of *Singalang Burong*.<sup>18</sup> As spirits

<sup>18</sup> It should be stated that *Singalang Burong* has his counter-part and manifestation in this world, in a fine white and brown hawk, which is called by his name. (J. P.)

they exist in human form, but are as swift in their movements as birds, thus uniting man and bird in one spirit-being. *Singalang Burong*, too, stands at the head of the Dyak pedigree. They trace their descent from him, either as a man who once lived on the earth, or as a spirit. From him they learnt the system of omens, and through the spirit birds, his sons-in-law, he still communicates with his descendants. One of their festivals is called, "Giving the birds to eat," that is, offering them a sacrifice.

But further, *Singalang Burong* may be said to be the Sea Dyak god of war, and the guardian spirit of brave men. He delights in war, and head-taking is his glory. When Dyaks have obtained a head, either by fair means or foul, they make a grand sacrifice and feast in his honour, and invoke his presence. But it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this, for some account of the Mars of Sea Dyak mythology has already appeared in the Straits Asiatic Journal. (No. 2.)

Now, what with these beings, and with the *Petaras*, it is no wonder that the Dyak, when brought face to face with his own confessions, acknowledges himself in utter confusion on the whole subject of the powers above him; that he owns to worshipping anything which is supposed to have power to help him or hurt him—God or spirit, ghost of man or beast—all are to be revered and propitiated. When inconsistencies in his belief are pointed out, all he says is, that he does not understand it, that he simply believes and practices what his forefathers have handed down to him.

But it is to be observed, as significant, that in sickness, or the near prospect of death, it is not *Singalang Burong*, or *Pulang Gana*, or *Salampandai* (which by the way are not commonly called *Petara*); it is not *Kling*, or *Bungai*, *Nuiying*, or any other mythological hero that is thought of as the life-giver, but simply *Petara*, whatever may be the precise idea they attach to the term. The *antu* (spirit) indeed causes the sickness, and wants to kill, and so has to be scared away; but *Petara* is regarded as the saving power. If an invalid is apparently beyond all human skill, it is *Petara* alone who can help him. If he dies, it is *Petara* who has allowed the life to pass away by not coming to the rescue. The Dyak may have groped about in a life-long polytheism, but something like a feeling after the One True Unknown seems to return at the close of the mortal pilgrimage. The only thing which implies the contrary, as far as I know, is, that very occasionally a function in honour of *Singalang Burong* has been held on behalf of a sick person, but it is exceedingly rare.

Although the whole conception of *Petara* is far from an exalted one, yet it is good being. Except as far as causing or allowing human creatures to die may be regarded by them as signs of a malevolent disposition, no evil is attributed to *Petara*. It is a power altogether on the side of justice and right. The ordeal of diving is an appeal to *Petara* to declare for the innocent and overthrow the guilty. *Petara* "cannot be wrong, cannot be unclean." *Petara* approves of industry, of honesty, of purity of speech, of skill in word and work. *Petara Ini Andan* exhorts to "spread a mat for the traveller, to be quick in giving rice to the hungry, not to be slow to give water to the thirsty, to joke with those who have heaviness at heart, and to encourage with talk

the slow of speech ; not to give the fingers to stealing, nor to allow the heart to be bad." Immorality among the unmarried is supposed to bring a plague of rain upon the earth, as a punishment inflicted by *Petara*. It must be atoned for with sacrifice and fine. In a function which is sometimes held to procure fine weather, the excessive rain is represented as the result of the immorality of two young people. *Petara* is invoked, the offenders are banished from their home, and the bad weather is said to cease. Every district traversed by the adulterer is believed to be accursed of the gods until the proper sacrifice has been offered. Thus in general *Petara* is against man's sin ; but over and above moral offences they have invented many sins, which are simply the infringement of *pemale*, or *tabu*—things trifling and superstitious, yet they are supposed to expose the violators to the wrath of the gods, and prevent the bestowal of their gift ; and thus the whole subject of morality is degraded and perverted.

The prevailing idea Dyaks commonly entertain of *Petara* is that of the preserver of men. In the song of the head feast, when the messengers, in going up to the skies to fetch *Singalang Burong* down, pass the house of *Petara*, they invite him to the feast, but he replies : " I cannot go down, for mankind would come to grief in my absence. Even when I wink or go to bathe, they cut themselves, or fall down." *Petara* does not leave his habitations, for he takes care of men, and as far as he fails in this, he fails in his duty. So in an invocation said by the *manangs*, when they wave the sacrificial fowl over the sick :—

*Laboh daun buloh,  
Tangkap ikan dungan ;  
Antu kah munoh,  
Petara naroh ngembuan.*

When the bambu leaf falls,  
And is caught by the *dungan* fish ;  
And the *antu* wants to kill,  
*Petara* puts in safe preservation.

*Laboh daun buloh,  
Tangkap ikan mplasi ;  
Antu kah munoh,  
Petara ngaku menyadi.*

When the bambu leaf falls,  
And is caught by the *mplasi* fish,  
And the *antu* wants to kill,  
*Petara* will confess a brother.

*Laboh daun buloh,  
Tangkap ikan semah ;  
Antu kah munoh,  
Petara ngambu sa-rumah.*

When the bambu leaf falls,  
And is caught by the *semah* fish ;  
And the *antu* wants to kill,  
*Petara* will claim him as of his household.

*Laboh daun buloh,  
Tangkap ikan juak ;  
Antu kah munoh,  
Petara ngaku anak.*

When the bambu leaf falls,  
And is caught by the *juak* fish ;  
And the *antu* wants to kill,  
*Petara* will confess a child.

When human life droops as a falling leaf, and the evil spirits, like hungry fish, are ready to swallow it up, then *Petara* comes in and claims the life as his, his child, his brother, and preserves it alive. The ceremony of the *Besant* is an elaboration of this idea, an idea to which, above all others, the Dyaks cling ; for the world is full, they think, of evil spirits ever on the alert to them, but the subject of these *antus* opens up a new field of thought which cannot be entered now.

*Petaras* are not worshipped in temples, nor through the medium of idols. Their idea of gods corresponds so closely to the idea of men, the one rising so little above the other, that probably they have never felt the necessity of representing *Petara* by any special material form. *Petara* is their own shadow projected into the higher regions. Any conception men form of God must be more or less anthropomorphic, more especially the conception of the savage. He "invests God with bodily attributes. As man's knowledge changes, his idea of God changes; as he mounts the scale of existence, his consciousness becomes clearer and more luminous, and his continual idealization of his better self is an ever improving reflex of the divine essence."<sup>19</sup>

## II.

In the first paper some account was given of the deities believed in by the Sea Dyaks of Sarawak; of *Petara* innumerable, of *Salampandai*, *Singalang Burong* and *Pulang Gana*. The two latter occupy, in the Dyak mind, a distinct personality, possess a certain character, and exercise definite functions over the Dyak world. Although theoretically inferior to *Petara*, they may be regarded as the racial gods of the Sea Dyaks, for an amount of story and legend, of rite and sacrifice, gathers round them which is not found in connection with the more colourless *Petara*, which is yet regarded as the better being. The word *Petara* is none other than the Hindoo "Avatara"—the incarnations of VISHNNU—the difference of spelling being accounted for by the fact that the Dyaks never sound the *v*, but use *p* or *b* instead. Again, in an invocation to *Pulang Gana* there occurs the names INI INDA and RAJA JEWATA, which look like INDRA and DEWATA. And the function in which these terms figure is called "buja," Malay "puja," which is the word, I believe, commonly used in India for worship in the present day. Now, do these Indian words indicate an organic connection of religion and race with those to whom they naturally belong, or have they been adopted by Dyaks from later external sources? It is not impossible that such words may have been obtained through contact with Hindooism during the period of ascendancy of the Majapait kingdom, whose influence, it seems, extended to Borneo; but at present I know of no evidence for this theory, beyond the fact of the appearance of the words in Dyak. The probable explanation is that these terms have been brought into Dyak use from the Malay. Under the word Indra, MARSDEN gives a quotation of Malay which, in form, is not unlike the passage in the Dyak invocation. It begins, "Maka sagala raja-raja dan dewa-dewa dan indra-indra." "Jewata" is evidently "dewata" from "dewa;" and "Indra-indra," might easily, with those unfamiliar with the term, have become "Ini-Inda." That the terms are an accretion and not an original possession, I conclude for two reasons. First, the Dyaks seem to know nothing about them. *Pulang Gana*, with whom in the invocation they are associated, is all their own. They have a theory of what he is, and why invoked; but of the others they can tell little beyond the fact that their names have been handed down to them. Sometimes they say they are merely titles

<sup>19</sup> "Origin and Development of Religious Belief." S. BARING GOULD. (Vol. i. p. 187.)—J. P.

of *Pulang Gana*, and this is strengthened by the fact that the whole passage of the "Sampi" is addressed to one individual. Sometimes, however, they hesitatingly represent them as having a separate personality. In the second place, they are clearly subordinate to *Pulang Gana*, and indeed wherever they occur, they are, I believe, always named after what I may call the recognised deities. Dyaks have always an inclination to incorporate new titles with their ancient forms. In the invocation in question, *Pulang Gana* is also addressed as Sultan, Pangiran, Jegedong, Temenggong, which can have no object beyond that of magnifying him whom they wish to propitiate. The same tendency can be observed at the present time when Christian terms and ideas are brought to bear upon them. In heathen rites they will now shove the name ALLAH TAALA to fill up the niche of a pantheon, or to complete a line or make up a rhyme.

But this theory of mere adoption hardly suits the word "Petara," which is such an essential term of their language and belief, that the borrowing of it from others would argue an amount of external influences approaching to absorption. And of this there seems no sufficient evidences forthcoming.

The question however is a wide one, and depends, for its solution, upon many data of various kinds, some of which must be very hypothetical, since we have no historical basis to work upon; and yet no less a question than the origin and history of the race is involved. But the discussion of this question is not the object of the present paper, which aims at the less ambitious task of continuing the account of Dyak religion already introduced in the Paper on "Petara."<sup>24</sup> That dealt with the theories of their belief; this will carry the same subject into the region of religious rite and practice.

#### SPIRITS, GOOD AND BAD.

The every day working thoughts of the Dyak about *Petara* are very indefinite, and there is room for the reception of any amount of spirits—good, bad, or indifferent—to demand the awesome attention of him who may not inaptly be described as a thorough child of nature. Nearly all races of men have imagined a class of intermediate beings between deity and humanity, whereby the gap between the two is bridged over. And the Dyak is no exception; yet his religion would seem to be not so dependent upon imaginary mediators, as some higher philosophic heathen systems, because his gods, according to his idea, actually give him their very presence when in answer to invocations and sacrifices, they visit these human regions, and partake of his hospitality. But his receptivity of belief is omnivorous, and he has surrounded himself with thousands of "antus" or spirits, which are supposed to fill earth and air, sea and sky; and which scheme as adversaries, or appear as helpers of man, until the line of demarcation between *Petaras* and *antus* is altogether indistinct. As a matter of habit, some beings are spoken of as *Petaras* and some as *antus*; but when you ask the specific difference between the two, only a very indefinite answer is obtainable. They slide into each with an imperceptible gradient, and remind one of the "Avatara" manifestations of the gods.

<sup>24</sup> See first part.

Any unusual noise or motion in the jungle, anything which suggests to the Dyak mind an invisible operation, is thought to be the presence of an *antu*, unseen by human eyes, but full of mighty power. He is mostly invisible, but often vouchsafes a manifestation of himself; and when he does so, he is neither a graceful fairy, nor a grinning Satyr, but a good honest ghost of flesh and blood, a monster human being about three times the size of a man, with rough shaggy hair, glaring eyes as big as saucers, and huge glittering teeth; sometimes dark, sometimes white in complexion; but sometimes again devoid of all such terrifying features, a commonplace human form, in fact, a magnified reflection of the Dyaks themselves. When he is seen, it is generally, as might be expected, on moonlight nights; but sometimes, so Dyaks aver, in the broad daylight. A young Dyak told me that one night he was watching for wild pigs on his farm on the skirts of Lingga mountain when there appeared a great white *antu* which he tried to catch by the leg, hoping to get something from him; but the *antu* shook him off, and with one bound disappeared into the jungle. Another man told me that when a boy he was going to a well to bathe, when he suddenly saw close to him an *antu* of gigantic stature, and he ran for his life and shut himself up in his room. That evening, a few hours later, a boy in the village suddenly died, killed of course by the *antu*. Such stories could be multiplied by the hundred.

The *antus* also reveal themselves in dreams; and whenever one has been seen by night or day, the apparition will be almost certain to revisit the Dyak in his dreams; and there is not the remotest suspicion that these visions of sleep are mere states of the subjective consciousness, but they are regarded as objective realities.

*Antus* rove about the jungle and hunt like Dyaks themselves. GIRGASI, the chief of evil spirits, is especially addicted to the chase, and may be exactly described as a roaring lion walking about seeking whom he may devour. An old man solemnly assured me that he once saw this terrible demon returning from his hunt and carrying on his back a captured Dyak whom he recognised. That very day the man died. There are certain animals in the jungle which roam about in herds, which the Dyaks call "*pasan*;" these are supposed to be the dogs of the *antus*, and do their bidding. From what I can gather about these creatures, I imagine them to be a kind of small jackal; they will follow and bark at men, and, from their supposed connection with the spirits, are greatly feared by the Dyaks, who generally run away from them as fast as they can. A Dyak was once hunting in the jungles of the Batang Lupar, and came upon an *antu* sitting on a fallen tree; nothing daunted he went and sat upon the same tree at a respectable distance from the *antu*, entered into conversation with him, begged for his spear, or anything he could bestow; but the spirit had nothing to give except some magic medicine (*ubat*) which would, by the mere fact of its possession by him, give his dogs pluck to attack any pig or deer. Having given him this, he advised the man to return quickly, for his dogs, he said, would be back soon, and might be savage with him. The man needed no further urging, retired a short distance in good order to save appearances, and then bolted through the jungle in the direction of his exit.

And not only do *antus* hunt ; but they build houses and work and farm just as Dyaks do. They love to erect their invisible habitations in trees, especially of the *waringin* kind ; and many a tree is pointed as sacred, being the abode of a spirit or spirits ; and to cut one of these down would provoke the spirit's vengeance. I remember an instance of a Dyak dangerously ill, whose malady was generally attributed to his having unwillingly cut down one of these possessed trees. A sacrifice was made at the foot of the tree ; but the disturbed *antu* would not be pacified, and the man died. Stories are told of men being spirited away into these trees for days, and found again at the foot of the tree safe in life and limb ; but I will not say sound in mind. The fact of a tree having a supernatural inhabitant is generally revealed through dreams. A case of this kind occurred at Banting. It was told to somebody in a dream that in a paltry looking *kara* (figus) tree on the hill there lived an *antu* who desired to be fed, and a space round was cleared and an offering made. As soon as I became aware of it, I cut the tree down, and heard no more about it. Another way of discovering these tree spirits is the following : Strike an axe in the tree at sundown, and leave it adhering to the tree during the night. If it be found in the morning still in that position, no *antu* is there ; if it has fallen to the ground, he is there, and has revealed his presence by displacing the axe.

The tops of hills too are favourite haunts of this invisible society ; and when Dyaks fell the jungle of the larger hills, they often leave a few trees standing on the summit as a refuge for them. A hill on the Saribas river was supposed to be so much the property of the spirits that it was dangerous and unlawful to farm it, and the jungle remained, until a few years ago, when a village of Dyaks near by, receiving Christianity, lost their fear of *antus*, and cleared it.

It will have been observed that these *antus* are either good or evil, either assist man or injure him. The good ones are nearly identified with *Petara*, of whom no evil is predicated, and who never entraps man to his destruction. The benevolent spirit is the next grade of good being, and intercourse with it is coveted, for thereby comes riches and wealth. The *antu* story generally relates that the man who sees the spirit rushes to catch him by the leg (he can't reach higher) to get somewhat from him ; but is nearly always foiled in the attempt ; for the *antu* suddenly vanishes. But some men, it is believed, do obtain these much coveted gifts, and if a Dyak invariably gets a good harvest of paddy, it is by the magic charm, the "*ubat*," of some favouring spirit : if he has attained to the position of a war-leader, or be markedly brave, it is by the communion or touch of the same power : and in fact every successful man in Dyak life is credited by his fellows with the succour of one of these beings of the mystic world. They give men occult powers, charms, and magic protection against disease, and sometimes convey similar virtues by a simple pronouncement which is called a "*sumpah*" (oath). Stories are told of Dyaks who have the good fortune to meet with *antus* who have spoken somewhat thus :—"You shall obtain so many heads of your enemies," or "you shall get plenty of paddy," or "you shall have brave dogs to hunt with," or "shall be protected against small-pox," or "never be caught by an

alligator." Medicines for the sick are believed to be given in dreams; and many a Dyak has related how, when despaired of by all, some "*ubat*" was given him in sleep, by the magic virtue of which he was completely cured. And sometimes when *antus* bestow these gifts—bits of stick or other rubbish—they also mention the price to be paid for them by others who need them. And they do more than give magic medicines; they appear in dreams to guide and direct men's actions in various matters of conduct, and especially in matrimonial affairs, sometimes telling them whom to marry in order to get wealth; sometimes requiring them to divorce to avoid the displeasure of the higher world. There is plenty of room here for the play of self-interest and trickery, but the fact that such pretended revelations are acted up to, is evidence of a true belief.<sup>25</sup>

The longing to communicate with the supernatural, common to all religions, has, in the Dyak, produced a special means to satisfy the aspiration. He has a "custom" for the purpose, viz., "*nampok*." To "*nampok*" is to sleep on the tops of mountains with the hope of meeting with the good spirits of the unseen world. A man who was fired with ambition to shine in deeds of strength and bravery, or one who desired to attain the position of chief, or to be cured of an obstinate disease, would, in olden times, spend a night or nights by himself on a mountain, hoping to meet a benevolent spirit who would give him what he desired. To be alone was a primary condition of the expected apparition. It can be easily seen that the desire would bring about, in many cases, its own fulfilment; the earnest wish combined with a lively and superstitious imagination and the solemn solitude of the mountain jungle would, in most cases, produce the expected appearance of a *Petara*, or mythic hero with whose story he would be familiar. I have said in olden days, for the custom is now much less frequent; at least, in the coast district of Sarawak. But it is not altogether obsolete, for, a year or two ago, a Rejang Dyak, afflicted with some disease, tried several hills to obtain a cure, and at length came to Lingga, and was guided by some Dyaks of the neighbourhood to Lingga mountain. He offered his sacrifice, and laid him down to sleep beside it, saw an *antu*, and returned perfectly cured. Dyaks have erected no temples to *Petaras* or to *antus*, and therefore cannot do as the ancients of the western world who made pilgrimages to the temples of ESCULAPIUS, and of ISIS and SERAPIS to obtain healing from the gods; but a pilgrimage to the temple at Canopus, where the suppliant spent a night before the altar in order to receive revelations in dreams, is exactly paralleled by the unsophisticated Dyak sleeping on the still mountain-top with his little sacrifice beside him. The spirit and object are the same, and stories of cures are similar in each.

But the bad and angry spirits are far more numerous in Dyak belief than the good ones. These are regarded with dire dread. There is hardly a sickness which is not attributed to the unseen blow of an *antu*. "What is the matter with so and so?" you ask, "Something has passed him," is the reply: an *antu* has passed him and inflicted the malady. A serious epidemic is the devastating presence of a powerful and revengeful spirit. You ask

<sup>25</sup> The Revd. H. ROWLEY writes of a like belief among the African races. "Religion of the Africans," p. 60. (J. P.)

where such a one was taken ill, and you are told that at such a place "it (*antu*) found him." Small-pox is spoken of as Raja the Chief. Cholera is the coming of a great spirit from the sea to kill and eat. When a report of cholera is bruited abroad, somebody or other will be sure to have a dream in which he will be told that the spirit is making his way from the sea up the rivers, and will speedily swallow up human victims, unless he be fed with sacrifice and offering. These *antus* are always hungry, and will accept the sacrificial food in substitution for human beings. A sacrifice is accordingly made to avert the evil. The same idea prevails about all internal maladies; and as people constantly get ill, the propitiation of the *antu* is an ever recurring feature in Dyak life. It is the worship of fear, the demonolatry of the less intellectual races of mankind. *Petara* is good, and will not easily injure them, and they may worship it as suits their convenience; but these *antus* always about their path are violent, savage and hungry, and must be reckoned with; hence the frequency of the demon-cultus.

It hardly need be pointed out that this relation with the spirits is no mere ghost-seeing, where the apparition comes without object, and passes without result. It is a system which has a definite function; which bestows favours, which brings evil, which directs conduct, and receives religious homage; and therefore a constituent part of Dyak religion.

Another way in which the *antu* appears to men is in the form of animals. A man and an *antu* are often interchangeable. A man will declare that he has seen an *antu*, like a gigantic human being; and in his dream he will find the same *antu* in the form of a deer, or other animal. The following is told of a Dyak, whom I know well. He was at work alone in the jungle, and cut himself with his *parang*: he bled profusely and fainted: and after recovering his senses he saw beside him a *maias* (orang-utan) which had starched the bleeding and dressed the wound; and when departing the creature hung up some *ubat* for use in future contingencies. In other stories, the man is spirited away by the animal as in the following. A Dyak was fishing by a large deep pool, and saw in the water a huge python, about 50 feet long and big in proportion. He at once rushed to the conclusion that this was no mere beast, but an *antu* in serpent form; and without a moment's hesitation jumped down upon its back. The python dived, and then crept up the bank, and crawled along the road, but they had not gone far before the serpent was metamorphosed into a man, thus justifying the man's guess. As the two proceeded, the *antu* asked him what he wanted; did he wish to be a hunter, a diver, a fisher, a climber, a pig-trapper, or to be a rich man? No, he wished to have a brave spirit and an invulnerable body, and to overcome his tribal enemies without mortal hurt to himself. The *antu* was complacent, and told him that if he married a certain woman (naming her), his request should be granted. He made overtures to the lady, but her parents refused, and the marriage was not consummated: consequently he got only a part of the luck which the *antu* prospectively gave him. His after life, however, was thought to have verified the truth of the apparition; for he rose to a position of note among his people, and distinguished himself in that very line in which the *antu* said he should.

The alligator, also, is more than a canny beast; it is believed to be endowed with spirit-intelligence; and Dyaks will not willingly take part in capturing one, unless the saurian has first destroyed one of themselves; for why, say they, should they commit an act of aggression, when he and his kindred can so easily repay them? But should the alligator take a human life, revenge becomes a sacred duty of the living relatives, who will trap the man eater in the spirit of an officer of justice pursuing a criminal. Others, even then, hang back, reluctant to embroil themselves in a quarrel which does not concern them. The man-eating alligator is supposed to be pursued by a righteous NEMESIS; and whenever one is caught they have a profound conviction that it must be the guilty one, or his accomplice; for no innocent leviathan could be permitted by the fates to be caught by man. The only time when anything like homage may be supposed to be offered to the alligator, is in the ordeal of diving. When Dyaks left to themselves cannot settle their litigations by talking and arguing, the opposing parties each select a diver; and victory goes to the side whose diver can remain longest in the water without fainting.<sup>25</sup> When the divers proceed from the village house to the water, somebody will follow saying a *sampi* (invocation);<sup>26</sup> and casting rice about right and left, and on the water as he monotones his part. He calls out to the Royal Alligators and Royal Fishes, and all the minor denizens of the waters to come to his party's aid, and confound their opponents by shortening the breath of the opposite diver. The whole, often disorderly, always exciting, is an appeal to *Petara*; and all that live in the waters are asked to give their assistance.

Among all Oriental races, the serpent has been credited with large capacities. The Phœnicians adored it as a beneficent genius. With the ancient Persians it symbolised the principle of evil. The Chinese attributed to the kings of heaven bodies of serpents. "There is no superstition more universal than ophiolatry. There is hardly a people on earth among whom the serpent was not either an object of divine worship, or superstitious veneration." The Dyak is no exception. His feelings towards prominent members of the snake tribe is something more than reverential regard. And if his form of the cultus is far from the elaborate proportions of the worship of the Danhgwe in the serpents' house of Dahomey,<sup>27</sup> the belief in serpent guardianship is, where it exists, as strong. All Dyak worship, to whatsoever directed, is irregular and occasional; and it is only here and there that an instance of ophiolatry is found; but the veneration, such as it is, is the same which is given to *antus* and deities in general. The serpent is, in fact, in the Dyak view an *antu*, and partakes of the capricious movements of the super-human race, who generally confer their favours upon the great, and pass by the poor and insignificant. It is a personal and not a tribal deity. The python (*sawa*)

<sup>25</sup> [The ordeal by diving can be traced from India to Borneo through the Burmese, Siamese and Malays. See *As. Researches*, i. 390-404; *Journal R.A.S. Bengal*, V. XXXV.: De Backer, *L'Archipel Indien*, 376; Low's *Dissertation on Province Wellesley*, 284; De la Loubère's *Siam*, 87; *Journal R.A.S. (Straits Branch)* ii. 30.—*Ed. Journ. Straits Asiatic Soc.*]

<sup>26</sup> [Malay, *jampi*.—*Ed. ibid.*]

<sup>27</sup> ROWLEY'S "Religion of the Africans," p. 46. (J. P.)

and the cobra (*tedong*) are the snakes generally selected by the *antus* for their habitation, not all the members of either class, but only individuals which become known as spirit-possessed through dreams, or inference from other signs. Should one of these reptiles be in the habit of frequenting the vicinity of a village house, it is always regarded as the good genius of some one or other of the principal men in it. Not long ago I saw a small cobra come under a house, and crawl about, not heeding half a dozen of us who were watching its movements; it did not attempt to touch the chickens, nor did it show fright when I poked it with a stick, but simply inflated its hood a little, and hissed, and went on in eager search of something! At length it caught a frog, and seemed satisfied. I found it was a constant visitor, and said to be a "spirit-helper" of a man of the place, who, no doubt, would have fined any one who dared to lay violent hands upon it. I was not told, however, that any worship was paid to it. In another case, a large python went up into a house, and the inmates interpreted the visit as that of one of the beneficent powers. They put it under a *pasu* (paddy measure), and offered a sacrifice to it, and made a feast also for themselves, sat round the snake, and ate, congratulating themselves upon their good fortune. This done they let it go again into the jungle. In a third case, the python came at night, and astonished the community by swallowing one of their pigs. This bold attack was thought to mean that they had been guilty of neglect of duty to his spirit-ship; so with all haste an offering was prepared, and laid out on the floor of the house, the snake, gorged with the pig, being still underneath: some words of submission and entreaty were said, and lo! the beast vomited up the pig, thereby affording indubitable proof that their view of the case was right! They then managed to secure it in a *bambu* cage, and left it in honourable captivity until the morning when I arrived and saw it. A company of them afterwards took it into the jungle, where they offered it another sacrifice, and then allowed it to slide out of the cage into the wood. It was believed to be the *tuah*, the "luck-bringer," of the head-man of the place, who was also chief of the district.

In many regions of idolatry, the dread which animals inspired in man, more or less defenceless against their attacks, may have led to their being regarded as objects of worship. This has been urged of ophiolatry. "If the worship perpetuated itself," says Mr. B. GOULD,<sup>28</sup> "long after other forms of idolatry had disappeared, it was because the serpent was that creature against which weapons and precautions were of the least avail." Whether this dread of the beast be accepted as the true account of the origin of the cultus or not, all trace of the idea of propitiating an angry deity in the snake worship of the Dyak has long disappeared. One Dyak with whom I am acquainted keeps a cobra in his house, and regards it as his tutelary spirit, and everywhere among them these spirit-possessed reptiles are regarded as friendly visitors sent by some higher power for good; and the sacrifice becomes an acknowledgment of obligation, and a gift to keep them in good humour, according to the maxim—"Presents win the gods as well as men." But ophio-worship needs

<sup>28</sup> "Origin and Development of Religious Belief." (Vol. I., p. 138.)—J. P.

to have no special cause assigned for its existence. It is a natural outcome of that primitive system of thought which has everywhere personified inanimate nature, and attributed human intelligence to the animal creation, one of the many fruits which has grown up from the wonder, the awe, and the dependent feeling with which uncivilised races have looked upon the mysteries of the great *natura naturans*; one more element to complete the circle of nature-worship which has had charms for many of the world's primitive races.

To this account of spirit-worship, manifested in many forms, I may add, that the extreme anxiety to obey the dictates of the spirits, especially when made known in dreams, led, in one instance, to an act of anthropolatry. A certain village-house was preparing a grand celebration in honour of *Singalang Burong*, when a Dyak—not very respectable in character—gave out that an *antu* had informed him in a dream that this house must offer a sacrifice to himself (the man), or bear the brunt of the *antu*'s displeasure. This alternative, of course, could not be borne, and they fetched the man in a basket, put him in a place of honour, presented to him an offering of food and drink as a religious act and then carried him back again to his own abode. This fellow was at the time committing a flagrant breach of social laws, and possibly invented the message from the spirit, with the object of screening his reputation by showing himself a favourite of the gods. But this view of the matter did not present itself to the Dyak mind, which is capable of swallowing any monstrosity, or absurd falsehood, if it only pretends to be a revelation from the spirits. Such, too, is the implicit faith they put in dreams.

#### SACRIFICES.

Something must now be said about the sacrifices which have been so frequently mentioned. The ordinary offering is made up of rice (generally cooked in bambus), cakes, eggs, sweet potatoes, plantains, and any fruit that may be at hand, and a fowl or small chicken. This *piring*, when offered in the house, is put upon a *tabak*, or brass salver: if the occasion of the sacrifice necessitates its being offered anywhere away from the house, a little platform is constructed, fastened together with *rotan*, upon four sticks stuck in the ground. This is *para piring*, altar of sacrifice. The offering of course is laid upon it. But generally this is covered with a rough roof, and thatched with *nipah* leaves, looking like a miniature native house; but it is the most rude and flimsy thing imaginable and soon tumbles to pieces. This is the *langkau piring*, shed of sacrifice. The god or spirit is supposed to come and partake of the good things spread there, and go away contented. I once remonstrated with them on the futility of the whole proceedings, on the ground that the food was clearly not eaten by any invisible being, but by fowls or pigs, or perhaps by reckless boys full of mischief, who would brave the fear of the spirits. But their answer was ready. The *antu*, whatever form it may take in showing itself to human eyes, is, as a spirit, invisible, a thing of soul, not of matter: now, they said, the soul spirit comes, and eats the soul (*samangat*) of the food: what is left on the altar is only its husk, its accidents, not its true essence. Now this answer, remarkable as coming from them, contains, as it

does, something similar to an old philosophic idea, which, in better than Dyak society, is not altogether obsolete as a disputed matter in the present day.

An important element of many sacrifices is the sprinkling of the blood of the slain victim, *ginselan*, or *singkelan*. The person on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered, is sprinkled with the blood of the fowl, and not only persons, but farms of growing paddy: the persons, I imagine, to atone for some infringement of *pemali*, the paddy, to make it grow. Sacrificing on behalf of farms is a vital part of their agricultural system, and no Dyak would think his paddy could possibly come to maturity without continual application of the fowl's blood. The bird is killed and waved about over the farm, but on some occasions, when the growing is supposed to need only a slight application of sacrificial virtue, the comb of the fowl is just slit to allow a little blood to ooze out.

On most occasions when a victim is slain, it is afterwards eaten, be it pig or fowl; but in some cases, it is otherwise disposed of. If it be a sacrifice to *Pulang Gana* at the commencement of the farming, the pig and other elements of the offering are conveyed with great pomp, the beating of gongs and streamers flying in the breeze, to the land to be prepared for receiving the seed; the pig is then killed, its liver and gall examined for divination, and the whole put into the ground with some *tuak* (native drink) poured upon it, and dedicated with a long invocation to the great paddy producer. This is the function which is called *buja*. If the sacrifice be for the crime of adultery, the victims are thrown into the jungle, and on the occasion of a marriage, I remember the offering was cast into the river. For all ordinary sacrifices, a fowl suffices; but a pig, being the largest animal which the Dyak domesticates, is naturally selected as the highest victim: should pigs, however, not be procurable at the time, two fowls can be substituted. And why? I asked. Because the legs of two fowls are equal to those of a pig!<sup>29</sup>

These sacrifices are not bound up with any priestly order; any one may offer them; but old men are generally selected in respect of the honour due to their age. No priesthood, in the proper sense of the term, seems to exist among these Sea Dyaks; for the *Manang* or medicine man does not fulfil the necessary conditions. Any man who is chief, or who has been fortunate in life, or who is well up in ancient lore, and knows the form of address to the deities, may perform the sacrificial function.

And the worship is purely external matter, unconnected with morality, a simple *opus operatum*, a magical action which effects its object irrespective of the condition of mind, or habits of life of the worshipper. A man of sober conduct would be preferred to one of notoriously bad character, to offer a sacrifice; but I have not perceived that any good moral or spiritual dispositions are required to secure the object of the function. This indeed follows from the fact that no improvement of the moral being is sought for, or even thought of, as the purpose of a *piring*. However good *Petara* may be supposed to be, the spirits in general have not made known that they delight

<sup>29</sup> Among the Dyaks of whom I am specially writing, I find no memory of human sacrifices: but the Melanos were once addicted to the practice, and I question if, even yet, they have died out amongst the Kayans of the interior. (J. P.)

in virtue; and the Dyak does not offer sacrifices and repeat invocations to promote personal righteousness and wisdom; but to get good crops of paddy, the heads of his enemies, skill in craft, health and long life. Neither his prayers nor aspirations reach higher than the realm of the visible and present. And in cases where we can see that propitiation for sin is the esoteric basis of the institution, as for instance, in the slaying of sacrifice after an act of adultery, yet the thoughts of the Dyak are not directed to the cleansing of the offenders, but to the appeasing of the anger of the gods, in order to preserve their land and their crops from blight and ravage. There is no confession of sin, nor petition for the pardon of the offenders. It is a witness of a belief that the offences of man provoke the displeasure of the gods, and that satisfaction is demanded; but there is nothing to show that the ultimate purity and improvement of the offender is contemplated as the thing desired. It is compensation for wrong done, and a bargain to secure immunity for their material interests. I am speaking of the sentiment consciously entertained by the Dyak himself concerning his own *piring*; not of the whole rationale which we can give of it.

I must now pass on to a further element of Dyak religion, which is yet only another phase of that nature worship which pervades all their institutions. The Dyak, like other races, feels his ignorance of, and dependence upon, every part of the world about him. He feels that nature, which has voices so many and wondrous, must have something to say to him, something to tell him. When is its voice to him to be heard? He feels a need of some guidance from the powers around and above him in his going out and coming in, in his precarious farming, in his occupations in the sombre depths of the jungle, in his boating over the dangerous rapids, or the treacherous tides of the swift rivers. He is aware that death and destruction may suddenly confront him in many a hidden danger; and he longs for something to hint to him when to advance and when to recede. He is a "questioning humanity;" and he has devised for himself an "answering nature."

#### OMENS.

Like the ancient Celts, who adored the voice of birds<sup>30</sup>; like the Romans who took auguries from the flight or notes of the raven, the crow, the owl, the cock, the magpie, the eagle and the vulture, the Dyak has his sacred birds, whose flight or calls are supposed to bring him direction from the unseen powers. The law and observance of omens occupy, probably, a greater share of his thoughts than any other part of his religion or superstition; and I cannot imagine that any tribe in any age ever lived in more absolute subservience to augury than do the Dyaks.

The system, as carried out by them, is most elaborate and complicated, involving uncertainties innumerable to all who are not fully experienced in the science, and the younger men have constantly to ask the older ones how to act in unexpected coincidences of various and apparently contradictory omens. To give a complete account of this intricate system would exceed my limits,

<sup>30</sup> MACLEAR'S "Conversion of the Celts," pp. 25, 26. (J. P.)

and severely tax the patience of the reader; but an attempt to give some definite notion of it is necessary.

The birds thus "used," as Dyaks say, are not many. I can only give their native names:—*Katupong*, *Beragai*, *Kutok*, *Mbuas*, *Nendak*, *Papan*, *Bejampong*. Most are, I believe, beautiful in plumage; all are small, and, like most tropical birds, have nothing that can be called song; but their calls are sometimes shrill and piercing. The reason why these are the birds selected, and only these, will appear in the end. But in practice, the system goes beyond birds, and embraces the *rusa* (deer), *pelandok* (mouse-deer), the *kijang* (gazelle), *tenggiling* (armadillo), *rioh* (insect), *rejah* (insect), *burong malam* (insect), *tuchok* (lizard), *sandah* (bat), the python and cobra, and sometimes even the rat: all these may be omens in various ways and circumstances, and therefore, in this connection, they are designated *burong* (birds), and to augur from any of them is *beburong*. But these other creatures are subordinate to the birds, which are the foundation upon which the superstructure of good luck is to be raised; and from which alone augury is sought at the beginning of any important undertaking.

The yearly rice-farming is a matter of much ceremony as well as of labour with the Dyak, and must be inaugurated with proper omens. Some man who is successful with his paddy will be the augur and undertake to obtain omens for a certain area of land which others besides himself will farm. Some time before the Pleiades are sufficiently high above the horizon to warrant the clearing the grounds of jungle or grass, the man sets about his work. He will have to hear the *nendak* on the left, the *katupong* on the left, the *burong malam* and the *beragai* on the left, and in the order I have written them. As soon as he has heard the *nendak*, he will break off a twig of anything growing near, and take it home and put it in a safe place. But it may happen that some other omen bird, or creature, is the first to make itself heard or seen; and in that case the day's proceeding is vitiated; he must give the matter up, return and try his chance another day; and thus sometimes three or four days are gone before he has obtained his first omen. When he has heard the *nendak*, he will then go to listen for the *katupong* and the rest, but with the same liability to delays; and it may possibly require a month to obtain all those augural predictions which are to give them confidence in the result of their labours. The augur has now the same number of twigs or sticks, as birds he has heard, and he takes these to the land selected for farming, and puts them in the ground, says a short form of address to the birds and *Pulang Gana*, cuts a little grass or jungle with his *parang*, and returns. The magic virtue of the birds has been conveyed to the land.

For house-building, the same birds are to be obtained, and in the same way. But for a war expedition, birds on the right hand are required, except the *nendak*, which, if it make a certain peculiar call, can be admitted on the left.

These birds can be bad omens as well as good. If heard on the wrong side, if in wrong order, if the note or call be of the wrong kind, the matter in hand must be postponed, or abandoned altogether; unless a conjunction of subsequent good omens occur, which, in the judgment of old experts, can

overbear the preceding bad ones. Hence, in practice this birding becomes a most involved matter, because the birds will not allow themselves to be heard in a straightforward orthodox succession. After all it is only a balance of probabilities; for it is seldom that Dyak patience is equal to waiting till the omens occur according to the standard theory; but this just corresponds to the general ebb and flow of good things in actual life.

There are certain substitutions for this tedious process, but I believe they are not much in vogue. Thus for farming, it is said, that a bit of gold in any shape may be taken and hidden in the ground; and the result will be as though the proper birds had been heard. This looks like a case of bribing the spirits. Or the matter may be compounded for by sacrifice. A fowl may be killed so that the blood shall drop into a hole in the earth, in which also the fowl must be buried. Or the augural function may be shortened by using an egg newly laid, which must be taken and broken on the ground. If it should turn out to be rotten, it is a bad omen: if quite fresh, it is good. This is to be recommended, for it would certainly always secure the desired result. So on the occasion of a war expedition. If an offering be prepared and some *tuak* (drink), and the sacrifice be offered with beating of gongs and drums on starting from the house, no birds need be listened to on the way. But these ceremonies are supposed to fall short of the real thing and are not much practised.

These are the inaugurating omens sought in order to strike the line of good luck, to render the commencement of an undertaking auspicious. The continuance of good fortune must be carried on by omen influence to the end.

To take farming again, where the practice becomes most extensive and conspicuous. When any of these omens, either of bird, beast, or insect, are heard or seen by the Dyak on his way to the paddy lands, he supposes they foretell either good or ill to himself or to the farm; and in most cases he will turn back, and wait for the following day before proceeding again. The *nendak* is generally good, so is the *katupong* on right or left, but the *papan* is of evil omen, and the man must beat a retreat. A *beragai* heard once or twice matters not; but if often a day's rest is necessary. The *mbuas* on the right is wrong, and sometimes it portends so much blight and destruction that the victim of it must rest five days. The "shout" of the *kutok* is evil, and that of the *katupon* so bad that it requires three days' absence from the farm to allow the evil to pass away; and even then a *beragai* must be heard before commencing work. The *beragai* is a doctor among birds. If the cry of a deer, a *pelandok*, or a gazelle be heard, or if a rat crosses the path before you on your way to the farm, a day's rest is necessary; or you will cut yourself, get ill, or suffer by failure of the crop. When a good omen is heard, one which is supposed to foretell a plentiful harvest, you must go on to the farm, and do some trifling work by way of "leasing the works of your hands" there, and then return; in this way you clench the foreshadowed luck, and at the same time reverence the spirit which promises it. And should deer, *pelandok*, or gazelle come out of the jungle and on to the farm when you are working there, it means that customers will come to buy the corn, and that, therefore,

there will be corn for them to buy. This is the best omen they can have ; and they honour it by resting from work for three days.

But the worst of all omens is a dead beast of any kind, especially those included in the omen list, found anywhere on the farm. It infuses a deadly poison into the whole crop, and will kill some one or other of the owner's family within a year. When this terrible thing happens, they test the omen by killing a pig, and divining from appearances of the liver immediately after death. If the prediction of the omen be strengthened, all the rice grown on that ground must be sold ; and, if necessary, other rice bought for their own consumption. Other people may eat it, for the omen only affects those at whom it is directly pointed. A swarm of bees lighting on the farm is an equally dreadful matter.

And there is another way of escaping the effect of omens less vicious than the foregoing. Some men, by a peculiar magic influence, or by gift of the bird spirits, are credited with possessing in themselves, in their own hearts and bodies, some occult power which can overcome bad omens (*penabar burong*). These men are able, by eating something, however small, of the produce of the farm, to turn off the evil prognostication. Anything grown on it which can be eaten, a bit of Indian corn, a little mustard, or a few cucumber shoots, is taken to the wise man ; and he quietly eats it raw for a small consideration and thereby appropriates to himself the evil omen which in him becomes innocuous and thus delivers the other from the ban of the *pemali*, or tabu.

The *burong malam* is an insect so called because it is generally heard at night ; it is especially sought after on the war-path as the guide to safety and victory. It is altogether a good genius, as the *nendak* is among the birds. And in farming it is equally valued. A man heard it on one occasion in a tree on his farm-land, late in the morning ; and dedicated an offering to it at the foot of the tree, which was afterwards regarded as sacred, and was not felled with the rest. And he had his reward in an abundant harvest.

These omen-creatures are the regular attendants of the Dyak, not only in his farming, but in all his travels and works of every description. If he be only going to visit a friend a few miles off, a bad bird will send him back. If he be engaged in carrying timbers from the jungle for his house, and hear a *kutok* or a *bejampong* or a *mbuas*, the piece must be thrown down, and left until a day or two after, or it may have to be abandoned altogether. A man built a boat, and, when nearly finished, a *kutok* flew close across the bows ; it was cast aside and allowed to rot. If at night they hear an owl make a peculiar noise they call *sabut* they will hastily clear out the house in the morning ; and remain away some weeks, it may be, in temporary sheds, and then only return when they have heard a *nendak*, and a *beragai* on the left. There are many omens which make a place unfit for habitation, and among them are a *beragai* flying over a house and an armadillo crawling up into it.

When visiting the sick, birds on the right are desired, as possessing more power for health. And here I may mention another way of communicating the virtue of the good omen to the object. When a Dyak hears a good bird

on his way to see a sick friend, he will sit down, and chew some betel-nut, *sirih* leaf, lime, tobacco and gambier for his own refreshment, and then chew a little more and wrap it in a leaf and take it to his friend, and if the sick man can only eat, it will materially help the cure; for does it not contain the voice of the bird, a mystic elixir of life from the unseen world?

To kill one of these birds or insects is believed to bring certain disease, if not death. I was told that a woman was once paddling her canoe along near the bank of a stream, and saw a little *beragai* on a bough, and not recognising it she caught it, and took it home for a child's plaything. She was soon made aware of her mistake, and offered the bird a little sacrifice and let it go. That night she had a dream wherein she was told that, if she had killed it, or omitted the offering, she would have died. But this idea of sacredness of life does not apply to the deer, the gazelle, the *pelandok*, the armadillo and iguanas which they freely kill for food, and rats as pests. Physical wants are stronger than religious theory. Another inconsistency appears when, in setting up the posts and frame-work of a house, they beat gongs and make a deafening noise to prevent any birds from being heard.

This is only the merest outline of the practice, the full treatment of which would require a volume; but it is sufficient to show that there never was a people in more abject mental bondage to a superstition, than are the Dyaks of Borneo to the custom of *beburong*.<sup>31</sup> In a race of considerable energy of temperament, like the Sea Dyaks, one would have expected that the tediousness of the system would have produced a remedy. To consult omens at the commencement of important undertakings is one thing; to be liable to obstruction and restraint at every step of life, is quite another and far heavier matter. The substitutions before-mentioned, no doubt, were invented as a short cut through a troublesome matter, but they have evidently failed in the object. And then the intricacies of the subject are so endless. Old men, industrious and sensible in ordinary matters of life, will sit for hours at a stretch discussing lawful or unlawful, lucky or unlucky, combinations of these voices of nature, and their effect upon the work and destiny of men. Only the older men are able to tell what is to be done in all cases. The deaf who do not hear, and the children who do not understand, are conveniently supposed to be exempt from obedience. And this involved system of life is thoroughly believed in as the foundation of all success. Stories upon stories are recounted of the failures, of the sicknesses and of the deaths that have resulted from disregard of the omens. You may reason with them against the system, but in the coincidences which they can produce they think they have a proof positive of its truth; and with them an accidental coincidence is more convincing than the most cogent reasoning. But it need hardly be said, that the citing of precedents is very one-sided. All cases in which the event has apparently verified the prediction, are carefully remembered, whilst those in which the omen has been falsified are as quickly forgotten.

<sup>31</sup> This remark perhaps hardly applies now to Dyaks of the coast, who, being subject to other influences, are gradually relinquishing the custom. (J. P.)

The object of the bird-cultus is like that of all other rites: to secure good crops, freedom from accidents and falls and diseases, victory in war, and profit in exchange and trade, skill in discourse, and cleverness in all native craft. I say bird-cultus; for it rises from observance of omens into invocation and worship of the birds, as the following extract from a "Sampi Umai" will show:—

I call to ye, O Birds!  
Which birds do you call, do you beckon?  
The false, the lying birds,  
The mocking, the wicked ones,  
The evil ones which in sideways,  
Those which start in sleep,  
Which flutter their wings as a sail :<sup>32</sup>  
These I do not call, I do not beckon.  
Which then do you call, do you beckon?  
Those which lay and hatch to perfection,  
Which are clean of breast and heart,  
Whose discourse compels assent,  
Whose fame reaches afar,  
Whose praise is heard and repeated,  
Which are just and pure and simple,  
The palms of whose hands are lucky,  
Which sleep and have good dreams.

These I call, these I beckon.  
That when they pass through the jungle,  
They may keep their hands in order;  
When they pass other men's things,  
They may be on guard against stealing;  
When they talk they may also understand;  
When they quarrel they may rebuke them;  
When men strive they may cool the fiery spirit.

*Katupong* of the late *Menggong*.  
*Papan* of the late *Dunggan*.  
*Kutok* of the late *Manok*.  
*Buntu* of the late *Puanku*.  
*Pangkas* of the late *Lunas*.  
*Kunding* of the late *Sumping*.  
*Burong Malam* of the late *Awan*.  
*Rioh* of the late *Manok*.  
*Rejat* of the late *Lunchat*.  
*Kasui* of the late *Gali*.<sup>33</sup>

These I call, these I beckon.  
That they may never labour in vain nor return empty,  
Never be fruitless, never be barren,  
Never be disappointed, never be ashamed,

<sup>32</sup> This probably refers to locusts which eat the young paddy. (J. P.)

<sup>33</sup> These profess to be the names of ancestors who have been specially favoured by the birds named: and the variation of the names of the birds is probably to be accounted for by the fact: that the same birds are called by different names. (J. P.)

Never be false, never tell lies,  
 These I call these I beckon,  
 That when I go on the war path,  
 They may be with me to obtain a head ;  
 When I farm,  
 They may be with me to fill the paddy bins ;  
 When I trade,  
 They may be with me to get a *menaga* jar.<sup>84</sup>  
     These I call, these I beckon,  
     These I shout to, these I look to,  
     These I send for, these I approach,  
     These I invoke, these I worship.

The birds are here contemplated as in company with the Dyak, ordering his life, and giving effect to his labour ; and the invocation and offering are to impetrate their favour. Another function in which the cultus of these winged creatures comes out distinctly is the festival which is described as *mri burong makai*, giving the birds to eat, that is, giving them an offering. It may be said to be a minor festival in honour of *Singalang Burong* and his sons-in-law, the omen spirit-birds. The sacrifice, which follows upon the usual invocation, is divided into two portions ; one of which is suspended over the roof-ridge of the house, and the other upon the edge of the *tanju*, or drying platform, which fronts every Dyak village-house.

In answer to the question of the origin of this system of "birding," some Dyaks have given the following. In early times the ancestor of the Malays and the ancestor of the Dyak had, on a certain occasion, to swim across a river. Both had books. The Malay tied his firmly in his turban, kept his head well out of water, and reached the opposite bank with his book intact and dry. The Dyak, less wise, fastened his to the end of his *sirat*, waist-cloth, and the current washed it away, for in swimming, the *sirat* was of course in the water. But the fates intervened to supply the loss, and gave the Dyak this system of omens as a substitute for the book.

Another story relates the following. Some Dyaks in the Batang Lupar made a great feast, and invited many guests. When everything was ready and arrivals expected, a tramp and hum, as of a great company of people, was heard close to the village. The hosts, thinking it to be the invited friends, went forth to meet them with meat and drink, but found with some surprise they were all utter strangers. However, without any questioning, they received them with due honour, and gave them all the hospitalities of the occasion. When the time of departing came, they asked the strange visitors who they were, and from whence, and received something like the following reply from their chief : " I am *Singalang Burong*, and these are my sons-in-law, and other friends. When you hear the voices of the birds (giving their names), know that you hear us, for they are our deputies in this lower world." Thereupon the Dyaks discovered they had been entertaining

<sup>84</sup> Dyak property consists in, and is reckoned by, jars of certain recognised patterns. (J. P.)

spirits, and received, as reward of their hospitality, the knowledge of the omen system.

But the full Dyak explanation of the subject is contained in the legend of *Siu*, which is perhaps worth epitomising. *Siu* lived in the very early ages of the world, when men were still but few, and confined to a comparatively small area, and with only such knowledge as raised them a little above the brute creation. One day he goes out shooting with his blow-pipe; but loses his way, wanders about, and at last emerges on the sea coast. Here he sees a Dyak woman wondrously beautiful, who straightway recognises him, and offers to marry him. He objects on the score that he has lost his way, and knows not how to reach his home again; but she overrules the objection by informing him that she is well acquainted with the way both to his and her own country, and, if he will only follow her, she will conduct him to his friends. He consents, and in a short time they reach the village, and find *Siu's* parents wailing him for dead. In the sudden surprise of his arrival, they hardly recognise his wife, but after the joy is somewhat sobered down, they bethink themselves of the strange lady, and are lost in admiration of her beautiful form and features. No questions are asked about her parentage. In course of time, a child is born, who is named *Seragunting*, who grows big in a miraculously short space of time. One day he cries and won't be pacified. All caress him but to no purpose. His face is as red as a capsicum with weeping, and *Siu* asks his wife to take him again, and she refuses; whereupon he reproaches her with slight irritation of temper. She replies nothing, but quietly packs up her things, marches out of the house, and departs through the jungle to her unknown home. The boy continues to cry, and persistently begs his father to take him after his mother. After some demurring, *Siu* yields, and father and son depart to go they know not where. Night comes on, and they rest under the shelter of the forest, and a strange thing occurs. In a leaf on the ground they find some fresh milk, which *Seragunting* drinks. They trudge on for three or four days, resting at night, when they always find milk in a leaf for *Seragunting*. At length they come to the coast, and see in the distance the mother's hat floating on the water; and there is nothing to do, but to camp again for the night. Again more milk is found in a leaf.

Next morning, a boat, and *Seragunting*, who takes the lead of his father in all things, hails it and asks the paddlers to take him and his father. The boat veers towards the land, but some in the boat recognize the two wanderers, and shout out: "Oh, it is only *Siu*, and his boy; let them alone to die if they must." The boat is shoved off again and disappears. This is the boat of *Katupong*, son-in-law of *Singalang Burong*. Exactly the same scene enacted six times more on the passing of the boats of *Beragai*, *Kuto*, *Mbuas*, *Nendak*, *Papan* and *Bejampong*. Again the two are left alone on the shore, and again the milk mysteriously appears on the leaf.

On the following morning, they behold a strange shape rise out of the sea in the distance, and soon recognize it to be a gigantic spider, which gradually approaches them and asks what they are doing. They reply that they want to go across the sea. The spider affirms it can guide them, gives

*Seragunting* some rice, and bids them follow, not turning to the right nor to the left. They all walk on the water which becomes as hard as a sand bank under their feet. After being a long time out of sight of land, they approach an opposite shore, and finding a landing place with a large number of boats betokening a place well inhabited. The spider directs them to the house of the mother; and they find themselves at last in the house of no less a personage than *Singalang Burong*.

And thus it comes to light that this mysterious woman, who so strangely and suddenly falls across *Siu's* path, is in reality an inhabitant of the spirit-world, who has condescended to become the wife of a mortal. She is *Bunsu Katupong*, the youngest of the *Katupong* family, niece of *Singalang Burong*, and one of that family of spirit-birds of whom he is chief.

But at first no one takes any notice of them, and *Singalang Burong* is in his *panggah* or seat of state, and the mother does not appear. *Seragunting* with his usual precocity calls the sons-in-law of the great spirit his uncles, but they will not acknowledge him, and threaten to kill him and his father. They watch to mark whether the boy recognises his mother's cup and plate, her *sirih* box, and mosquito curtains, and behold he makes straight for them without the slightest hesitation. They are not satisfied, and propose several ordeals in all which *Seragunting* is miraculously successful. As a last trial they all go hunting, *Katupong*, *Beragai*, and the rest all take their well-proved dogs, and leave the boy and his father to get one where they can, yet they are both to be killed if they are not more successful than the others. *Seragunting* calls to him an old dog which is nothing but skin and bones, and can hardly walk, and gently strikes him, whereupon the dog is in an instant fat, plump and strong. *Katupong* and his friends return in the afternoon without anything, and in the evening, *Seragunting* and his dog appear chasing up a huge boar to the foot of the ladder of the house, where the pig makes a stand. *Katupong* and his friends fling their spears at him, but they glide off, and they themselves are within an ace of being caught in the tusks of the beast; then *Seragunting* goes to the room, gets a little knife of his mother's and gently throws it at the pig, and it instantly drops down dead.

After these miraculous feats, there is no longer any room for doubt, and *Seragunting* is acknowledged and treated by all as a true grandson of *Singalang Burong*. They now live happily together for some time, until one day when *Singalang Burong* goes to bathe; *Seragunting* in his absence plays about the *panggah*, and turns up his grandfather's pillow, and sees underneath, as in a glass, the place of his birth and all his father's relations, and calls his father and they both see the mystic vision. From that time the father is sad and home-sick, and cannot eat food, and soon asks to be allowed to return to his own place. *Singalang Burong* discovers that they have looked under his magic pillow, but is not angry, and gives his consent to their departure.

But before returning to the lower world, *Siu* and his son have several things to learn. They are taken on a war-expedition, that they may know how to fight an enemy with bravery and successful tactics; they are taught how to plant paddy, and wait until it is ripe in order to have a practical knowledge of every stage of rice-growing; they are initiated into different

ways of catching fish and are shown how to set traps for pig and deer, and, above all, the observance of all the omens good and bad is carefully explained to them. "These birds," says *Singalang Burong*, "possess my mind and spirit, and represent me in the lower world. When you hear them, remember it is we who speak for encouragement or for warning." Some paddy seed is then given to them and a variety of other presents and they depart. No sooner are they out of the house than they are suddenly transported through the air to their own home.

The legend implies the belief that the primitive Dyak lived in the lowest state of barbarism, subsisting on the fruits of the jungle, and plantains, and yams, ignorant of fishing or trapping, and of the great industry of rice-farming; that the knowledge of these things with the omen system was brought from the higher world by *Seragunting*, the offspring of the spirits above, and, therefore, able to obtain the knowledge; and that the working of all is to be carried out with the continual direction and assistance of the supernatural author of the whole. The sacredness of the omen birds is thus explained: they are forms of animal life possessed with the spirit of certain invisible beings above, and bearing their names; so that, when a Dyak hears a *Beragai*, for instance, it is in reality the voice of *Beragai*, the son-in-law of *Singalang Burong*; nay, more, the assenting nod or dissenting frown of the great spirit himself.

We may now conclude with a summary reference to those elements of worship to which the Dyak clings for the support and satisfaction of the religious side of his life; and if we can see with his eyes, we shall probably be able to understand what shadows of truth it embodies; and how much or how little it supplies the place of a better knowledge. If the strength of worship be in proportion to the number of objects venerated, the Dyak is most emphatically a "worshipping animal," but the fact is, that the Dyak character contains the smallest amount of real veneration. His adoration is brought down to the mere external work of making a sacrifice and repeating an invocation, which is done in an off-hand manner, without any posture of humility or reverence, and without any idea that it involves the offering of a life in a course of good conduct. But in the number of his deities, such as they are, he is certainly rich. He has not risen to the idea of an omnipresent deity, but he imagines the world, especially the heavens, to be everywhere inhabited by separate *Petaras*, whose function it is to care for men. Yet in this manifold personal providence there is room for a spirit of fatalism. He will cry out to *Petara*, and talk of the relentless march of fate. To *Pulang Gana* he applies for good crops; and to *Singalang Burong* for general luck and success in everything. His idea evidently is that good gifts are from the gods.

But while he has this appreciation of a secret power behind the realm of the visible, the world of nature is to him a great, wide, terrible and wonderful combination of phenomena, whose influence he feels as that of a living presence, which elicits his sense of awe and regard. There is no separate worship offered to the heavenly bodies; but in a prayer at farming, the sun is invoked together with *Pulang Gana*, *Petaras* and Birds; and is addressed as *Datu Patinggi Mata-ari*. The idea of its personification is suggested by its

name, "the eye of the day." The moon and stars are not invoked, but, according to him, they have an "invisible belonging," a *Petara*, just as all parts of the earth have. It is probable that no inanimate objects themselves, not even the sun, though treated as before mentioned, are supposed to be divinities; it is an underlying spirit in them which is adored, a hidden living influence in them which effects their operations. Thus the sea has its *Antu Ribai*; and the wind is the mysterious effluence of *Antu Ribut* who resides in human form in aerial regions; and when a violent storm sweeps the jungles, Dyaks will beat a gong for a few minutes to apprise the Wind Spirit of the locality of the house; lest he should lay it level with the ground, as he does sometimes the most majestic of forest trees. Veneration for natural phenomena then determines the direction of his religious instincts; and we find ourselves in a region of belief which reminds one, to some extent, of the primitive religion of the Vedic age. This nature worship soon runs into practical polytheism; for the human spirit ever seeks a personality as the receiver of its homage, and the repository of its wants. To this, the best side of Dyak religion, is added a less poetical element, a cultus, which, though occasional and spasmodic, is yet degrading in character; one inspired by a mixture of fear, anxiety and self-interest, and consisting in demonolatry, zoolatry and aviolatry, in the practice of which there are found the same religious acts as are offered to other beings—invocation, petition and sacrifice. The Dyak's religious belief is thus the offspring of the earthly as well as the higher side of his nature; and together forms a compound of law, religion and superstition in inextricable confusion.

And in the omen system, the Dyak advances still further into the great field of human religion, and touches other faiths higher than his own. The form in which he manifests this is sure to be material and crude; but nevertheless it may contain the germs of thought more fruitful of results elsewhere. What is the essential thought or principle which underlies these dreams, omens and divinations? A morbid anxiety to foreknow the secrets of the future no doubt is there; but surely there is also a hidden conviction, that the supernal power and wisdom has a way of revealing its will to man, wherein he is told what to do, and what to refrain from. Looking at the matter from his point of view, the Dyak has a continual direction from that power, a living guide book for life's work and journey. The statement of the legend that bird-omens were given instead of the book, exactly hits the point. And he implicitly obeys, though he knows not of the why; but the gods see further than he can, and he is content, though the obedience involves a present inconvenience.

To sum up then, the Dyak has gods for worship, spirits for helpers, omens for guides, sacrifices for propitiation, and the traditions of his ancestors for authority. And with submission to every stronger power, good or evil, he lives and works. His look beyond into a future sphere is another matter, and reserved for separate consideration.

## III.

THE subject is incomplete without a consideration of their burial rites, and their ideas of eschatology. These I now endeavour to supply.

But first a word about marriage. Birth is not celebrated with any religious ceremony, and marriage is a comparatively simple matter. The marriage ceremony consists principally in publicly fetching the bride from her father's to the bridegroom's house, but the Dyak, with his love of divination, could not allow such an occasion to pass without some attempt, or pretence, to penetrate the secrets of the future. When the bridal party are assembled in the bride's house, and the arrangements for the young couple talked over, a *pinang* (betel-nut) is split into seven pieces by some one supposed to be lucky in matrimonial affairs; and these pieces, together with the other ingredients of the betel-nut mixture, are put in a little basket, which is bound round with red cloth and laid for a short time upon the open platform outside the verandah of the house: should the pieces of *pinang* by some mystic power increase in number, the marriage will be an unusually lucky one; but should they decrease, it is a bad omen, and the marriage must be postponed, or relinquished altogether; but, as matter of experience, they neither increase nor decrease; and this is interpreted in the obvious sense of an ordinary marriage upon which the spirits have pronounced neither good nor bad. This action gives the name to the whole ceremony, which is called *Mlah*<sup>35</sup> *pinang*—splitting the betel-nut. When the bride has been brought to her future husband's house, a fowl is waved<sup>36</sup> over them, with a hastily muttered invocation for health and prosperity; and with this semi-sacrificial action the marriage is complete.

Death is much more involved with sacred observances. Although the Dyaks have something of the Moslem sentiment of fate, and commonly speak of the measure of a man's life's, which once reached nothing can prolong, yet this does not seem to help them to a quiet submission to the inevitable; for, even when death is unmistakeably drawing near, they are eager in fruitless efforts of resistance, and the scene is generally one of tumultuous wailing. They will shout wildly to the medicine-man to recover the wandering spirit, and they will call out to the dying—"Come back; do not go with the spirits who are leading you astray to Hades. This is your country, and we are your friends." The word *pulai*, *pulai*, "return, return," is reiterated in piercing, piteous tones. Silence and reverent awe in the presence of death would be regarded as culpable callousness to the interests of a life trembling in the balance. And when actual dissolution is plainly imminent, they dress the person in the garments usually worn, and some few ornaments in addition, that the man may be fully equipped for the untried journey; and in violent demonstrations of grief, the women and younger people wait the end, or perhaps rush distractedly about in hopes of doing something to delay it. As soon as respiration has ceased, a wild outburst of wailing is heard from the women, which proclaims to all the village that life is extinct. The cessation

<sup>35</sup> *Belah*, Malay.—ED. Journ. Str. Asiatic Soc.

<sup>36</sup> This waving of a sacrifice or offering is a noticeable feature in the practice of Hindu exorcists in India.—ED. Journ. Str. Asiatic Soc.

of visible breathing is with the Dyak the cessation of life; he knows of no other way to distinguish a prolonged state of coma from death, and I have good reason to believe that sometimes bodies have been buried before they were corpses.

After death the body is lifted from the room to the *ruai*, or verandah, of the village-house; some rice is sprinkled upon the breast, and it is watched until burial by numerous relatives who come to show their sympathy. The nearer connections of the deceased will probably be heard shouting out to some departed relative to come from Hades and take them away also, feeling at the moment that life is unbearable. At a burial once I saw a woman jump down into the grave, and stretch herself at full length upon the coffin loudly begging to be buried with her husband.

Among some tribes there are professional wailers, nearly always women, who are hired to wail for the dead. One of these is now fetched, not only to lament the lost, but by her presence and incantation to assist the soul in its passage to Hades. Her song takes about twelve hours to sing, and the sum of it is this. She calls with tedious prolixity upon bird, beast and fish to go to Hades with a message, but in vain, for they cannot pass the boundary. She then summons the Spirit of the Winds to go, and—

- "Call the dead of ancient times,
- "To fetch the laid out corpse under the crescent moon,
- "Already arranged like the galaxy of the milky way.
- "To call those along ago bent double,
- "To fetch the shroud of our friend below the moon,
- "Already a heap like the hummock of the *rengguang*.<sup>37</sup>
- "To call the far away departed,
- "To fetch the nailed coffin under the dawn of the rising sun,
- "Already like the form of a skilled artisan's chest.
- "To call the long departed ones,
- "To fetch the *resak*-wood coffin below the brilliant moon,
- "Already bound with golden bands."

The Spirit of the Winds is reluctant; but, at the solicitation of his wife, at length consents to do the wailer's bidding. He speeds on his way through forests and plains, hills and valleys, rivers and ravines, until night comes on and he is tired and hungry, and stops to make a temporary resting-place. After refreshing himself, he goes up a high tree to make sure of the proper road. "He looks round, and all is dark and dim in the distance: he looks behind, and all is obscure and confused: he looks before him, and all is gloomy as night." On all sides are roads, for the ways of the dead are seventy times seven. In his perplexity, he drops his human spirit form, and by a stroke of ghostly energy metamorphoses himself into rushing wind; and soon makes known his presence in Hades by a furious tempest which sweeps everything before it, and rouses the inhabitants to enquire the cause of the unwonted commotion. They are told. They must go to the land of the living and fetch so and so and all his belongings. The dead rejoice at the

<sup>37</sup> A crustacean which burrows in the earth. (J. P.)

summons, and without delay collect their friends, get into a boat and pull through the stygian waters; and with such force does the boat plough the lake, that all the neighbouring fish die. Arrived at the landing-place, they all make an eager rush into the house, "like soldiers who fly upon the spoil; and mad like wild pigs they seize the dead one." The departed soul cries out in anguish at being thus violently carried off; but long before the ghostly party has reached their abode, it becomes reconciled to its fate.

Thus sings the wailer, who has now done her work. She has conveyed the soul to its new home, which it would never reach, it is said, without her intervention, but remain suspended somewhere, and find rest nowhere.

The climate necessitates a speedy interment; but there is another reason for putting the dead quickly out of sight. After life is extinct, the body is no longer spoken of as a body or corpse; it is an *antu*, a spirit; and to have it long with them would, apart from sanitary considerations, expose them to sinister ghostly influences. Some time before daylight, a sufficient number of men take away the corpse wrapped in mats and secured with a light framework of wood; and as it is being borne from the house, ashes are thrown after it, and a water-gourd is flung and broken on the floor. The graveyard is generally a small hill, or rising ground in the neighbourhood, as unkempt as the surrounding forest, overshadowed by towering trees, and full of entangled undergrowth of grass, climbers and thorny *rotan*. On coming to the cemetery, the first thing done is to kill a fowl to propitiate the dread powers of Hades, to whom the ground is supposed to be devoted: and so strong is the need of this sacrifice felt, that no Dyak, unenlightened by other principles, will dare touch the ground until it is made. Some now dig the grave; some cook a meal, which is afterwards eaten on the spot; whilst others get a large log of wood of the required length, split it into two, scoop out the inside sufficiently to admit the corpse, and thus make a rude coffin, the two parts of which, after receiving the body, are firmly lashed together with *rotan*. Sometimes, however, the coffin is made of planks before proceeding to the graveyard.

With the burial of the body is deposited *baiya*, that is, things given to the dead. Personal necessities, like rice, plates, the betel-nut mixture, money, and a few other articles are laid with the body in the ground; whilst spears, baskets, swords, weaving materials, pots, jars, gongs, etc., are put on the surface, the jars and gongs being broken to render them useless to any alien who may be inclined to sacrilegious depredations.<sup>38</sup> This *baiya*, little or much according to the wealth of the deceased, is regarded as a mark of affection, and to omit it is to fail in a natural duty. But the custom is really founded upon the belief that the things so bestowed are in some mystic way carried into the other world, and useful to the dead—their capital, in fact, to begin life with in the new stage of existence. And in cases where Dyaks are killed, or die by sickness, far away from home, the *baiya* is still deposited in the family burying-place. A burial without *baiya* is, in their phrase, the burial of a dog. A fence round the grave as a protection from the ravages by wild pigs completes the interment.

<sup>38</sup> Compare the observances of the Johor Jakuns, No. 7 of Journal Str. Asiatic Soc., p. 97.—Ed. Journ.

There is a deeply-seated fear among Dyaks touching everything connected with death and burial rites. They have, for instance, a lurking suspicion that the dead, having become the victims of the most terrible of all powers, may harbour envious feelings, and possibly follow the burying-party back to their homes with some evil intent. To prevent such mischief, some of them make a notched stick-ladder,<sup>39</sup> and fix it upside down in the path near the cemetery to stop any departed spirit who may be starting on questionable wanderings; others plant bits of stick to imitate bamboo caltrops to lame the feet should they venture in pursuit, and so obstruct their advance.

Interment is the usual, but not universal, mode of disposing of the dead. *Manangs*, or medicine men, are suspended in trees in the cemetery,<sup>40</sup> and amongst the Balau tribe, children dying before dentition has developed enjoy the same distinction, having a jar for their coffin. Some eccentric individuals have a dislike to be put underground, and request that after death they may be laid upon an open platform in the cemetery; the result of which is that a most offensive exudation soon oozes from the badly made coffin; and after a year or two the posts become rotten, and the whole structure tumbles down, the coffin bursting in pieces, adding to the already large stock of exposed bones, which, with broken pots, jars, baskets, and other miscellaneous articles, swell the property of grim death, and make the place a vast charnel awesome and gloomy, well calculated to frighten the superstitious Dyak. Occasionally a man has a fancy to have his body put on the top of a mountain, and the relatives probably dare not refuse to carry out the wish through fear of imaginary evil consequences. Among the Kayans, this burial above ground is the general practice, but they carry it out in a more substantial manner. The *baiya* is put in the coffin, but heads of slain enemies are hung up round the grave. Great warriors have been sometimes buried for a time and then exhumed, and their relics sacredly kept by their descendants in or near their houses, or it may be, on the spur of a neighbouring hill, with the object of securing the departed ancestor as a tutelary spirit.

Sea Dyaks do not consider burial as the last office which they can render to the dead, but follow them up with certain after-ministries of mixed affection and superstition. For three or four evenings after death, they light a fire somewhere outside the house for the use of the departed; for in Hades,

<sup>39</sup> The *tangga samangat* of the Johor Jakuns is said: "to enable the spirit to leave the grave when required." Id.—Ed. Journ. Str. Asiatic Soc.

<sup>40</sup> Even among the Malays of the Peninsula, this practice of keeping the body of a *pawang*, or medicine man, above ground is not unknown. It exists also probably among the Sakai tribes. *Blian tuan* is the Sakai name for the original tiger-spirit or man-tiger. A man who has a tiger-spirit as his familiar is a *pawang blian*, and may not be buried in the ordinary Malay way, but his body must be placed leaning against a *prah* tree, in order that the spirit may enter into another man.

In Perak, it is said that in the time of Sultan J'AFAR there was a *pawang* of the *hantu blian*, named *Alang Dewasa*. When he died (at Buluh Minyak in Ulu Perak) his relations would not permit his body to be set up against a tree, but buried it. Soon afterwards the ground was found disturbed, and since then *Alang Dewasa* has frequently appeared as a *hantu blian*, when invoked by *pawang*s of that class (See Journal No. 12, p. 224). He comes down in the shape of a tiger, with one eye closed, the effect of an injury he received when buried, or when leaving the earth to assume his animal form.—Ed. Journ. Str. Asiatic Soc.

they say, fire is not to be procured without paying for it. After burial, the nearest relation lives in strict seclusion and keeps a comparative fast until the observance called *pana* is made. A plate of rice with other eatables is taken by one of the neighbours to this chief mourner, and from this time he or she returns to the usual diet, and occupations of life. But this neighbourly act of the living is the least part of *pana*, amongst those tribes, at least where professional wailers exist. It is principally concerned with the dead, to whom by it food is supposed to be sent. Boiled rice and other things usually eaten with it, together with Dyak delicacies, are put together, and thrown through the opening at the back of the house, and the wailer is fetched to effect their transmission to Hades. She comes again to the house of mourning, not to lament over the dead—that is left to the relatives to do—but to call upon the adjutant bird, “the royal bird which fishes the waters all alone,” to do her bidding in conveying the articles of the *pana* to the other world. Among these are included with some pathos the sorrows and sighs of the living.

- “To carry the *pana* of tears to the departed one  
 “at the clear mouth of the Potatoe river.  
 “To carry deep sighs to those sunk out of view  
 “in the land of the red ripe *rambutan*.  
 “To carry pitying sobs to those who have fallen  
 “unripe in the land of empty fruiting limes.”

The bird, says the song, speeds on its way, and after taking a rest on the *bacha* tree, which bears for flower one dark red bead, arrives in the region of the departed. There they do not recognize the visitant, and inquire where it comes from and why: “Do you come to look at the widows? We have thirty and one; but only one is handsome. Do you come to seek after maidens? We have thirty and three; but only one is pretty.” “No,” says the bird, “we have widows and maidens plenty in the land of the living, all beautiful and admired of men.” “What is that you have brought with you so securely covered up?” “Get a basin, and I will pour the contents of my burden into it.” The basin is brought and receives the *pana*, and lo! the eatables and the tears and the sobs of the living mourners have become gold and silver and precious stones wondrously beautiful. But neither the men nor the women know what they are; and mutual accusations of ignorance and stupidity are bandied about, and a noisy quarrel is the result. At this juncture, an ancient native of Hades appears, one, that is, who never was an inhabitant of this world;

Dara Rabai Gruda<sup>41</sup>  
 Dayang Sepang Kapaiya.

She chides their unseemly squabbling, and explains to them that the bird has come from the realms of the living with presents from their friends; whereupon they are seized with a passionate desire to return, but are told that this is impossible.

<sup>41</sup> *Garuda*, the eagle of Vishnu? See No. 7 of this Journal, p. 13.—ED. Journ. Str. Asiatic Soc.

- "The notched ladder is top downwards.
- "Their eyes see crookedly.
- "Their feet step the wrong way.
- "Their speech is all upside down."

Their capacities are no longer adapted to the world they have left, and their destiny is irreversible; but still they urge their request to accompany the bird, and all the ingenuity of Hades is called in requisition to devise means of amusing the souls as yet unaccustomed to their new dwelling. Meanwhile, the bird takes its homeward flight. Thus far the wailer.

Until this *pana* is made, say the Dyaks who observe it, the soul is not thoroughly conscious that it has departed from the world, and Hades will not give it food or water; but after this, it is received as a regular denizen of deathland.

There is a similar observance called *sumping*, which is carried out at a varying period after death. They take the symbols and trophies of a head-hunting raid, and the wailer is supposed to procure the services of the spirit of the winds to convey them to the dead, whose abode, before full of darkness and discomfort, is now, at sight of the trophies, filled with light; for they have the satisfaction of feeling that their relations have revenged upon others their own death; so henceforth they stand more freely upon their own footing.

This observance, which, according to ancient custom, could not be performed until the head of an enemy had been obtained, brings out the darker and fiercer side of the Dyak nature. They would fight with death if they could; but as they cannot, they rejoice in taking vengeance upon the living, whenever a chance of killing the enemies of their tribe offers itself; so as to be able to say to themselves: "My relatives have revenged my death. I am now on equal terms with the evil fate which has sent me hither." But in these times, when they live under a strong and civilized government, it is very seldom that this observance can be carried out in its fulness; and therefore it is either slurred over by some mild substitute, or omitted altogether.

But the great observance for the dead is the *Gawei antu*, Festival of Departed Spirits. No definite period is fixed for the celebration of it, and the time varies from one to three or four years. The preparation for it of food and drink and other things is carried on for weeks and even months; and sometimes it taxes very severely the resources of the Dyak. When all is ready, the whole neighbourhood for miles round is invited to partake of it. It is an opportunity for a general social gathering; it is a formal laying aside of mourning; above all, it is, in their minds, the execution of certain offices necessary for the final well-being of the dead.

But though it is a feast for the dead to which they are invoked and invited, yet they pretend to guard against any unorthodox and premature approach of the departed as full of uncanny influence. When the *tuak*, a drink brewed from rice, has been made, an earthenware potful of it is hung up before the door of the one room which each family of the village-house

occupies, so as to attract the attention of any casual wanderer from Hades. Such a one is supposed to see the pot, and to go and regale himself from it, and be satisfied without going any further: and thus his thoughts are pleasantly diverted from the inner seat of family life; the room—where, if permitted to enter, he might possibly, in revengeful spite, carry off some of the living circle.

The presence of the dead is desired, but only at the proper time and in the proper way. But how are they to come from Hades in the numbers desired? Nothing easier, says the Dyak, send a boat for them: so he despatches what is called the *lumpang*. A piece of bamboo in which some rice has been boiled is made into a tiny boat, which, by the aid of the wailer, who is again fetched, is sent to Hades. Actually, it is thrown away behind the house; spiritually, it is supposed by the incantation of the wailer to be transmitted to the unseen realm through the instrumentality of the king of all the fishes, who accomplishes the journey without much trouble. But in Hades he dare not ascend the great river of the dead beyond the first landing place, where he leaves the mystic craft together with food and drink. No sooner is this done than the stream becomes dammed up and overflows its banks. The curious boat is seen floating upon the swollen waters, but no one knows what it is. At length a water nymph rises out of the river, and tells them that the strange craft, which by this time has grown from the size of a toy to a mighty war-boat, has been sent by their living friends for their passage across the styx to partake of a final banquet. Great is the joy in Hades on discovering this.

“ Their shouts reach beyond the clouds.

“ They incite each other like men preparing the drums.

“ With joy they thump their breasts.

“ With gladness they slap their thighs.

“ We shall soon feast below the star-sprinkled heavens.

“ We shall soon eat where the roaring thunder falls.

“ We shall soon feed below the suspended moon.

“ We shall soon be on our way to visit the world, and march to the feast.”

With this contrivance, the way is now open for the departed to visit their old habitations as soon as the feast shall be ready and the final summons sent. Meanwhile, preparations for the festival advance. Those tribes who erect ironwood memorial monuments at the graves get them put together. On the day of the feast, or may be the day before, the women weave with finely-split bamboo small imitations of various articles of personal and domestic use, which are afterwards hung over the grave, that is, given to the dead. If it be a male for whom the feast is made, a bamboo gun, a shield, a war cap, a *sirih* bag and drinking vessel, etc., are woven; if a female, a loom, a fish basket, a winnowing fan, sunshade, and other things: if a child, bamboo toys of various descriptions.

The guests arrive during the day, and the feasting begins in the evening and lasts all night. An offering of food to the dead is put outside at the entrance of the house. The wailer, of course, is present, and her office now is

to invoke the spirit of the winds to invite the dead to come, and feast once more with the living; and she goes on to describe in song the whole imaginary circumstances—the coming of the dead from Hades, the feasting, and the return. She sings how numerous animals, one after another, and then *Salampandai*, maker of men, are called upon to go to Hades, but none have the capacity to undertake such a journey; how the spirit of the winds arrives in Hades, and urges the acceptance of the invitation by expatiating on the abundance and excellence of the food their relations have provided for them; how they and a great company of friends start, and make the journey hither in the boat before sent for them; how glad they are to see our earth and sky again, and to hear the many voices of the busy world; how they eat and drink, dance, and have a cock-fight with their living friends (for they have brought fighting cocks with them); how Hades is beaten (to make it victorious would be a bad omen); how they ask for their final share of the family property, and a division is made, but here again the dead get the worst of it, for in dividing the paddy, the living get the grain, the dead only the chest in which it is kept: so, the jars remain with the living, the stand only on which they are set being given to the dead; the weapons too are retained, whilst the sheaths go to Hades, etc., etc. In the very act of professing to entertain their friends, they must cheat them for fear of conceding too much to Hades, and so hasten their own departure thither. After this pretended division of property, the children of deathland make their parting salutation with much affection and regret and go on their way. Such is the esoteric meaning of the festival according to the wailer's song.

The song makes the dead arrive about early dawn; and then occurs an action wherein the intercommunion of the dead and the living is supposed to be brought to a climax. A certain quantity of *tuak* has been reserved until now in a bamboo, as the peculiar portion of Hades, set apart for a sacred symposium between the dead and the living. It is now drunk by some old man renowned for bravery or riches, or other aged guest who is believed to possess a nature tough enough to encounter the risk of so near a contact with the shades of death. This "drinking the bamboo," as it is called, is an important part of the festival.

Earlier in the night comes the formal putting off of mourning. The nearest male relation is habited in an old waistcloth, or trousers: these are slit through and taken away, and the man assumes a better and finer garment; a bit of hair from each side of the head is cut off and thrown away. In case of female relations, some of the *rotan* rings which they wear round their waists are cut through and set aside; and they now resume the use of personal ornaments. This action is represented as a last farewell to the dead.

The morning after the feast, the last duty to the dead is fulfilled. The monument, if any, the bamboo imitation articles, the cast-off garments, with food of all kinds are taken and arranged upon the grave. With this final equipment, the dead are said to relinquish all claims upon the living, and to go henceforward on their way, and to depend upon their own resources. But before the *Gawei antu* is made they are thought to carry on a system of secret depredations upon the eatables and drinkables of the living, in other words,

to come for their share. When sitting down to his plate of rice, a Dyak will sometimes be seen to throw a little under the house as a portion for a departed one. And I have been told that in the morning the footprints of the dead are sometimes visible in the paddy stores from which they have been supplying themselves under cover of darkness. They are driven to such little foraging expeditions, it is said, by the necessities of their position; for the powers of Hades look with contempt upon any who go thither insufficiently provisioned, and even quarrel with them. And worse still is said to happen if this feast is omitted altogether: the dead lose their personality, and are dissolved into primitive earth. Hence charity to the dead and motives of economy urge the Dyak to undertake the labour and expense of the *Gawei antu*, the preparation of which seriously hinders the farmwork, and diminishes the following year's crop of paddy.

According to ancient custom, this Feast of the Spirits could not be held until a new human head had been procured, but this ghastly, yet valued, ornament to the festival has now to be generally dispensed with.

Thus far I have, in the main, followed Dyak thought about death and the afterstate as it is embodied in their tribal ceremonies and songs; but as might be expected popular thought is not without its ideas and theories; and these supplement what has hitherto been said.

In the borderland, says the Dyak, between this world and the next, is situated the house of the Bird *bubut*, a bird here, a spirit there, covering his identity in human form. Every human spirit in the extremity of sickness comes to this place: if it goes up into the house, by the influence of the bird it returns to the body, which thereupon recovers; but if it avoids the house, as is more probable, because it is always in a filthy state of dirt and stench, then it is well on its way to the other world. There is, however, another chance for it at the "Bridge of Fear," a see-saw bridge stretching across the Styx, and difficult to pass over: if the soul makes the passage successfully, it is gone past recovery; if it falls in the water, the cold bath wakes it up to a sense of its real position, and determines it to retrace its steps.

After this, it seems, the soul has to pass the "Hill of Fire." Evil souls are compelled to go straight over the hill with scorching fire on every side, which nearly consumes them; but good ones are led by an easy path round the foot, and so escape the pain and danger.<sup>42</sup> This is the only connection in which I have met with anything which suggests the idea of future retribution for wrong doing in this life.

Dyaks attribute to the dead a disposition of mixed good and evil towards the living, and so alternately fear and desire any imaginary contact with them. As has been said before, they do not speak of taking a "corpse" to the grave, but an *antu*, a spirit; as though the departed had already become a member of that class of capricious unseen beings which are believed to be inimical to men. They think the dead can rush from their secret habitations, and seize

<sup>42</sup> "According to the creed of the Badagas in Tamul India, the souls are obliged to pass by a column of fire which consumes the sinful, and it is only after perils that they reach the land of the blessed by a bridge of rope." PESCHEL, *Races of Man*, p. 284, quoting BAIERLEIN, *Nach und aus Indien*.—Ed. Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc.

invisibly upon anyone passing by the cemetery, which is, therefore, regarded as an awesome, dreaded place. But yet this fear does not obliterate affectionate regard, and many a grave is kept clean and tidy by the loving care of the living; the fear being united with the hope of good, as they fancy the dead may also have the will and the power to help them. I was once present at the death of an old man, when a woman came into the room, and begged him, insensible though he was, to accept a brass finger ring, shouting out to him as she offered it: "Here, grandfather, take this ring, and in Hades remember I am very poor, and send me some paddy medicine that I may get better harvests." Whether the request was granted, I never heard. Sometimes they seek communion with the dead by sleeping at their graves in hope of getting some benefit from them through dreams, or otherwise. A Dyak acquaintance of mine had made a good memorial covering over the grave of his mother of an unusual pattern, and soon fell ill, in consequence, some said, of this ghostly work. So he slept at her grave, feeling sure she would help him in his need, but neither voice nor vision nor medicine came; and he was thoroughly disappointed. He said to me: "I have made a decent resting-place for my mother, and now I am ill and ask her assistance, she pays no attention. I think she is very ungrateful." This belief in reciprocal good offices between the dead and the living comes out again in those cases where the remains of the dead are reverently preserved by the living. On every festival occasion, they are presented offerings of food, etc., in return for which these honoured dead are expected to confer substantial favours upon their living descendants.

Their notions of the relationship of this world to the next, and of the dead to the living, will be further illustrated by the story of *Kadawa*; which may also be taken as a specimen of their folklore.

Kadawa was a great cock-fighter, but had suffered successive defeats from his fellow Dyaks. Irritated at being beaten in a sport he so dearly loved, he started off to seek a cock of a particular white and red plumage, called *biring grunggang*, which he believed would bear down all others before it. But a chanticler of this peculiar plumage was a "rara avis" among fowls; and village after village was visited, and neither for love or money could the coveted bird be got, for the simple reason that there were none. Nothing daunted, he started off again to go further afield, and determined not to return till he had succeeded in his quest. He travelled hither and thither in the land of the Dyaks until he knew not where he was, and at length arrived at the land of *Mandai idup*, the borderland between Hades and this world, the inhabitants of which can visit one or the other as they wish. Here a long village house appeared in sight. He went up the ladder into it; and to his astonishment it showed all the signs of being inhabited, even to the fires burning on the hearth and the sounds of surrounding voices; but not a person could be seen; so he shouted out: "Ho, where are you all?" Whereupon an unembodied voice answered: "Is that you, Kadawa? Sit down and eat *pinang* and *sirih*. What do you want?" "I am come to beg or buy a *biring grunggang*, fighting cock." "There is not one to be had here, but if you go on to the next village, you will find one." So Kadawa trudged

on, greatly wondering at the strangeness of a place peopled by bodiless beings, talking, working phantoms of men and women. Soon after, he came to a populous place, where many village-houses were clustered together—*Mandai mati*, the first district of the land of the dead; but Kadawa knew it not for it had nothing to remind him of death; the people moved about, spoke and had the same form and feature as his own neighbours; moreover they recognized and called him by name. They offered to give him a *biring grunggang*, which he gladly accepted. Having now obtained his object, he was happy, and finding the people sociable and hospitable, he was in no hurry to return, but remained with his new-found friends more than a year, oblivious of home and its duties.

But what of his wife and child whom he had left behind in his house? She was grieved at his long absence, and at last resolved that he must be dead, and she wept and bewailed him; and at length she died of sorrow.

The time came when the relations made the *Gawei antu* for her; and the wailer was bringing the company of guests from Hades to the feast. Just at that time Kadawa had determined upon returning, and was securing his fighting cock and buckling on his sword, when someone called to him to go on the platform in front of the house, and pointed out to him a procession marching along the hill opposite the house. Kadawa looked and saw in the middle of the long train his own wife; and it flashed upon him that his wife was dead and he himself within the confines of deathland. Without speaking a word he caught up his fighting cock, sword and spear and rushed to join his wife. She repelled him, but in vain. At length they came to the stygian lake and found a boat lying on the shore, into which they all hurried, trying to keep Kadawa out; but he vigorously persisted, and was allowed to embark. After paddling several hours the boat struck upon a rock, and would not move: all except Kadawa jumped out to pull her off, but she would not budge an inch. Kadawa was called upon by his wife to help; but he refused for fear of being left behind—says his wife: "Do you not know I am dead? What is the use of trying to follow me?" "Let me die also, I will not leave you." "Very well," replied his wife, "since you are resolved to come with me, when we get to the house, you will find some dried sugar cane over the fire place: eat that, and you will be able to bear me company. Now get out, and help to pull the boat off the rock." He jumped out, and as soon as his feet touched the rock, boat, people and lake vanished, and he found himself standing at his own doorstep.

But no pleasure did his return bring him, for he found his friends making the last farewell feast for his wife. He neither ate nor drank nor shared in the festivities; but kept in his own room till all was over when he thought of the sugar cane over the fireplace. He searched for it, but found nothing more than a roll of poisonous *tuba*<sup>48</sup> root: again and again he looked but nothing else was there; so he concluded that this was what his wife meant by the sugar cane. He spoke sorrowfully to his neighbours and told them he

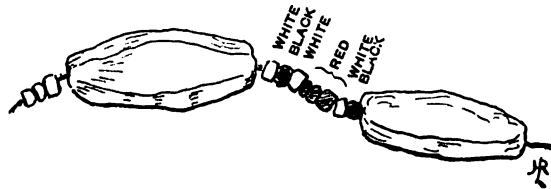
<sup>48</sup> *Cocculus indicus*.—ED. Jour. Str. Asiatic Soc.

should not live long, and begged them to be kind to his orphan boy and give him his inheritance : then he returned to his room wrapped a blanket round him and laid himself on the floor chewed the fatal root and joined his wife in deathland.

I have thus traced the general belief of the Sarawak Sea Dyak about his future existence. There are, however, exceptions to it. Occasionally the idea of metempsychosis is met with. At one time the spirit of a man is said to have passed into an alligator ; at another into a snake, etc., the knowledge of it being always revealed by dreams. Sometimes a Dyak will deny the possibility of any future existence ; but only I think to serve the purpose of an argument. But these, wherever found, are deviations from the general belief.

But it is no gloomy Tartarus, nor is it any superior happy Elysium to which the Dyak looks forward ; but a simple prolongation of the present state of things in a new sphere. The dead are believed to build houses, make paddy farms, and go through all the drudgery of a labouring life, and to be subject to the same inequalities of condition and of fortune as the living are here. And as men helped each other in life, so death, they think, need not cut asunder the bond of mutual interchanges of kindly service ; they can assist the dead with food and other necessities : and the dead can be equally generous in bestowing upon them medicines of magical virtue, amulets and talismans of all kinds to help them in the work of life. This sums up the meaning of their eschatological observances which perhaps exceed those of most other races of mankind.

But this future life does not, in their minds, extend to an immortality. Death is still the inevitable destiny. Some Dyaks say they have to die three times ; others seven times ; but all agree in the notion, that after having become degenerated by these successive dyings, they become practically annihilated by absorption into air and fog, or by a final dissolution into various jungle plants not recognised by any name. May be, they lack the mental capacity to imagine an endless state of liveable life.



UNDUP CORNELIAN NECKLACE.  
Crossland Coll.

## CHAPTER VIII.—(continued).

### RELIGION.

**IDOLS** On farm-path—Bird models—Human figures. **PRAYER:** Invocations—To whom addressed. **FUTURE LIFE:** Land Dyak views—Agnosticism—*Sebanan*—Seven *semengats* (lives)—Sibuyan notions—Distinct belief—Malanau future—Kayans—Messages to the dead—Kayan heavens—Dusuns' abode Kinabalu—Muruts' ideas vague—Ideas in Dutch Borneo. **OMENS:** Foretelling traveller's return—Journeys—Birds—Varieties of—Disregarded omens—Their ancestors' warnings—Hunting spoilt—Habitation deserted—Origin of bird omens—Farming omens—Result of omens—Birds destroyed by Europeans—Red clouds—Animals, insects, as omens—Fire an antidote—Strong predilections for omens—Fraser and Fontaine murdered—St John's flat stone. **DREAMS** Souls flitting—Results of—Pebbles given in—A fraud—Dyak explanation of—Curious results from—Charms through dreams—Wilfully concocted—Cholic attributed to—Desire to dream. **AUGURIES:** Pig's entrails—House deserted—Pigs measured—The signs—Spirits unfavorable. **ORDEALS:** Wax tapers—Diving—Salt melting—Land spells—Boiling water—Curious belief. **CHARMS:** Bullet—Highly valued—Hail—Serambo relics—Crocodile tusk—Pumpkin—Anything out of the common—Fear of—Tiger's teeth—Water—Rice—Haukbells—Spitting

#### IDOLS.

"ON the farm-path at no great distance from the village, rude wooden figures of a man and woman are placed, one on each side, opposite to each other, with short wooden spears in their mouths. They are called *Tebudo*, and are said to be inhabited by friendly *hantu*, who keep the path clear of inimical spirits, and woe be to the rash Dyak who wilfully insults these wonderful logs." (Chalmers, in Grant's Tour.)

"Among the tribes of Western Sarawak the priestesses have made for them rude figures of birds. At the great harvest feasts they are hung up in

DIMINUTIVE MODEL OF DYAK  
HORNBILL,  
with a *Kembaian* berry between its man-  
dibles, a monkey and two squirrels  
on its tail.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

—  
DIMINUTIVE WOODEN IMAGE OF HORNBILL  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

bunches of ten or twenty in the long common room, carefully veiled with coloured handkerchiefs. They are supposed to become inhabited by spirits, and it is forbidden for anyone to touch them, except the priestesses." (St. John i. 188.)

"The Undups have no idols." (Crossland.)

"In front of a Lahanan village on the Rejang river there were four huge effigies, with the genital organs as usual fully developed; no indecency is intended, being merely relics of primitive worship." [*sic*]. (Brooke Low.)

"The Kayans possess wooden idols called "*Odoh*," but it is only on certain occasions that they are regarded as being of much importance." (Hose, J. A. I., xxiii. 162.)

#### PRAYER.

To a certain extent prayer seems to be offered by the Land Dyaks to a Supreme Being. Thus Mr. Grant writes: "Once or twice on the way the Orang Kaya stopped under some stately old tree and threw yellow rice into the air, whilst he invoked Tüppa to come down and accompany us on our walk. . . . Give us health and prosperity—may our farms produce much rice—may our trees bear fruit—let our snares kill many pigs and deer—and the sea and the rivers, may they produce a sufficiency of fish—and may our wives have children, *lots* of them, *particularly* sons, &c. . . . I have an idea that prayer is only offered to Dewata or Tüppa. Once, on visiting a Sibuyow sick-room, I was struck with an old man who stood at the window and prayed aloud for the recovery of the patient; at the same time he made mention of a list of offerings about to be made, viz., one fowl, one jar, one plate, one cocoa-nut, &c." (pp. 12, 13, 69.)

"The Bejädjoë possess a multitude of large wooden idols called *Hampatong*, as well as other objects which cult or superstition has consecrated. Every habitation of this tribe, as well as those of the Doesons, has several small wooden idols who are supposed to guard the habitation, protect the rice harvest, preserve the inhabitants against sickness, and to fulfil generally analogous functions. The Dyaks collect, with the same object in view, the skulls of bears, of monkeys, wild cats, &c., which they preserve in little square boxes called *Kamantoha* and which they suspend in the interior or at the entrance to their houses." (S. Müller ii. 370.)

"Upon our arrival the first that attracted our attention were several small wooden images placed under a shelter. On enquiry we were told that these images were mementoes of their old men, who had distinguished themselves by daring exploits, by the number of heads obtained, and other acts of bravery. When such persons die, they make a wooden image, crude indeed, yet in the form of a man, varying in length from inches to three feet. Around this they all gather, and hold a sacred feast, after which it is placed among those which have been similarly consecrated. These are their patron gods, whose peculiar province it is to watch over and prosper the cultivation of rice. At the time of planting rice they are removed to the field, or placed, as in this case, near the kampong under a rude covering, with their faces in that direction. Here they are left until the crop is gathered, when they are again brought into their dwellings. As far as we could learn, the only act of worship paid to these images is that of offering them food once a month, such as rice, pork, eggs, fowls, &c. Human heads were hanging all round, and we made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain one. The bare expression of the wish was met by a prompt and decisive 'No, we cannot part with them!' The same is the case with the wooden images. On no condition whatever will they consent to give up either, and the only reason assigned is that sickness will be the inevitable consequence. The heads are considered as so many charms, to ward off evils and procure blessings, and therefore it is no matter of surprise that they are loth to part with them." (Doty, p. 291.)

On the other hand Mr. Chalmers (in Grant p. 129) writes: "The only prayers which the Dyaks offer are invocations addressed to the various powers of the world of spirits, on certain great occasions, as *e.g.*, to the birds of omen (whom, be it remarked, they consider to be *Hantu*) when they go to consult them, to the 'Triu-Komang,' at the setting of traps in the jungle, and to all the powers of the spiritual, the natural, and the human worlds of which they know, or have heard, at their harvest-feasts. The formula used on these latter occasions may not be uninteresting. The elder goes to the doorway of the house, with a small cup full of boiled rice, stained yellow, in his hand, and casting pinches of it in various directions, he cries, 'Away with you, rice!'



NINE MATU MILANO IDOLS *Temadu*,  
 Named *dalong*, *duri ghang*, *naga trebang*, *tepuhang*, *belalangan iang* (water spirit),  
*naga singa*, *dalong menugan*, *dajah*, and *dalong*  
 (Brooke Low Coll.)

cause me to approach acceptably, to beg for good luck, to ask for pardon, to beg forgiveness, to request a blessing of the Tuan Patik (or Sultan) of Brunei, of the Rajah of Sarawak, of the rajah of the stars, the rajah of the sun, the rajah of the moon, the rajah of the seven stars; to ask for paddy, to ask for rice, to beg for the blessing of our lord Iang-Tüpa.<sup>45</sup> May he behold our feast; may he help us all; may he give us good luck, and abundance of paddy and rice; we ask for fish, we ask for wild pigs, we ask for many children, we ask for fruits, and we ask for bees.' "

With regard to a one God as above referred to Tüppa or Iang Tüpa we may recall the fact that Mr. Denison says of these Land Dyaks. They have a kind of Hindu Trimurti, viz. :—

*Tapa*, or *Yang*, the Preserver. (Vishnu or Dewa-dewa of the Hindus).

*Jirong-Brama*, the Creator. (Brama of the Hindus).

*Triuh-Kamang*, the Destroyer. (Shiba of the Hindus).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The two names Iang-Tüpa are ordinarily used for Tüpa alone; thus we say "the Lord God."

<sup>46</sup> "At the head of divinities of the first class are the gods *Djata* and *Sang-jang*, the former governing the upper, the latter the lower, world. The Dyaks imagine these deities as invisible spirits but having a human form, but to whom, on account of their exalted rank, it is not permitted to have

The *beruri* or priests make use of the following incantation in a form of doctoring called *Pinyah* which is connected with sacrifices to *Triyuh-Kamang*—the evil one.

*Yah Tapa adi yang adi Jirong-Brama*

O Tapa who is Yang the Preserver who is Jirong-Brama the Creator

*bodah semangih-i mari ka arun-i ka ramin-i ka*

let his soul come back to his room to his house to

*amok-i ka putong-i so abud so pomech-i*

his bed to his clothes from darkness from his place of devils

*so dunuk guamurang*

from hiding in his fig-tree. (Denison, Appendix B.)

#### FUTURE LIFE.

"I was informed that the souls (*semeñgi*) of men after death become *hantoos* (ghosts or spirits) and depart to the summits of high mountains, or dwell in the jungle, where they are protected by *Tuppa*. The souls of women, I was told, remain in the place where their bodies have been burnt; but there is a contradiction in their favour, I think, for after a number of years the *hantoos* rise up again in some other form, and re-people this, or people another world, which could hardly be the case were they all of one sex; besides, in another existence a man who was married more than once claims his first choice over again. This transformation—this dying and resurrection—if my informant be right, goes on 'world without end,' just, as he said, like a crop of sweet potatoes, which after they come to maturity are dug up, and are then followed by a new crop." (Grant, p. 67.)

"Though a knowledge of a future state has evidently been, at some time, prevalent among the Land Dyaks, many of them, at the present time, have no idea of the immortality of the soul; though some have a slight and confused conception of it. These say that the spirit of a deceased person haunts the house and village it had formerly inhabited during the twelve days of the Pamali; but the Dyaks of the western branch of the Sarawak, who do not practice the Pamali so rigorously as those of the southern river, say that it departs at the burying of the body, to the woods or mountains, or goes they know not where." (Low, p. 262.)

"The Ballaus believe in the existence of a future state in which a distinction shall be made between good men and bad, but what that

recourse except in extreme cases. Their aid is invoked by sprinkling paddy on the ground and offering them other sacrifices. There is another spirit of an inferior order called *Tempon-telon*, who is considered the guide and guardian spirit of the dead and whom the Dyaks have often celebrated in their traditions and songs: the offerings which are made him consisting mostly of boiled rice, fowls and other alimentary substances. Such are similarly the offerings made to *Kaloeë*, to *Kambi*, to *Djinkapir*, three evil spirits who inhabit the bowels of the earth and water, and who have to be conciliated by sacrifices for preservation against sickness and other calamities.

"These six deities are those most generally known amongst the Dyaks, especially amongst the Bedjadjoe tribe. Some of the latter spoke to us of another deity known as *Goeroe* and *Maharadja*, names which as well as that of *Sang-jang* above-mentioned remind us of the ancient Hindu cult, formerly followed by the Javanese and other islanders of the Indian Archipelago, or which have at least been borrowed from them. . . ." (S. Müller ii. 366.)

distinction shall be does not seem to be very well known. The locality of the unseen world—which they term *Sebaian*—is placed by them beneath the earth, and it is divided into two regions—that of the living or *Sebaian hidop* and that of the dead or *Sebaian mati*. *Sebaian hidop* is a delightful country, with rich soil and luxuriant crops. The stalks of tobacco are as thick as a man's arm; the heads of Indian corn are as big as a man's leg, and all its other produce is gigantic in proportion. It has human inhabitants concerning whom nothing definite is known, and it is likewise the abode of an immense number of *hantus* or spirits. *Sebaian mati* is the abode of the dead, and like the Homeric Hades, is a gloomy, desolate, and unlovable region. Here the souls of the departed wander for a certain time—shorter or longer as they are good or bad—and at length they pass into the region of the air, where they are dissolved into dew and precipitated to the earth." (Horsburgh, p. 23.)<sup>47</sup>

"The Sibuyows (Sea Dyaks) reckon there are seven *sēmengats*, or lives; this world being one, after which, if I understand right, there are six more existences, which every man has to go through. In the first of these after-existences, those who have sinned are punished. Theft, my informant told me, is one of the greatest crimes, and there a sort of god of punishment presides, who finds out the crimes committed here below, and punishes them. A suspected thief has his hands and feet thrust into boiling water, and, if he writhe, it is a proof of guilt, and he is forthwith consigned to the tender mercies of a very satanic personage—an immense hideous sort of pig dragon—who torments him. From this state of punishment (hell, or whatever it may be called), a transition takes place to another world, till at last the seventh heaven is reached, where all is beautiful and perfect, peaceful and happy. An immense wall, thick and massive, encircles a large Dyak town. The houses are according to their own ideas as regards arrangement, but perfect in construction; the streets are regular, and run at right angles to each other; they are clean, and in perfect order, and the people are all alike happy and rich. Lakes and rivers are there, with *prahus* on them, and gardens, flowers, and fruit trees exist in profusion. In the wall is a great gate, which, divided in two, continually opens and shuts, the two halves running back in opposite directions, and then closing again; as the gates open people are perpetually being admitted. Such is the Sibuyow heaven. The above is the version of one man, and I jot it down as I recollect it. Others, perhaps, have different accounts, for their traditions are very vague and uncertain. I asked my informant whether there were any Malays in this heaven? He answered that the Malays have a *kampung*, or village, some little distance off; but in answer to the question whether any white people were in heaven, he said, 'He never heard of any.'

"The Sea Dyaks in general have a distinct notion of a future state which is often mentioned in their conversation. There are different stages before reaching it—some agreeable, and others the contrary—and their final abode, or as it appears dissolution, is a state of dew. Their burial rites all tend to

<sup>47</sup> "Here they also describe one hill covered with the poisonous tuba tree where again are united maidens and their lovers who have committed suicide." (*ibid.*)

support the idea of a future state; but oral traditions being so liable to alteration, there is now no very clearly defined account, as different people give different statements, but nevertheless agree in the main points, and fully expect to meet each other after death. Their feeling is not fanatic or fatalistic, as in Mahomedans, and they have a sound appreciation of the blessings of this life." (Brooke i. 55.)

"The Malanaus believe in another world which is like this, having rivers, seas, mountains, and sago plantations. There is one Supreme Deity named *Ipu*. All people who had met with a violent death, except those just alluded to, had their paradise in a different place from that which constituted the abode of those dying naturally, a country further back. The Malanaus believe that, after a long life in the next world, they again die, but afterwards live as worms or caterpillars in the forest." (De Crespigny J.A.I. v. 35.)

"The Kayans believe in a future life, with separate places for the souls of the good and of the bad; that their heaven and hell were divided into many distinct residences; that those who died from wounds, from sickness, or were drowned, went each to separate places. If a woman died before her husband, she went to the other world and married. On the death of her husband, if he came to the same world, she repudiated her ghostly partner and returned to him who had possessed her on earth." (St. John i. 101.)

"The Kayans believe in a future state and in a supreme being—*Laki Tengangang*. When the soul separates from the body, it may take the form of an animal or a bird, and, as an instance of this belief, should a deer be seen feeding near a man's grave, his relatives would probably conclude that his soul had taken the form of a deer, and the whole family would abstain from eating venison for fear of annoying the deceased. The places for disembodied spirits are *Tan Tekan*, *Apo Leggan*, *Long Julan*, and *Tenyu Lallu*." (Hose J.A.I. xxiii. 166.)

"There is a strange ceremony at which I was once present, called *Dayong Janoi*, in which the dead are supposed to send messages to the living, but to describe it would take up too much of this paper. It proves, however, that spiritualism is of very ancient practice among the Kayans, but it would perhaps be interesting to mention the various abodes of departed spirits, according to Kayan mythology. *Laki Tengangang* is the supreme being who has the care of all souls. Those who die a natural death, of old age, or sickness, are conveyed to *Apo Leggan*, and have much the same lot as they had in this world.

"*Long Julan* is the place assigned to those who die a violent death, *e.g.*, those killed in battle or by accident, such as the falling of a tree, etc. Women who die in child-bed also go to *Long Julan*, and become the wives of those who are killed in battle. These people are well-off, have all their wants supplied; they do no work and all become rich. *Tan Tekkan* is the place to which suicides are sent. They are very poor and wretched; their food consists of leaves, roots, or anything they can pick up in the forests. They are easily distinguished by their miserable appearance. *Tenyu Lallu* is the place assigned to stillborn infants. The spirits of these children are believed to be very brave, and require no weapon other than a stick to defend them

against their enemies. The reason given for this idea is, that the child has never felt pain in this world, and is therefore very daring in the other. *Ling Yang* is the place where people go who are drowned. It is a land of plenty below the bed of the rivers, and these are the spirits upon whom riches are heaped in abundance, as all property lost in the waters is supposed to be appropriated by them." (Hose, Geogr. Journ. i. 199.)

The Dusuns say Kinibalu is inhabited by their ancestor, who went up there when he saw they were comfortably settled. (De Crespigny, Berl. Zeits., p. 334.) Hence their belief "that after death they all have to ascend Kina Balu, which the good ones find little difficulty in accomplishing, and are from there ushered into heaven, while the wicked ones are left unsuccessfully trying to struggle and scramble up the rocky sides of the mountain." "The religious convictions of the Lukau Dusuns culminate in their being after death transferred to the top of *Nabalu*—the general belief with Dusuns. If a Dusun feels his end approaching he allows his fingernails to grow long, 'so that he may be sure in scrambling up the steep and naked sides of Nabalu.' The waters rushing from the gullies of Kinibalu have a name of their own (*Tatse di Nabalu*). 'In them the dead Dusuns used to bathe.' Considering that a well-to-do Dusun is, before burial, doubled up into a jar, the idea of his becoming a member of a trans-Stygian Alpine Club is rather ludicrous." (Witti, 12 June.)

"The Idään have, amongst different tribes of them, many very whimsical religious tenets. Paradise is generally supposed to be a top of Keeney-Baloo: some, as those of Geeong, think it is guarded by a fiery dog, who is a formidable opponent to the female sex; for whenever any virgins come, he seizes them as his legal prizes; but whatever women have been cohabited with in this world, he considers as unworthy of his embrace, and lets them pass: the fathers, however, of Geeong do not fail to reproach their daughters, though not very severely if they make a slip." (Dalrymple, p. 44.)

"Muruts seem to have only a vague idea about a future state and opinions vary on the subject; some say it will be exactly as it is now, others that it will be much better, but these are, I think, the most civilised, and may have obtained the idea from Brunei Malays; most of them do not know what to believe or think." (O. F. Ricketts, S.G., No. 348, p. 18.)<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> "The dead wanders first, according to the singer, to a river named *Biraie tanggalan*, to cross which he has to make or get made a canoe and paddles. He then turns his steps to the mountain *Toekoeng Daijang*, and goes on till he comes to another river called *Loeng*, afterwards climbing the mountain *Piloeng*, where he meets one man of his tribe. The journey is continued to the river *Danoemlang* (valley of tears), where the wandering spirit encounters several men, women, and children, to whom he must give clothes. Leaving this Valley of Tears, he comes to a great caterpillar, to which he must give some *kladi* (a certain plant), and then he goes up the mountain *Limatah*, where he sees a lot of flies and also a big bear: to the bear he must make a present of a pig. Going further, he meets a man who holds an iron weir (bow net), to whom he must offer pisangs and sugarcane, so that he can proceed unmolested on his way. Further on he comes to a river, which is watched by a man named *Tamai Patahloeng*, to whom he must give the barbules which grow round the mouth of a certain species of fish (sp. of *Silurus*). After this he meets a woman, *Hadau Daliau* by name, who is busy stamping rice; as she is anxious to persuade him to help her, he must avoid her and pursue his journey quickly: proceeding further he comes to a fire in the middle of the road, which he has no sooner passed than he encounters a woman with a pair of ears large enough for him to take shelter under from the rain. The next objects that meet his eye are the stems of two trees, over one of which he must jump, while the other he must cut in two with his mandau. If the

## OMENS.

"The Kayans have a curious, if somewhat childish, custom, of foretelling whether an absent friend is proceeding further from home or likely soon to return. A spear, usually about seven or eight feet long, is produced—if possible, the property of the absent one—and his nearest relative or some influential person taking the spear in his two hands, extends them apart along the shaft as far as he can reach. The distance between the two hands is marked on the spear-shaft with a piece of clay or something of that nature, and the man speaks to the spear, adjuring it to speak the truth, &c., and then stretches his hands apart again. If the length of his reach on the spear-shaft should measure more on the second trial than at the first attempt, it is taken as an indication that his friend is coming home; if it measures less, it means that he is going further away; while if it measures the same, it is a sign that his friend is resting in someone's house and has not yet made up his mind what he will do. A man will generally stretch further at his second attempt, for it is generally most probable that his friend has commenced his homeward journey, and in any case the thought of his so doing is at least comforting to his relations.

"In order to consult the occult powers as to whether it is going to rain, or if it is expedient to make a journey on the following day, four bears' teeth each suspended by two strings, the opposite ends of which are all twisted together, constitute the necessary mechanical medium. The person seeking information has to select two ends from the twisted mass of string, it being impossible for him to see with which tooth or teeth the strings he chooses are connected. The teeth are then let go, and the resulting tangle may be interpreted variously into eight favourable and eight unfavourable answers according to the relation the strings bear to the teeth." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 165.)

"The Dyaks are troubled with many superstitions. Days are lucky or unlucky; places are fortunate or the contrary; many birds are *antu*, and their presence foretells all kinds of mischief to traveller or to farmer who pays no attention to the warning.

"During a trip up the *Rejang* river a *pangkas* (omen bird) was heard on the right and the people assured me I should succeed in everything I undertook on this trip; further on we heard a *katupong* (omen bird) also on our right, and we stopped a few moments to show our respect by casting it an offering

deceased is a woman she must cut this tree over with her knife. On going further the spirit comes to the mountain *Goelhoet*, and as soon as he has begun to ascend the mountain he feels that he does not belong any more to this world. Presently a very narrow road leads to a forest called *Nora piran*, where the deceased meets his parents and a woman named *Alanpatai*. Next, the river *Soengei Tali Barow* has to be passed, in which he takes a bath, and another mountain has to be surmounted. After all these fatigues, the spirit is refreshed by eating some fruit, and at last he is safely landed in the heaven of his tribe" (Bock, p. 224)

"The souls of the dead ascend the river *Tiwah* in canoes until the *Gunung Lumbut*, in order after a short purgatory free from cares in full overflowing of all enjoyments to hold continued feast and festival. Only thieves are carried to the lake *tassik lajang deriaran* in order to carry for ever on their backs what they have stolen, and small chieftains who have given a false judgment must live on its banks as half deer and half man." (Breitenstein, p. 208)

of betel-nut, and then went on; finally we heard a *muntjak* as we pulled away from the landing place. Dian says, if he were not with me he would go back, as no KYAN would dare to go on in the face of such a warning as the last. The omen, he declared, could not be worse, and no native would be mad enough to disregard it; he would go home and stay there. He would do the same if he were to hear a *musang* on the eve of departure or to see a *pelahabong* (snake with red head and tail). The birds they believe in are six in number, and are called *pisit*, *bukang*, *tetajan*, *asi*, *mangilieng*, *kihieng*.

*Trogon Elegans.* (? *Harpactes Kasumba.*)

DYAK OMEN BIRD.

Male Face, fore part of the head, ear-coverts, and throat, black; chest, back of neck and upper tail coverts green. A white crescent separates the green of the chest from the breast, which together with the belly and under tail coverts is scarlet. Wings brownish black, the primaries having their outer edges fringed with white; secondaries and centre of the wings grey. Strongly marked with zigzag transverse lines of black; two middle tail feathers green, with bronzy reflections on their outer webs, only the minor webs black, all six are largely tipped with black; the remaining six black at base and white at the tip, the middle portions of these later feathers barred with black and white; bill yellow. Total length about 12", wing 6, tail 7½.

(Gould, Monograph of the Trogonidae.)  
See also Sclater's Birds of Borneo: Proc. Zool. Soc.,  
1873. p. 213.

BUSHY CRESTED HORNBILL.

*Anorrhinus galeritus* (*Hydrocissa galerita*)

DYAK OMEN BIRD.

"Though this species was not uncommon in the forests around Malawoon and Bankasoon, yet it was so very wary and difficult to approach, that only one specimen (a male) was shot by ourselves. We saw them almost daily, always in small parties of five or six, keeping to the densest portions of the forest and the tops of the highest trees. They never fly together, but always one after another in a string or line. When about to start, they set up a sort of gabbling chorus, and after a few seconds, perhaps half a minute, of vociferous altercation one flies away, followed immediately by another and another, till all have left. Their note is very similar to that of *A. alberostris* (malabarica), and, like these, they continually utter it at short intervals so long as they remain perched."

(Elliott, Monograph of the Bucerotidae, pl. 10.)  
See also Sclater's Birds of Borneo, Proc. Zool. Soc., 1863,  
p. 214.

"If they hear a *pisit* or *bukang* on their left, they stop, wherever they may be, for the rest of the day; and if a *kihieng*, a *tetajan*, an *asi*, or a *mangilieng*, they are bound to remain where they are for two days. If on starting, however, they are fortunate enough to hear three or four of these birds, one after another, on their right, then they continue to the end of the journey and

pay no attention to whatever they may hear on their left. The *mangilieng* is a kite, and they also draw omens from its flight."<sup>49</sup> (Brooke Low.)

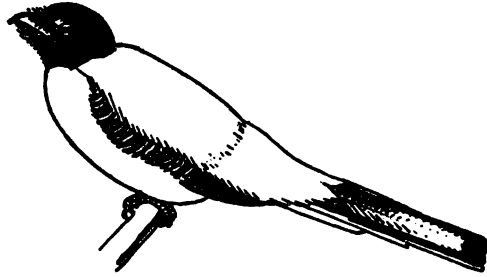
Among the Kyans the Omen Birds are the white headed black hornbill, the large hawk, the *Talajan*, or rain bird, the bee-eaters, and a snake distinguished by a tail ending in a red tip, *Untup*. (Hose J.A.I. xxiii. 163.)

The Seribas Dyaks' omen bird *Burong Papaw* is said to be rare and is thus described by St. John (i. 67): Body, a bright red; wings, black, chequered with white; head, black at top, with a beak and throat light blue; the tail long, a mixture of black, white, and brown; about the size of a blackbird; the beak is slightly hooked.<sup>50</sup>

The Land Dyaks have recourse to *Tabu* when the cry of the gazelle is heard behind them, or when their omen birds utter unfavourable warnings. (*ibid* i. 175.)

According to the Rev. W. Crossland (Gosp Miss. Nov. 1871, p. 165): "An up-country Dyak, head of his tribe, went once with all his young ones, to raise their boat out of the sand in order to prepare it for a war expedition. During the operation they heard the bird *kiki* to the left hand; this was a 'bad'

bird. Again they tried to work; again they heard the bird. When the boat was ready to be launched, the bird was there again. The young men then all ran away, and declined to follow their chief. Nothing daunted, the chief took his three sons and filled his boat with men of other tribes. When he arrived at *Katibas*, he would not listen to the advice of the Rajah, but at night, with about five other boats, he stole away and got in advance, and went up a small river where his party were followed by two large boats of the enemy, who closed in for a hand-to-hand fight, and who were aided by a large



DUVAUCEL'S TROGON.  
(*Harpactes duvaucelli* Temm.)

DYAK OMEN BIRD.

Male. Head and throat jet black, breast and under surface, rump and upper tail-coverts of the finest scarlet; back, reddish cinnamon brown; wings, black, the coverts and secondaries crossed by numerous fine lines of white; primaries margined at the base of their external webs with white; the two central tail-feathers dark cinnamon-brown, tipped with black, the two next on each side blackish brown; the three outer ones on each side blackish brown at the base, and largely tipped with white; bill, gape, and a naked space over the eye, ultra-marine blue; irides reddish brown; blue feet. Total length, 9½ inches; bill, 1; wing, 4; tail, 5½.

(Gould's Monograph of the Trogonidæ.)  
See also Sclater's Birds of Borneo: Proc. Zool. Soc., 1863, p. 213.

<sup>49</sup> *Haliastur intermedius* (*Falco pondicerianus*). A bird of prey, bright chestnut brown; head, neck and breast white or pearl gray. Soars at great height. Dyak bird of good omen. (S. Müller in Temminck's "Coup d'oeil," ii. p. 368): "It is a race only of *H. indus*, a well-known bird whose popular name is the Brahminny Kite."

<sup>50</sup> "The Antang is a species of bird of prey of a beautiful bright chestnut brown, the head, neck and breast being white or pearl gray. This bird of good omen so famous amongst the Hindus, and which is called *Kohemankara* or *Kohemankari* in Sanskrit, which signifies causing good fortune or well being. . . . The Antang soars at a great height and it is according to his flight that the Dyaks augur more or less success to their enterprises. They have an implicit belief in the good or bad omens they draw from the movements of this bird, especially when they have invoked it specially or when they are just spreading the paddy, &c." (S. Müller ii. 368.)

force on the banks. The slaughter (for Dyak warfare) was frightful. The chief was wounded and his eldest son killed, as also was the greater part of the crew. So with a very few followers he had to return home in a boat of the enemy which he had captured. The rest of the people remained quietly with the Rajah, and got up to the spot whilst the fighting was going on. A well-directed volley sent the enemy flying. The Dyaks look upon the birds as ministering spirits, who have the power to give notice of good or bad fortune to come, and so warn them of danger, or cheer them by the prospect of success."

Elsewhere (Miss. Life, 1864, p. 653) Mr. Crossland states: "They suppose that these birds are their ancestors who have been transmigrated in order to watch over the welfare of their tribe, and who are still interested in everything connected with it. None but the brave are thus distinguished. Every household has certain birds which it follows and other birds which are of ill omen, that is, which warn of approaching danger. Once, it is said, when an unusually brave man was fighting, the enemy cut off his *chawat* (loin-cloth) behind; he died and became a bird without a tail."

On an important occasion when the chief Serambo left the rebels he urged the constant unfavourable omen of the birds as one of his reasons. "Often, very often, he said, when he went out, the bird cried, and flew in the direction of Siniawan, which will be explained by what I have before stated; for if they hear the bird to the right, they go to the left, and *vice versâ*; so that the bird may be considered as warning them from evil."<sup>51</sup> (Keppel i. 163.)

On a deer hunting expedition among the Undups the Rajah writes: "After feeding off a handful of dried prawns and some rice, I said aloud, 'Ah! to-morrow we shall have deer's flesh to eat.' My Dyaks' countenances immediately grew long and serious, and I at once guessed the reason. I had said something contrary to custom. To name even the word deer when searching for one is *mali* or *tabooed*, and now they thought it was useless my going to look for them any more. I smiled my mistake away, and told the old gentleman with me that my dreams were sometimes of a contrary description to theirs, consequently my conversation differed a little also. They are most superstitious people, for they listen to omens religiously, whenever on a hunting or fishing excursion, and never name the animal, for fear the spirits should carry information to the object of pursuit." (Brooke ii. 90.)

"If the *katupong* enters a house at one end and flies out by the other it is an omen. The *katupong*, according to Dyak belief, is not really a bird, but a supernatural being married to *Dara Ensing Tamaga*, the eldest daughter of

<sup>51</sup> If after having turned back on being warned by the bird omen and the bird forbid him on attempting again to make a start "he may settle the matter with the *buruku tulah* (or *burong tuloh* of the Malay) by producing a small skein of seven strands (which, when the true article, has its upper ends enclosed in a silver tip for the fingers) freeing it from entanglement and suspending in the grasp of two fingers. If a strand fall to the ground, he may not go forward at the hazard of illness or calamity; if two or more it would be madness even to cherish a wish foreign to submissiveness." (At Karagan: Jour. Ind. Arch. ii. p. lii)

*Sin Yalang Durong*, the god of war, and takes the form of this bird to warn Dyaks of approaching danger. When this occurs, flight is instant, men and women snatch up a few necessities (mats and rice) and stampede, leaving everything unsecured and doors unfastened. If any one approaches the house at night, he will see large and shadowy demons chasing each other through it, and hear their unintelligible talk. After a while the people return and erect the ladder they have overthrown, and the women sprinkle the house with water 'to cool it.'"<sup>52</sup> (Crossland.)

The bird omens are not the same everywhere, and we have thus very different interpretations from different districts. The Rev. W. Chalmers says: "These are chiefly derived from birds. In this district three birds are made use of during the day, viz. the *Kushah*, the *Keriak*, and the *Kalupung*. Of those used at night—used because they are supposed to give the information asked of them—two are particularly noted; they are called *Penyāach* and *Kunding*. The others are called by the generic name of *Manuk*, or birds, and to consult them is called '*Nyimanuk*.' The tradition concerning the origin of bird-omens is that 'in the beginning,' a Dyak got married to a '*Hantu*,' or spirit,<sup>53</sup> who conceived and brought forth birds, which novel progeny being 'half-Dyaks' were cared for and cherished by their paternal relatives (the Dyaks) till they could look out for themselves; and, ever since, they have shewn their gratitude to the descendants of their quondam protectors by exercising the spiritual powers which they have derived from their mother, the '*Hantu*,' on their behalf, giving them warning of coming sickness or misfortune, and encouraging them to proceed in such undertakings as will end in advantage. Consequently, on every occasion of importance, the birds are taken into the confidence of the Dyaks, and their advice is strictly attended to.' It may sound strange to say that a man married a spirit; but the Dyaks assure me that, 'in the beginning,' men and spirits were on equal terms, and could eat, drink, and, if necessary, fight together. In those days spirits were not hidden from mortal gaze, and men were not afraid of them. After a certain combat, in which men were the victors, the treacherous '*Hantu*' invited them to a banquet, pretending they wished to make peace, and the men went unsuspecting to their fate. Deceived by the apparent joviality of the '*Hantu*,' the forefathers of Dyakdom suffered themselves to be overcome by the strength of the '*Hantu*' arrack, and got helplessly intoxicated. The wicked spirits saw their advantage, rubbed some magic charcoal into the eyes of the drunken Dyaks, which made their eyes black thenceforth (before that time they were blue, like those of white men), and took away from them the power of seeing spirits as long as they are in the flesh. Thus, men lost their

<sup>52</sup> At Pontianak once the "chief who visited the *Madura* (steamer) had just finished a long house intended as the headquarters of his clan, when before it had been inhabited, a bird flew into it, and was supposed to have uttered an ominous cry. This was enough to damn the house, and the chief told us that no one would ever live in it, and he was then building another for himself and his tribe." (S. G. No 103.)

<sup>53</sup> Elsewhere (Occas. Papers, p. 3), he says: "In fact, I was told the other day, they are really Dyaks in the form of birds. They are held universally in high reputation, and are supposed to be to the Dyaks what 'books' and the 'compass' are to the '*orang putih*' (white men)."

equality with spirits, and, instead of fighting them, they have ever since been obliged to propitiate them by doctorings and offerings. The birds of day are consulted with respect to the good or evil fortune of every journey of importance. Before entering upon it, those who are about to set out, go to a cleared spot near the village called the '*Pcng-aba*,' . . . near which there are, generally, a clump or two of grand-looking graceful bamboos, a few rough seats, and a lofty tree or two shading a small shed in which the second harvest-feast, called '*Begawai Man Sawa*,' is usually held. Sitting here, one of their number invokes the birds as follows:—'Hail, O ancestors! O *Kushah*, cry on the left hand, and then make answer on the right; keep off rain, keep off wind, keep off darkness, keep off mist. . . . O *Keriak* (the *Keriak* is the bird which is said to watch over the life of the Dyaks) cry thou on the right hand; thou art the clever one, the long-sighted one; keep off from us sharp things (*i.e.* swords, &c.); keep off from us pointed things (*i.e.* spears, thorns, &c.); keep off rain-storms; keep off wind-storms.'

"Accordingly, if the *Kushah*'s cry (or that of the *Kalupung*) be first heard on the left hand, and be then responded to on the right, all is well, good luck is certain; if heard in other directions, it is a sign that no success will attend the journey.

"If the *Keriak* be first heard on the right hand, all is well; if on the left, not so well; if in front, go no further, for sickness or death are waiting there; if behind, return at once, or, during absence, some deadly evil will come to family or village.

"The 'birds of night' are consulted about the place at which the year's farms are to be made, the locality of new houses, and also concerning matters in dispute between two people, where there is no certain oral evidence on either side. The farming consultation is held as follows:—A likely spot is first fixed upon, and upon this a small hut is built; at night, the elders who are appointed to take the omen go and seat themselves in this hut, and one of them casts into the air a little rice stained yellow, crying aloud, 'Hail, O ancestors! I wish to make inquiry about this spot of jungle; grant us here to make our farms, to do our work; grant that here our paddy, our '*jagong*' (Indian corn), our vegetables may live; let them be fat, and good, and flourishing; let them be lucky, let them be successful; grant us long life to make our farms, to do our work. Fly from in front past us who are here; utter your cries, and give us an answer.' This invocation finished, the response is waited for. If the birds cry at a distance in front, and then fly past the hut, and twitter among the trees behind it, the spot may be farmed; but if the birds fly, cry, and alight round about, and near the hut, without passing on, there are many '*Hantu*' in that place, and to farm there would be to court sickness, or death, or a bad crop.

"The cries of the owl (*boh*), the hawk (*bouch*), and of a small kind of frog, called '*tünüm*,' if heard at night by those who are on their way to consult the birds, are an omen of evil, and a warning to desist for that night. Again, if the cry of the owl or hawk be heard by a party on the war-path, in the direction which the head-seekers are about to take, they must return, or shame and loss will be the result of their expedition. Again, if the cries of

any of the three kinds of deer found in Sarāwak be heard, when starting on a journey, or when going to consult the birds by day or by night, it is a sign that, if the matter in hand be followed up, sickness will be the result. Also, if a newly-married couple hear them at night, they must be divorced; as, if this be not done, the death of the bride or bridegroom will ensue. I myself have known instances of this last omen causing a divorce, and I must say the separation has always been borne most philosophically by the parties most concerned,—far more so than we 'white men' should feel inclined to bear it; in fact, the morning of one of these divorces, I remember seeing an ex-bridegroom working hard at shaping some ornamental brass wire-work, which Dyak women are in the habit of wearing round their waists, and he said he intended to bestow it on a certain damsel whom he had in his eye for a *new* wife."

Mr. Dalton (Moore, p. 53), speaking of an omen bird on the Kotei river, says: "I have frequently been out shooting when we heard it; on such occasions they invariably would stop and tremble violently, and immediately take another road. I never could obtain a sight of this bird of ill omen, for such it is considered; if I attempted to advance a single step nearer the sound, they took hold of me, and, pointing towards the sky with gestures of apprehension, forced me a contrary way. The notes are very similar to those of our blackbird, equally sweet,<sup>84</sup> but much stronger. Notwithstanding my becoming brother of the great Rajah, I always entertained an impression that I should be murdered if, by mischance, I happened to shoot one of these birds." Perhaps the savages among whom Mr. Dalton stayed would have so murdered him, but Capt. Mundy (i. 232) had a different experience: "Whilst at Padong one of the seamen shot a red-breasted bird they call the Papow, which the Dyaks immediately informed us was held in reverence amongst them. I was sorry for this occurrence, lest it might cause uneasiness, but they appeared neither shocked nor surprised at it." Mr. Hornaday's experience was again different: He shot "the celebrated Dyak omen bird (*Harpactes rutilus*, Vieill), a sub-genus of the trogons, not at all rare on the Sibuyau. The Dyaks at the house noticed it at once, and expressed a desire that we would not kill any more of them, a request to which we readily acceded." (p. 426.)

"The *burong-beragai* is esteemed sacred to the Dyaks, and may not be killed. Its plumage is rich and beautiful." (Brooke Low.)

"The Idaan, if they hear a bird they reckon unlucky, or anything of a like nature, they will return home." (Dalrymple, p. 44.)

The Muruts regard the "presence of red clouds at sunset as a favourable omen when on the war path if they are ahead, but not if behind. It is amusing to watch a party of men waiting on a path calling to the birds. 'Migaw Angai,' is what they commence with, or often 'Migaw' only, and a number shouting this sounds somewhat like the cawing of a lot of crows. If the omen is favourable the party proceeds shouting long sentences to the omen, the gist of which is that it will help them to reach such and such a

<sup>84</sup> Amongst the Dusuns where Mr. Wittl was similarly stopped until a hornbill overcroaked the omen bird and so put everything right, he says the omen birds were some members of the lark family, who warbled beautifully.

place, that no one will be taken ill, and they will meet with no enemy, and so on." (O. F. Ricketts, S.G. No. 348, p. 18.)

"There are other creatures besides birds whose notes of warning they observe. A cobra crossing the path compels the return of the advancing party. A rat on the farm the same. A *kijang*, or wild goat, when heard on the hill near the farms sends all the people home. A deer crying at night keeps all at home the next day. A *bujang* (a kind of grasshopper) sounding at night is a sign of a healthy house, but should he go on till dawn no one goes out. A tiger roaring is fearful; though I myself have never heard the roar, nor do I believe the tiger inhabits this island. There is a small kind of panther in some parts." (Crossland Gosp. Miss. 1871, p. 165.)

"To hear the cry of a deer is at all times unlucky, and to prevent the sound reaching their ears during a marriage procession, gongs and drums are loudly beaten. On the way to their farms, should the unlucky omen be heard, they will return home and do no more work for a day." (St. John i. 64.) The same author also says that "the croak of a small kind of frog portends sickness if heard at night and if the design then in hand be pursued." (*ibid* i. 192.)

According to Capt. Mundy (i. 233): "Insects have also their influence on the minds of these deluded people. Two of great authority; one called *kunding*, the other *bunsue*; the former with a short note, the latter with a long one. The *kunding* heard in front at the early part of the night is the sign of an enemy, and a Dyak will change his place of rest; heard in the same quarter late at night, the sign is good, especially if the long note of the *bunsue* be heard high at the same moment. The *kunding* heard in the rear is the worst omen; in war it induces them to retreat to their own country, without prosecuting any undertaking they may have in view. Beside these birds and insects, they are also guided by snakes in a certain degree; and it shows the sincerity of their superstition, that after burning the jungle, and preparing a farm, if *any animal* be found dead upon it they reject the use of the crop.<sup>55</sup> The insects of omen are likewise used to point out the quarter whence a theft has been committed. Their mode of inquiry is curious. They make up a little *ciri*, and turning to the quarter they suspect, they throw it forward and call out for the insect: if the insect respond from that direction, the theft is charged to the tribe so pointed out; if it fail to answer, they try another quarter."

"Dusun omens are apparently very numerous: snakes, centipedes, kingfishers, and other animals coming from a wrong direction turn back an expedition. I knew a girl in Melangkap who set out for her paddi-fields, and on the way there she encountered a snake, which she killed and sold to me; she, however, did not attempt to do any work that day, but loitered about the house doing nothing." (Whitehead, p. 185.)

<sup>55</sup> On one occasion the Ven. Archdeacon Perham wrote: "Everything went on well until after the cut jungle was burnt, when a dead cobra (a very poisonous snake) was found in the trunk of a fallen tree. This is considered a very bad omen, and makes the farm 'mali,' i.e. the paddy on it cannot be eaten by the owner's family. If it is so eaten, some one or other among them will certainly die in the course of the year." (Gosp. Miss. 1874, p. 89.)

Fire seems to be a medium through which an omen bird can be answered. We are thus told by Mr. R. Burns (Jour. Ind. Arch. p. 147): "On another occasion in descending the upper part of the Tatau river, one of the birds of fate crossed from the unlucky side; the party instantly halted, went on shore, kindled a fire and had their accustomed smoke over it, but were not disposed to move onward, unless one more favourably disposed towards us should take its flight from the opposite side; however, on reminding them of their belief that fire is efficacious in appeasing the hate of birds, and that they had observed their usual custom of kindling a fire and smoking, they were prevailed upon to resume an onward course. The next day, unfortunately, our boat got swamped at a part of the river much obstructed with fallen trees and rocks, the river was rapid and much swollen from heavy rain that fell during the night. The loss of the greater portion of our stock of provisions and other articles vexed my superstitious companions very much, and taking all the blame to themselves, they were most profuse in reflecting on the impropriety of their disregarding the ominous warning of the bird of the previous day."

"Fire is the medium through which people converse with the spirits and omen birds, in certain cases, as for instance, should a man hear the cry of a bird which is a bad omen, he lights a small fire telling it to protect him, and the fire is supposed to speak to the omen bird on his behalf. Another instance of the kind in which the fire would be thus regarded is as follows:—A man has planted fruit trees and when they are in fruit, he places some round stones in cleft sticks near the trees and then proceeds to curse anybody who may venture to steal his fruit, calling these stones to witness the anathema. The curse invoked is somewhat of this nature, 'May whoever steals my fruit suffer from stones in the stomach as large as these stones, and if necessary become a figure of stone!' (*batu keidi*). Now supposing a friend passes by and wishes to gather some fruit for himself, he lights a fire and tells the flame to explain to the stone that he is a friend of the proprietor of the fruit and desires to eat thereof; the fire having explained all this satisfactorily to the stone, the visitor may safely pluck and eat, but woe betide a man who is not a friend and yet dares to take the fruit." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 161.)

Sir Chas. Brooke relates a very similar use of fire to avert evil while on the Gadong river: "After another public meeting with the population to bid farewell, and to give good advice, and after leaving directions that Bandar Kassim should proceed to Sarawak on his return to this river, our force started away. As we were passing the houses, I saw more than one person appear with lighted brands, which they waved in the air and then threw away; this was to frighten away the evil spirit raised by us on their land; or to extinguish any noxious influence caused by our presence." (Brooke ii. 15.)

How very strongly the Sea Dyaks adhere to their omens is well described by His Highness the present Rajah: "Many go through the form of their forefathers in listening to the sounds of omens; but the ceremony now is very curtailed, compared with what it was a few years ago, when I have known a chief live in a hut for six weeks, partly waiting for the twittering of birds to

be in a proper direction, and partly detained by his followers. Besides, the whole way in advancing, their dreams were religiously interpreted and adhered to; but, as in all such matters, interpretations are liable to a double construction. The finale is, that inclination, or often fear, is most powerful. A fearful heart produces a disagreeable dream, or a bad omen in imagined sounds from bird or deer; and this always makes a force return. But they often loiter about so long, that the enemy gains intelligence of their intended attack, and is on the alert. However absurdly these omens lead the human race, they steadily continue to follow and believe in such practices. Faith predominates and hugs huge wonders, and tenaciously lives in the minds of the ignorant. Some of the Dyaks are somewhat shaken in the belief in hereditary omens, and a few follow the Malay custom of using a particular day, which has a strange effect upon European imaginations. The white man who commands the force is supposed to have an express bird and lucky charm to guide him onwards; and to these the Dyaks trust considerably. 'You are our bird, we follow you.' I well know the names, and can distinguish the sounds of their birds, and the different hands on which the good and bad omens are interpreted. The effect of these signs on myself was often very marked; and no Dyak could feel an adverse omen more than myself when away in the jungles, surrounded by these superstitious people. Still I could sympathise with the multitude; and the difficulty lay in the question, whether my influence would be sufficient to counteract such phantoms. It must not be thought that I ever attempted to lead the Dyaks to believe that I was an owner of charms or such absurdities, which could not have lasted beyond a season, and could never be successful for a length of time. My desire was always to extinguish such an idea; but natives persisted in their belief. A Maia's (orang utan) head was hanging in my room, and this they thought to be my director to successful expeditions." (ii. 233.)

A curious coincidence is mentioned by Mr. Whitehead when among the Dusans: " . . . several heavy drops of rain fell on us and on the sea around without any cloud being visible; the men began to talk to one another, and when we inquired what they were conversing about, they told us it was a most unlucky sign, and that people were being killed at the moment; however, we laughed at their fears; but it was only a few hours later that we learned that their curious omen was actually going to prove true. At last we reached some small islands known as Pulo Danarwan; here we found the steam-launches anchored, and judged by the faces of the natives on board that something serious had taken place. A Dyak policeman had just arrived with bad news; he told us that Dr. Fraser had been shot dead, Captain Fontaine wounded beyond hope of recovery, the Jemadhar and two other officers killed, and eight police wounded, some severely." (p. 27.) Mr. Whitehead also relates that a Dusun priestess prophesied evil to the people because of his party's visit. (p. 189.)

Near Serambo Mr. Denison's attention was called "to the flat stone described by St. John in his 'Forests of the Far East.' When water is found in the hollow of the stone's top, it portends a sickly season for the tribe. Of

course if it rains it is full, but according to the Dyaks the water soon dries up, it is only when sickness portends that the water remains." (Ch. ii. p. 15.)

"After three the Sea Dyak's favourite number is seven."<sup>56</sup> (Brooke Low.)

#### DREAMS.

"In dreams they place implicit confidence," says Mr. Chalmers. "Fainting fits, or a state of coma, are thought to be caused by the departure or absence of the soul on some distant expedition of its own. When any one dreams of a distant land, as we exiles often do, the Dyaks think that our souls have annihilated space, and paid a flying visit to Europe during the night. Elders and priestesses often assert in their dreams they have visited the mansion of Tapa, and seen the Creator dwelling in a house like that of a Malay, the interior of which was adorned with guns and gongs and jars innumerable. Himself being clothed like a Dyak.

"A dream of sickness to any member of a family always ensures a ceremony; and no one presumes to enter the priesthood, or to learn the art of a blacksmith, without being, or pretending to be, warned in a dream that he should undertake to learn it. I have known a man with only two children give his younger child to another who was no relation, because he dreamed that he must give it to him or the child would die.

"In dreams also 'Tapa' and the spirits bestow gifts on men in the shape of magic stones,<sup>57</sup> which being washed in cocoa-nut milk, the water forms one of the ingredients in the mass of blood and tumeric which is considered sacred, and is used to anoint the people at the harvest feasts. They are ordinary black pebbles and there is nothing in their appearance to give an idea of their magic power and value. The ones in the Quop village were procured in a dream by the late 'Orang Kaya Bai Malam,' in order to replace those lost in the civil wars which desolated the country before Sir James Brooke's arrival. He dreamt that a spirit came unto him and gave him a number of these sacred stones; and lo! when he awoke, they were in his hand. In some villages they are kept in a rude kind of wooden bowl covered and fastened down, then fixed to the top of an iron-wood post in the middle of the outside platform. In others they are deposited in a small house built in the jungle, at some distance from the village, and all around it is sacred. I will relate an anecdote Mr. Chalmers told me:—

"A Quop woman who had turned Malay was staying at her village when the clergyman was there; he had a number of coloured-glass marbles, and one of these this woman got hold of, and no doubt thought it very strange and wonderful. Next morning, when she awoke, she called loudly for white cloth, declaring at the same time that the late Orang Kaya had appeared to her in the night and given her a sacred stone, at the same time producing the marble, and expected, no doubt, a good price for it from the Dayaks. But they are wiser now than of yore, and would have nothing to do with it;

<sup>56</sup> "The bracelets and armlets are always worn in uneven numbers, the Dyaks in this, as in many other customs, such as in designing tattoo marks, &c., being very partial to the numbers 7, 9, 11, and 13." (Bock, p. 188.)

<sup>57</sup> Mr. Chalmers calls them *pengarah*.

and the young fellows, hearing how she had procured the marble, teased her on the subject until her departure." (St. John i. 189.)

Bishop Chambers writes: "The only explanation which Apai Balai had conceived of the appearances which he saw in his dreams was, either that his spirit travelled whilst his body slept, or that the spirits or shades of other persons and objects came before him. The appearance of his deceased friends in his dreams was a proof amounting to a demonstration of the existence of Hades (*Subaian*). But the fact that when they met him they wore the same dress, were engaged in the same occupations, and looked altogether the same as when they lived in this world, was an obstacle to his receiving what revelation informs us respecting the world to come. . . . Apai Balai further explains his theory thus: 'When we dream, of falling into the water we suppose that this accident has really befallen our spirits, and we send for the Manangs, who fish for it and recover it for us.' Bujang Brani had told me a dream the previous day, which he imagined presaged my arrival. 'I was going down your way in a boat which upset; whilst my spirit was struggling with the waves, the spirit of a great fish approached; the spirit of the fish tried to swallow me, and my spirit tried to destroy it," etc. (Miss. Field 1867, p. 462.)

The view that the spirit is supposed to leave the body during dreams is confirmed by Mr. Grant (p. 69): "Regarding dreams, their theory is that during sleep the *semeŋgi* (soul) can hear, see, and understand, and even leaves the body occasionally. I recollect a curious case in reference to this superstition. A man came to me officially and asked for protection. The case was this:—Another man of the same village dreamed that the complainant had stabbed his father-in-law, who lay ill in the house, with a spear. The defendant believing this, threatened the complainant with vengeance should the sick man die. The plaintiff therefore applied for protection, stating that he had not stabbed the sick man, and that if his ghost had done so during his sleep he knew nothing about it, and was not, therefore, responsible for the deed. It so happened that I was attending the sick man, who was dangerously ill. When I first went to his house, the planks for his coffin and the linen wrappers were all ready waiting at the door, but fortunately he did not want them. The people were *Milānows*, converted to Mahomedanism."

Mr. de Crespigny also reports a practical sequence to a dream. "At Mukah I met Janela, one of the fifteen Suai Penans lately come into Kabulu. He said the reason of his coming here was that his daughter was about to be fined in Luai because her husband Jamai had dreamt she had been unfaithful to him. Janela brought away his daughter; Jamai has also come across, but Janela is not certain that his daughter will receive Jamai." (S. G., No. 188, p. 41.)

"In an interior Lundu house at one end were collected the relics of the tribe. These consisted of several round-looking stones, two deers' heads, and other inferior trumpery. The stones turn black if the tribe is to be beaten in war, and red if to be victorious: any one touching them would be sure to die; if lost, the tribe would be ruined.

"The account of the deers' heads is still more curious: A young Dyak

having dreamed the previous night that he should become a great warrior, observing two deer swimming across the river, he killed them ; a storm came on with thunder and lightning, and darkness came over the face of the earth ; he died immediately, but came to life again, and became a *rumah guna* (literally a 'useful house') and chief of his tribe ; the two deer still live, and remain to watch over the affairs of the tribe. These heads have descended from their ancestors from the time when they first became a tribe and inhabited the mountain. Food is always kept placed before them, and renewed from time to time." (Keppel ii. 36.)

Mr. Brooke Low says : " No doubt Sea Dyaks often concoct dreams out of their waking thoughts to suit their interest, yet they are implicit believers in the reality of dreams, and will not spare expense to atone by ceremony or sacrifice for a bad one. Those who dream of the cobra are lucky."

Referring to some superstitious beliefs on the Lingga, Sir Chas. Brooke says : " These people are really truthful, and their incredible stories, which are brought vividly to their minds in *dreams*, are actually credited as having taken place." (i. 41.)

" A Saribus boat's crew in the course of the day were seized with a severe attack of colic, in consequence of some unwholesome diet, and were now vomiting. A short while afterwards I overheard a discussion amongst them, and, when many reasons had been advanced for their sickness, the chief said, ' Children, I will tell you why it is. You know that when we started from Saribus, I told you my feeling was averse to move that day, as my dream was bad and not propitious ; and if the boat had been my own, on no account should I have left the landing-place. Another day you had better pay more attention to old men's dreams.' On the same afternoon a youth of the same crew offered to fire off a gun, which no one else would undertake. The gun burst, and sent him head over heels backwards. They sent for me, saying he was dead ; but when I reached the spot he was chattering away at a great pace, and certainly not in any danger. This was the same lad that had half his face cut off on the attack of Kabah. He was generally in some scrape or other. This final calamity was also attributed to the old man's adverse dreams. In a conversation the day after with Apai Bakir, who was not famous for loquacity as many others are, in answer as to whether himself and people had had good crops this year, he said, ' Yes, all my people are well off this year for padi, because we have paid every attention to the omens of Bertara (God), and appeased the Antus by taking alligators, killing pigs to examine their hearts, and we have judiciously interpreted our dreams. The consequence is a good harvest ; but those who have neglected to do this are still poor, and must pay more attention in future. The fact is,' he added, ' that after the continued attacks made on Saribus, the heavens have fallen in, and require many repairs.' " (Brooke ii. 202.)

" Only a Kenniah chief is allowed to wear the skin of a real tiger as a war coat, and then only if he has had a propitious dream during sleep with the tiger skin hanging over his head. Before lying down to sleep the chief explains to the skin the use he wishes to make of it, and begs the spirit to tell him the truth in his dreams as to his future fate. The call of certain

birds is to them an omen when they are out on a hunting expedition, and they are influenced by these birds in almost all their daily actions." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 159.)

#### AUGURY.

The old classical system of auguring good or evil from an examination of the entrails of a particular animal is very common throughout the country. The following account is given by an officer of H.M.S. Pluto: "After Tamawan had drunk to our mutual friendship a ceremony took place, quite new to me. A young sucking pig was brought in by a very pretty girl, and handed to a Kyan, who bound its legs and carrying it out opposite the [H.M.S.] Pluto, placed it on the ground; mats were laid, on one of which Tamawan stood; he, after a few preliminary arrangements, commenced an oration, his voice was at first thick from the potency of his previous draughts, but warming in his subject, he entered at large on the feelings of friendship with which he regarded the English, spoke of the wonderful vessel which came with oars of fire (*dayong api*), seized my hand, and gesticulated, pointing to the pig: after rather a tedious speech, it often struck me it was a prayer, as he appeared appealing to some one beyond him, he took a knife and cut the pig's throat, the body was then opened, and the heart and liver taken out and placed on two leaves, and closely examined to judge from their appearance whether our visit would be fortunate for the Kyan nation. Every chief present felt their different proportions, Tamawan pointed out to me their various indications. Luckily for our friendship, they found that every portion portended good fortune, and with his bloody hand, Tamawan seized me by the arm and said all was well. Throwing the auricle of the heart away, they cut up the rest, placed them in two bamboos and put them to cook over the fire. Nakodah Godore told me that all was now over. I shook hands around: and was aboard about half-past three—four hours spent in this conference. The ceremony of examining the heart and liver is too classical not to be particularly mentioned." (The Barram River, Journ. Ind. Arch. v. 683.)

Bishop Chambers mentions the following case: "I found Muja living in a hastily constructed house. Asking him why he had abandoned his former one, which was still good, he told me that, during his absence, his people had found blood on a mat, which they had concluded to be that of a spirit; and so, according to Dyak custom in such a case, they had deserted the house. Before doing so they had resorted to the usual rites to avert the omen, and had killed a pig, but on inspecting its entrails they were pronounced unsatisfactory." (Miss. Field 1867, p. 70.)

"In killing a pig, which is done at all village festivals, the length of the animal is carefully measured while it is still alive, and should, after death, he be found a little longer, as from the distension of the muscles in the dying agony is generally the case, the omen is accepted as one of prosperity to the tribe in all its undertakings for the ensuing season; but if, on the contrary, the pains of the slaughtered animal should cause it to contract its limbs, the omen portends misfortunes to the tribe." (Low, p. 309.)

Mr. Hose supplies us with a very detailed account as to the meanings of the various signs on the Baram River: "When they wish to consult the gods as to whether some event of importance is likely to happen, or to obtain advice, a pig is brought in tied by the legs, and the chief talks to the pig, for this occasion, invoking it by the dignified title of '*Balli Boin!*' (literally 'spiritual pig'); he then takes some burning embers and passes them round the back and sides of the animal, very close to the skin, but not touching it. Then he adjures the pig to speak the truth, and explains to him it is advisable to take such and such a step or not. After which the pig is killed, the blood being caught in a big gong and the carcass cut up and the liver taken out for inspection. If the liver is blotched or spotted, it is a very bad sign; if it is held together strongly by the larger blood-vessels, the position these bear to each other is considered; or if the gall bladder is in any way overlapping the liver, this is also taken as a sign that the omen is unfavourable. But, if the liver is healthy and free from all blemish then the omen is favourable, and the pig can be eaten."

This method of augury is also mentioned by Sir Spencer St. John as found among the Skarang Dyaks, when a dead animal has been found on a farm, and they wish to avert evil. "After their great head feast, they also examine the hearts of pigs, and their gray-headed leaders surround and look extremely grave over the bleeding spectacle which they one by one turn over with the point of a stick to examine the run and position of the veins; each as he does it offers some sapient remark; and the result generally is, that there are still numerous enemies, but far away; but however powerful these may be, they themselves are more powerful, and in the end will overcome them." (i. 64.)

Among the Undups: "I told the headman that, as long as he lived in his present house, he would be liable to sickness, since it was placed in the midst of a swamp. He told me they had twice tried to build a new house; the first time, the heart and liver of the pig they had killed gave them bad news—the house would be unlucky—so this house was abandoned, and a fresh one, on a fresh site, was begun; but not only was the heart and liver against them this time, but the soil prophesied ill luck—one of the posts of the house gave way. I told him that most likely he had planted his post on the top of a nest of white ants, and consequently the soil gave way. He replied—No, the spirits were against him." (Crossland, *Gosp. Miss.* 1866, p. 39.)

#### ORDEALS.

Mr. Chalmers mentions that there exists among the Land Dyaks a very simple ordeal by which he has known "many disputed matters settled very quietly. It is called *Pangat*, and is thus performed: Two small wax tapers are made, of equal length and size; they are lighted together, one being held by the plaintiff, and the other by the defendant, in the cause thus brought to trial; he whose taper is first extinguished is adjudged to be in the wrong, and, as far as I have seen, he always implicitly accepts the decision." Sir S. St. John also mentions this form of ordeal.

The common form of ordeal, however, is that of diving. Mr. Crossland thus describes it in one of his letters: "To-day there has been a grand diving to try a case. A man was accused of adultery, the only evidence as far as I could make out being that the husband had a dream about it. So they called all the chief men together, and had a court. After many sittings it was decided that the husband and the accused should each stake a jar of the value of about 12 dollars, and dive. Each of them got a man, and they dived early this morning. The accused won, as many say; others say that it was a drawn affair; so all these foolish fellows go to court again, and there is no knowing where it will end." (Miss. Field, 1874, p. 544.)

The Ulu Dyaks also practise this: "I received information of the death of an Ulu Ai Dyak named Aban of Tapaiong, Delok. He was found dead on his farm with marks of violence on his hands and feet and some wounds on the body. The murderer was not known, but suspicion fell upon some people in the same house, between whom and the deceased there was known to exist some jealousy about a woman. The relations of the deceased challenged the suspected party to dive in order to determine whether they were guilty or not. It was agreed that should the suspected party lose the match, they were to pay a *pati nyawa* of six jars to relation of deceased. They dived, lost the match, still protesting their innocence, but paid up the six jars." (H. F. Deshon, S. G., No. 189, p. 55.)

A fuller account of ordeal amongst the Balaus is given by the Rev. Mr. Horsburgh:—"When both parties in a dispute have agreed that it should be referred to the diving ordeal, preliminary meetings are held to determine the time, place, and circumstances of the match. On the evening of the day previous to that on which it is to be decided, each party stakes in the following manner a certain amount of property, which, in case of defeat, shall come into the possession of the victor. The various articles of the stake are brought out of the litigant's room, placed in the verandah of the house in which he lives, and are there covered up and secured. One man who acts as a kind of herald then rises, and, in a long speech, asks the litigant whether he is conscious he is in the right, and trusts in the justice of his cause; to which the latter replies at equal length in the affirmative, and refers the matter to the decision of the spirits. Several more speeches and replies follow, and the ceremony concludes by an invocation of justice upon the side of the right. In the meantime, the respondent deposits and secures his stake with like ceremonial in the verandah of his own house; and early in the morning both parties, accompanied by their respective friends, repair to the bank of the river to decide the contest. Either party may appear by deputy, a privilege which is always taken advantage of by women, and often even by men, for there are many professional divers who, for a trifling sum, are willing to undergo the stifling contest. Preparations are now made; the articles staked are brought down and placed on the bank; each party lights a fire at which to recover their champion, should he be nearly drowned; and each provides a roughly constructed grating for him to stand on, and a pole to be thrust into the mud for him to hold on by. The gratings are then placed in the river within a few yards of each other, where the water is deep

enough to reach to the middle; the poles are thrust firmly into the mud; and the champions each on his own grating grasping his pole, and surrounded by his friends, plunge their heads simultaneously under the water. Immediately the spectators chant aloud at the top of their voices the mystic, and perhaps once intelligible, word *lobōn-lobon*, which they continue repeating during the whole contest. When at length one of the champions shews signs of yielding, his friends, with the laudable desire of preventing his being beaten, hold his head forcibly under the water. The excitement is now great; *lobōn-lobon* increases in intensity, and redoubles in rapidity; the shouts become yells, and the struggles of the unhappy victim, who is fast becoming asphyxiated, are painful to witness. At length, nature can endure no more: he drops senseless in the water, and is dragged ashore, apparently lifeless, by his companions; while the friends of his opponent, raising one loud and prolonged note of triumph, hurry to the bank and seize and carry off the stakes. All this, however, is unknown to the unhappy vanquished, who, pallid and senseless, hangs in the arms of his friends, by whom his face is plastered with mud, in order to restore animation. In a few minutes, in spite rather than in consequence of this treatment, respiration returns; he opens his eyes, gazes wildly around, and in a short time is probably able to walk home. Next day he is in a high state of fever, and has all the other symptoms of a man recovering from apparent death by drowning." (p. 17.)

The ordeals described by Mr. Hose (J.A.I. xxiii. 163) are of a very severe character: "Amongst the Kayans in former time, certain forms of the trial by ordeal were in vogue, such as thrusting their arms into a vessel of boiling water and recovering therefrom a small pebble to prove that their hands had touched the bottom, but this is now of very rare occurrence. However, they still very occasionally settle small disputes by the practice of a custom known as *Menyallum* (diving). Take the case of a disputed ownership of a fruit tree, such as the durian, which after the lapse of twenty years from the date of planting, commences to bear fruit. Probably the original owner, *i.e.* the planter, has been dead some years, and no one has paid any attention to the tree because hitherto it has borne no fruit; but no sooner is the tree in full fruit, than several lay claim to the crop. The two principal disputants as to the ownership of the tree, agree to settle the matter by diving, and call together their friends to witness the trial, hundreds of people lining the banks of the river. The two men take up their positions in about 4 feet of water and each holds forth to the effect that he is the rightful owner, and prays that the water may trouble and enter the mouth and nostrils of his opponent, calling on the birds and animals to witness his testimony. Two sets of cross-sticks have been driven into the mud at the bottom of the river leaving sufficient room for a man to get his head through, and on a given signal, each of the disputants diving into the water places his head under the cross-sticks, and holds on as long as he can. A friend holds the legs of each and is by this enabled to tell if his principal is going faint, and should the latter faint right off, it is the friend's duty to immediately pull him to the surface. The man who is able to keep under water for the greater length of time is declared the winner, and the loser is not allowed to make any further claim. Some-

times, however, the two men faint off simultaneously, and then the man who first recovers consciousness takes the prize. Very severe measures are resorted to to make them recover the more quickly, for in view of the contingency of both the men fainting a platform has been prepared, and a fire of shavings being lighted underneath, the half drowned man is placed on the platform and almost roasted. This rough treatment very soon causes one of the parties to regain his senses, and he is then held to have established his claim, and all the time this ordeal is proceeding the wildest excitement prevails amongst the friends of the rival claimants."

Besides the ordeals of water and tapers Sir S. St. John mentions the following (i. 77) among the Sea Dyaks: "Two pieces of native salt, of equal weight, are placed in water; that appertaining to the party guilty melts immediately; the other, they affirm, keeps its form; but, in fact, the one that disappears first proves the owner to be in the wrong. Another is with two land shells, which are put on a plate and lime-juice squeezed upon them, and the one that moves first shows the guilt or innocence of the owner, according as they have settled previously whether motion or rest is to prove the case. They talk of another, where the hand is dipped into boiling water or oil, and innocence is proved by no injury resulting."

A curious effect, of the ordeal method of settling disputes, on the Dyak mind is related by Bishop Chambers (Miss. Field 1868, p. 222): "In the morning a party of men came up, full of what they had seen on the river on their way. 'Two monkeys were diving one against the other. The winner, *i.e.* the one which drew its head last out of the water, immediately strangled the other.' In deciding grave suits by the water-ordeal, the Dyaks usually stake something in addition to the matter in dispute. These men imputed their own customs and feelings to the poor monkeys, and imagined they had staked their lives, and the winner had exacted the payment of the stake."

#### CHARMS.

At the repulse before Sakok, "one old fellow sitting next to me had a ball in his back, which I laboured at for more than an hour, with a blunt penknife, and at last I succeeded in extricating it. On seeing the bullet, the man was never prouder in his life; and, carefully putting it away, he thought himself *bertuah* (invulnerable). He stores that article among his charms, which he carries around his waist when in dangerous positions. The natives set a high value on these charms, and a case was brought before me, only a short time since, in which a Pangeran (a prince of royal blood)<sup>58</sup> summoned a man of low degree for having lost his charms, which he stated had been handed down for generations. The value he required was \$30, or £7. It appears the defendant had borrowed these articles, and had accidentally lost them. On inquiry, the charms in question were known by other parties to consist of two round pebbles, and one flat one, a small stone which had been found in a banana; these were all mixed with a little sand, sewn up together, with strings attached for tying around the waist. The court placed a

<sup>58</sup> ? Malay.

valuation of five pence on these articles, much to the Pangeran's chagrin." (Brooke i. 317.)<sup>89</sup>

Archdeacon Perham writes of the effect "not of a regular hail storm but of large hail stones with rain which fell on the Mission Station at Sibitan, a branch of the Krian. Some Dyaks in my house at the time carefully collected the hail in the palms of their hands and breathed upon them, with the idea of preserving them, thinking them to be *batu ujan* (not *ujan batu* which would have a different meaning), and believing themselves to have gotten a rare *Obat* or charm. But of course their rising hopes were soon extinguished by the melting of the hail. In a Dyak house near, the consternation was intense. It was feared that the whole house with everybody and everything in it would be suddenly petrified into a solid rock—a woful monument to future generations. To prevent this catastrophe they *boiled* the hail stones in their prioks (cooking pots), and cut off locks of their hair and burnt them. One family had serious thoughts of leaving the house, and probably would have done so had not the storm soon ceased. One

BUNDLE OF CHARMS consisting of bits of wood, two Chinese *celadons*, beads, bast and a packet of cotton, some of the wood cut head shaped.

From S. E. Borneo (Leiden Mus.)

of my Mission school boys was in the house at the time, and suggested that the hail was only from rain which he had heard about from the Tuan, and would readily melt, but his precocious knowledge was pooh-poohed. 'How could he know better than his elders?' I asked some of the old men if they had ever seen hail before, and they mentioned some misty recollections they had of such a storm in Saribas in olden time." (S. G. No. 111.)

At Sarambo Sir Jas. Brooke particularly remarked: "The relics of the tribe, deposited in a small room at one end of the apartment where they danced. These consisted of several smooth stones, resembling the *priapus* of the Hindoos, some deers' horns, and other inferior trumpery. The stones are very like those so frequently seen in the temples in India, and here they are held

CHARMS, consisting of twigs, and bundles of small pieces of wood, small bones, a seed, and three canines  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

From S. E. Borneo (Leiden Mus.)

<sup>89</sup> "When travelling through the Landak (Dutch Borneo) district, I was shown by different people a sort of rough round little black diamond, about half the size of a pea. Not 'fancy,' but 'faith' ought to be the name for this little fellow which always fetches a high price, and shields its wearer from all bodily injury. The Rajah of Sarawak (so the princess of Ngabon assured me) had swallowed one of these life-preserving pills, and lo! Kafir though he be, is declared 'invulnerable'!" (S. G., No. 95.)

in the highest veneration; but the only account I could get about the matter was, that they had descended from their ancestors, when they first became a tribe, or when they first inhabited the mountain. The tribe, however, could not exist: sickness and plagues, and war and defeat, would follow the destruction of these sacred relics." (Mundy i. 346.)

Mr. Brooke Low writes on his expedition up the Rejang river: "A Kanowit gave me the tusk of a crocodile which devoured his sister, and showed me a boar's tusk which was lost to his family by an uncle who was killed by a Ukiat and to recover which he a few years ago killed the Ukiat. He showed me another tusk which was dropped by one of the boars which attacked and destroyed the house of an ancestor living at Lakut. Articles like these appear to constitute their charms."

On one occasion some Dyaks came from a considerable distance to Mr. Brooke, "bringing with them for his inspection what they were pleased to designate a Hantu, carefully wrapped up in a piece of cloth. They had walked for three days through the jungle and had abstained from speaking to anyone by the way, full of the importance of their mission. When they had arrived, they ceremoniously laid their treasure before him, when lo! the mysterious wonder disclosed to the Tuan Muda's eyes was—a pumpkin, or gourd, dried and blackened with smoke, and having on the top the half of a cocoa-nut shell, with some fibres hanging like scanty hair upon it. It had been in possession of the Dyaks for many generations, and they regarded it as a charm of the greatest potency." (Collingwood, p. 208.)

"Dusun charms consist of bits of coral, nipa seeds, animals' teeth, curiously-shaped roots, eagles' feet, and anything out of the common. They are supposed to keep away evil spirits, and the natives decline to sell or part with these charms. He adds, occasionally his party was asked to fire at them, as the natives thought they could not be blown to pieces." (Whitehead, p. 109.) "Some other Dusuns looked upon a leaf torn out of a novel as a sort of charm." (Von Donop, Diary, 2nd June.) And at Toadilah the Dusuns declined to carry a note for Mr. Hatton, being afraid there was a charm in it. Ultimately, after much persuasion, they placed it carefully away in a bamboo. (Hatton's Diary, 1 April.)

"In taking an oath, the teeth of tiger-cats are employed; the person swearing holding the teeth in his hand and calling on them to harm him if he is not speaking the truth." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 165.)

"Dian says the gift of a tiger's tooth to a Kinah chief will make him your friend for life, and he will never fail you or turn false to you for fear of being devoured by the beast." (Brooke Low.)

Charms are attached to their swords, baskets, and houses, as we shall see later on.

Among the Land Dyaks, on a visit to their village, "They wash my hands and my feet, and afterwards with the water sprinkle their houses and gardens. Then gold dust, with the white cloth which accompanies it, both of which have been presented by me, is planted in the field. The white cloth, I may remark, is always inseparable from the rice measure; as being the emblem of cold weather, it is supposed to be exerting its cooling influence." (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy ii. 43.)

An Aup Dyak chief at his house, "produced a small basin of water in which we washed our hands together, while he pronounced some sort of prayer or incantation, which was afterwards explained to mean that he wished me good luck on my journey." (Denison, ch. iii., p. 34.)

"A pretty custom prevails among the Danao Dusans in welcoming a visitor. The old man's young wife walked up to me, having moistened rice in a small bamboo. I had to open my hand and she poured some grains on it, after which the rice was again put back into the bamboo. That opened their hospitality, and I may subsequently partake of their rice and betel." (Witti, Diary, Nov. 23.)

Similarly when among the Grungo, Sir Spencer St. John writes (i. 147): "A crowd of old women instantly seized us, and pulled off our shoes and stockings, and commenced most vigorously washing our feet; this water was preserved to fertilize the fields." He had also to sprinkle rice about and to pour a little water on each child that was present. Among the San Poks he was seized by a dozen women who "insisted on washing our feet, tying little bells round our wrists, and dancing before us enthusiastically." (i. 226.) These bells are what is called *paniyah tanah* or *gerunong*. They are given to all persons who visit a village for the first time. (Grant, p. 8.) In the accounts of the Feasts and Festivals we shall hear more about these charms.

It was also among the Land Dyaks that some "parties of Dyaks paid a visit to the senior officer, and while squatting down around us they presented some cocoa-nuts, which they requested might be spat upon. The ceremony was performed in due form. They then carried off the nuts to their farms, cut them in pieces and scattered them over the ground, to ensure a plentiful harvest next year by this appeasal of the spirits." (Brooke i. 26.) The Bishop writes of this: "Another custom of theirs is almost too nasty to speak of. They brought portions of cooked rice on leaves, and begged the Englishmen to spit into them. After which they ate them up, thinking they should be the better for it." (Mrs. McDougal, p. 77.)

#### DESIGN ROUND PORTION OF A BAMBU BETEL BOX.

The thin silicious covering of the bambu is cut away and dragon's blood rubbed in; the part left untouched forms the pattern.

(Crossland Coll.)

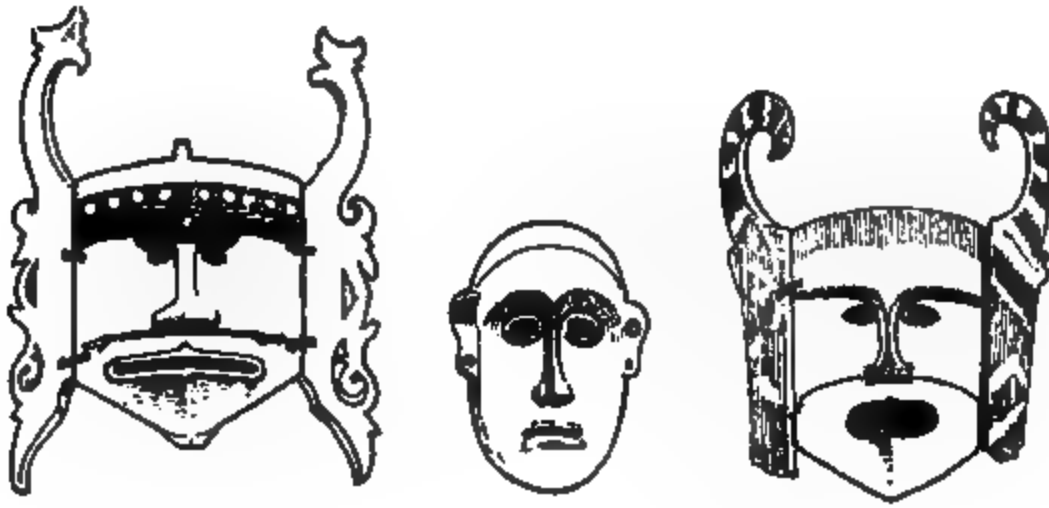
## CHAPTER IX.

### FEASTS, FESTIVALS, AND DANCING.

A feast at Surdi—Good luck—Curious dresses—Dancing—Vivid scenes—At Sennah—Sword dances—At Aup—*Minta adat*—At Stang and Mungo Babi—Opinions on the dances—*Bras Pilut*—Offerings—Curious women's dances—Shrieking—"He dances with his legs"—War dances—Pantomimes—A pretty dancer—Drunken feasts—*Main bulugsi*—Dusun dance—Kadyan dance—Sir Hugh Low a guest—The *Gawai Burong (Pala)*—*Bergawai Antu*.

AT the village of Surdi "I attended a feast given in my honour by the Orang Kaya. The proceedings commenced in the afternoon, and were carried on far into the night. On approaching the house I was amused to see a coloured handkerchief, having printed on it the Standard Royal of England, flying as a banner on a long pole. I was informed that this was a present from Sir James Brooke, and was preserved by the tribe with the greatest care. The proceedings at this Dyak feast were carried on as usual; my feet were brushed with a fowl by an old man, who, as well as the Orang Kaya, wished me luck, etc., according to the general Dyak fashion. The fowl was then killed and some blood smeared over my feet, as well as those of the principal people, to whom the same good luck was wished. The *tanju* or *tanyu* (platform in front of the house) was now cleared, and dancing began, in which men, women, and children joined. The dancing here was different from that at Jagui, where the men wore a loose sarong round the waist, Malay fashion. Here the men wore a sort of crinoline, or as I might perhaps call it, a *rotan* frame round the waist, coming down to the ankles, over which was suspended a sarong, and small hawk-bells were fastened to the wrists and ankles of the performers. The women danced round the men, who occupied the centre of the platform, the dancing of the former consisting in extending both arms, turning the toes out and in, and thus travelling round the stage. The Dyak men were more ambitious, and threw themselves into contortions, bending the body from side to side, and backwards and forwards, while from time to time a new performer, joining the throng, proclaimed his advent by a loud, howling shout. The moon had now risen, and was lighting with her pale and silvery beams as wild and weird a scene as it was ever my fortune to witness. Torches had been stuck up here and there about the stage, and their flickering rays flashing over the dancers gave a supernatural coloring to the whole performance. The gaudy dresses of the Dyak women and children, with their short blue petticoats bordered with white, red, or black, their white shell bracelets, their brass rings on arms and legs, the masses of coloured beads round their necks,

and their fantastic head dresses, all looked wonderfully striking and picturesque, as ever and anon the rays from the blazing wood struck and illuminated the persons of the wearers, as they moved in slow but graceful measure round the male performers in their centre. The Dyak men dancing in their rich and gay coloured sarongs and jackets, bending and twisting their bodies now forwards, now backwards, keeping time to the music of the gongs, and occasionally giving utterance to an almost diabolical yell, added not a little to the effect all this created. The scene was heightened by the dense dark background of foliage of surrounding fruit-trees and palms, through which streamed the clear soft gleams of moonlight, contending with the fiery crimson flashes from the burning torches, in lighting up this extraordinary spectacle in its brightest and most vivid colours. Now and then some of the women and children, tired of dancing, would pause to rest at the corners of the verandah, where they would sing a quaint Dyak song, blending their choruses with the loud crashing of the gongs, the firing of guns and crackers, the shouts of the men who were drinking in the verandahs of the house, and the applause of



KINYAH MASKS. Used at Festivals.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

the spectators. I was sometimes confused and bewildered, although perfectly delighted, as reclining on my mat in front of the Orang Kaya's house I gazed on all this, and it was very late before I wished the chief good-night to retire to my pillow in the head-house. The feast, however, was kept up till far into the small hours, and seemed to have been a perfect success to all concerned." (Denison, ch. v. p. 58.)

At Sennah "a great feast was given in my honour. On my arrival a pig had been killed, and when I joined the festive gathering at night an old man approached me with some of its blood in a cup. He then made a speech, the purport of which, I was informed, meant good luck, happiness, and prosperity to me and my followers. I was then asked to take a piece of bamboo, dip it in the cup, covering it with blood, and with the bamboo in hand wishing the tribe the same compliment. This I did, and I had then to throw the stick as far as I could into the jungle. The distance thrown by me with the bamboo appeared to give general satisfaction, and we then settled down to the business of the evening.

"The feast differed little if at all from other Dyak feasts, but here only as at Si Panjang did the women dance, and it was only at this village that the sword dance was introduced, which was but an imitation of that of the Malays." (*ibid.*, p. 65.)

Madame Pfeiffer thus describes the sword dance: "Two parangs were laid crosswise on the ground. The dancers were two youths, festively got up. They had red narrow cloth with gold lace tied round their heads, and across their shoulders a bright piece of cloth like a shawl. The dance was exceedingly elegant and becoming. The feet as well as the hands and arms had to do their part. Both dancers made pretty postures and clever movements. First of all they danced a few minutes around the swords, then they suddenly seemed to want to raise them, but sprang backwards every time as though terror-struck, until at last they raised the swords and crossed them in the most perfect manner like the best schooled fencers." (Pfeiffer, p. 88.)

Sir H. Keppel writes of the Sibuyaus: "The dances are highly interesting, more especially from their close resemblance, if not identity, with those of the South Sea Islanders. Two swords were placed on the mat, and two men commenced slowly from the opposite extremities, turning the body, extending the arms and lifting the legs, in grotesque but not ungraceful attitudes. Approaching thus leisurely round and round about, they at length seize the swords, the music plays a brisker measure, and the dancers pass and repass each other, now cutting, now crossing swords, retiring and advancing, one kneeling as though to defend himself from the assaults of his adversary; at times stealthily waiting for an advantage, and quickly availing himself of it. The measure throughout was admirably kept, and the frequent turns were simultaneously made by both dancers, accompanied by the same eccentric gestures. The effect of all this far surpasses the impression to be made by a meagre description. The room partially lighted by damar torches—the clang of the noisy instruments—the crowd of wild spectators—their screams of encouragement to the performers—the flowing hair and rapid evolutions of the dancers, formed a scene I wish could have been reduced to painting by such a master as Rembrandt or Caravaggio. The next dance was performed by a single person with a spear, turning like the last; now advancing, retiring, poising, brandishing, or pretending to hurl his weapon. Subsequently we had an exhibition with the sword and shield, very similar to the others, and only differing in the use of the weapons; and the performance was closed by a long and animated dance like the first, by two of the best performers. The dance with the spear is called *Talambong*; that with the sword, *Mancha*." (i. 62.)

The dance may have degenerated later on, as Sir Chas. Brooke says of it: "The sword-dance is excessively ungraceful and uninteresting; a stiff mode of pirouetting round and round is the general figure, which would be perfectly useless in actual sword-play." (i. 284.) "Sword dances, with shields, were going on. Each tribe has a peculiar step and code of its own, but as an attack and defence in earnest they all seem to be equally ridiculous. However, in the event of an opponent using a shield, I feel convinced an European could not stand against them, as they are able to crouch their

body entirely behind it, and can spring immediately from such an attitude without losing their balance. But, without a shield, a man with a rapier would be more than a match for any of them, unless, as is possible, a heavy Dyak weapon were to cut a light sword in two. This, however, no dexterous fencer would be likely to allow, and after the first blow from a heavy weapon had fallen, the opponent would be at the mercy of a light swordsman." (*ibid*, ii. 256.)

The three following accounts of Festivals are also borrowed from Mr. Denison's pen :

#### I. AT AUP.

"After the head-men had as they call it *minta adat* from me which consisted in my giving them a couple of bottles of gin and the like number of packets of Chinese tobacco, and a dozen yards of white drill cloth, the feast commenced. After the gin had been mixed with water it was poured into a basin, and with the tobacco which had been divided into small portions passed round, beginning with the elders and ending with the boys. A fowl was then brought in, and handed to the Orang Kaya, who waved it over and around my head, while he made a short speech in which he wished the Rajah, the Datu, myself, the Dyaks, the country, and in fact everybody connected with us, luck and prosperity. After this three of the elders clothed in long white cabayas or robes commenced dancing, a slow stately almost comical measure, the arms extended, and the feet keeping time to the slow strains of the music, the toes being turned inwards and outwards without ceasing. A little arrack of the No palm was then poured into a cup, and everyone present was touched with a drop or two of it. A small portion of boiled fowl was then given to everyone, the object of all this being to bring luck on the recipients, as whoever had been touched with the arrack or had partaken of the boiled fowl was supposed to be secured from sickness. The Orang Kaya assured me that without the distribution of the boiled fowl, it would have been impossible for him to have allowed the gongs to be beaten; even killing three pigs, he added, would not have sufficed without this rite. All this time the gongs were beaten freely and furiously, the din was tremendous, and the heat stifling. Boiled rice and something which looked like stewed fish, but emitted a powerful odour, were then produced, and the elders sat down to eat while I adjourned to the head-house. I returned later in the evening only to find the dancing and gong beating continuing furiously. The former was but an imitation of the Malay dance." (Ch. iii. p. 33.)

#### 2. AT STANG.

"The head men with their wives and children then approached, and taking my right hand between both of theirs, drew it towards them as if trying to draw off a glove, or as if they hoped to extract some essence from it, *ambil sijuk dingin* is I believe the term the Dyaks apply to this custom, which is very common among them, and exceedingly disagreeable and unpleasant. Small hawk-bells were next fastened on my wrists till I had as many as fifteen and more on each arm. The Orang Kaya then took a fowl

and parading through the verandah, waved it over our heads and wishing us and his tribe in a kind of incantation, prosperity, plenty and good fortune, heaps of children, health, abundance of fruit, pigs, fowls and in fact everything that these poor people thought good and likely to confer pleasure. . . . The fowl was then killed, and the blood collected in a small cup, and passed round among the elders to judge, I fancy from the bubbles, whether the omens were propitious or not. After some delay, I was informed that everything was satisfactory. The whole party then sat down to eat, feeding on rice and other things from plates, basins, and leaves, the out-siders had all packets of rice wrapped in leaves given them. The dancing now commenced to the music of gongs, chanangs, tom-toms, etc., etc. Some of the dances were performed with the bamboo frame under the Sarong, others without. The dancing itself was similar to what I had seen elsewhere, except that there was no loud yell at the commencement, but each performer before he began took my hand between both of his in the manner I have already described. This was repeated many times during the term of his performance, and this ceremony was again repeated by the head men with their wives and children when I left the house for the night." (Ch. vii. p. 75.)

### 3. AT MUNGO BABI.

"I attended a feast given in honour of my visit, at the Panglima's house. The proceedings were opened by the Panglima offering up a prayer for good luck for me, the country, and the people in general; food was then placed aside for Dewata. While the gongs were beaten at the most furious rate, presents of rice and eggs were brought and placed before me, my seat on the floor being on

MASK  
S E. Borneo.  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size  
(Leiden Mus.)

fine mats, while the walls behind me were covered with handsome sarongs and cloths, amongst the latter were blended pieces of kain bertabur (silk or satin cloth with threads of gold running through it forming the pattern). The Dyaks now began to eat and drink, some arrack I had previously given them had been mixed with water in an earthenware jar, and this mixture was served out in small cups, having been ladled out of the jar in a spoon called a *giung* made from the seed of the fruit of the bilian tree, the handle, which was made of wood, being prettily carved, with its end ornamented with feathers. Some three or four times during the entertain-

ment the men gave a loud shout of approval, and thus also concluded it, when dancing was commenced by a young man in a very handsomely embroidered jacket, with a solid silver belt fastening his sarong, which was worn over a small bamboo frame or crinoline, while a hornbill's head and tail graced his head and bells dangled round his ancles. This dandy was followed by another Dyak who wore a large Chinese gold buckle on his silver waist belt. The dancing was similar to that already described as customary among the Land Dyaks. After a time the women and girls joined the dance, but, figuring by themselves apart, these threw handsome gold embroidered cloths over their shoulders, spreading the ends wide out with their arms, and in this manner with an up and down movement, toes turning in and out, they moved slowly towards the verandah. One of the little girls wore a massive Chinese gold buckle to her waist-belt, with circular ear-rings of the same metal and three rings of the Kima shell on each arm. Here as at Tringus I saw women wearing as many as four of these bracelets on their arms. I stayed at these festivities till past midnight, when I retired, but not before the women had made an offer to sing songs in my honour (*berpantum*), if I would stay, but having a long march before me on the morrow I was obliged to refuse." (Ch. viii. p. 85.)

DUSUN MASK  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
(Leiden Mus.)

Mr. Wallace (i. 110) did not think much of the dances: "These were, like most savage performances, very dull and ungraceful affairs; the men dressing themselves absurdly like women, and the girls making themselves as stiff and ridiculous as possible. All the time six or eight large Chinese gongs were being beaten by the vigorous arms of as many young men, producing such a deafening discord that I was glad to escape to the round house, where I slept very comfortably with half a dozen smoke-dried human skulls suspended over my head."

"The dance is, for the most part, a slow twisting of limbs and trunk, and when two or three well dressed parties take the floor at once, there is a rude gracefulness in the evolutions." (Jour. Ind. Arch. ii. p. 53.)

"Dusun dancing consists of a series of graceful movements and postures." (De Crespigny, Zeit. N.F. 336.)

#### *Bras Pilut*—A DYAK FEAST.

"I will confine myself chiefly to a description of one held at Simpok. The eating and drinking part consisted of *Bras Pilut*, a peculiar kind of rice boiled in pieces of young bamboo, preserved durian (with a horrible stench), boiled pork, and fresh fruit, such as plantains, etc. The drink was a small allowance of arrack to each, made from the 'nau' palm, to which Mr. Grant added a bottle or two of Chinese arrack. This done, the gongs struck up, not

unmusically, but somewhat monotonously, and the Orang Kaya and Tuahs took Mr. Grant by the hand and led him to a door opening on the platform, where they persuaded him to throw pinches of boiled rice, stained yellow, into the air at intervals; during the process the Orang Kaya muttered a longish kind of prayer, in which I heard the name *Tuppa* distinctly mentioned several times. We were then regularly beset by men and women, each anxious to tie on our wrists a small hawkbell, asking us at the same time to wish them good luck, which they informed us consisted in desiring for them that their farms and gardens might be very productive, that their dogs might be bold in the chase, that the jungle might produce abundance of pigs and deer, that the rivers and the sea might contain plenty of fish, that their traps might be successful, and that they might have large numbers of male children. This done, many took our hands in theirs, and apparently tried to squeeze out the essence, which they rubbed over their bodies, and others again brought their little children for us to touch them. After this, dancing began, the Orang Kaya being the first performer. He was soon followed by another chief man and took up portions of food set aside for *Dewata* (which had been placed in the middle of the room and covered with a white cloth), and placing these on small trays, into which they struck pieces of wood dipped in 'damar' as candles, they worked themselves slowly up and down the room on their toes and heels, bearing the trays before them, their bodies being inclined as if in the act of making an offering. When they had finished, numbers of the men started up, all dressed in Malay fashion, and after running up to us saluting and shaking our hands in theirs, they commenced the dance by each giving utterance to a fearful shriek. The dance is not a 'dance' in our acceptation of the term; it consists solely in slowly working up and down on the heels and toes, in posturing with the body, and gesturing with the hands and fingers. The effect is not unpleasant, and a good deal of skill and suppleness of joint are exhibited. When the men had concluded, about twenty women stood up, and they were soon joined by a large number of girls. They danced in columns: here the women used no bodily contortions and manual 'extension movements'; their performance consisted in moving slowly up and down the room, their bodies rising and falling on the knee-joints, as if they were trying to imitate the movements of jockeys when riding hard at a race. It was a spectacle never to be forgotten, to see them figuring away in the half-darkness, shrieking the while most demoniacally, and aiding the music of the drums and gongs by the tinkling hawk-bells, a hundred or two of which were attached to the short petticoat of each. Many of the younger women had pleasing faces, and when decked out in their high cylindrical bead hats, and abundance of brass armlets and 'leglets,' with bead necklaces innumerable, they were doubtless very 'killing' in the eyes of young Sarawak. Many of the petticoats were prettily ornamented, and some were adorned with strings of small silver coins. After a late dinner, I again entered the ball-room. It was indeed a medley scene. The darkness was just made visible by the glare of a few fires and 'damar' lamps; there were women swinging on a long board suspended from the rafters at one extremity of the room; men, women, and children dancing and shrieking, bells jingling, gongs and drums crashing, an occasional

Dyak yell from the young men, which, once heard, is never forgotten; and, above all, a chorus of children singing round a fire some plaintive song, not at all unlike the very quaintest old Gregorian. About 10 p.m., I retired to my mats in the *pangghah* and tried to sleep in spite of the noise, and had nearly succeeded, when I was aroused by a fearful shrieking on the platform connecting the *pangghah* and the long house. I rushed out and found a number of the youths slaughtering another pig by torchlight, being evidently determined to make a night of it. During our stay, this whole village seemed frantic with joy: flags waving, gongs crashing, etc. It was the first time they had ever been visited by Europeans, and I shall never forget the wail of horror and astonishment which issued from the young children and babies at seeing for the first time in their lives *what were once white faces.*" (Chalmers, O.P. p. 63.)

Referring to the dancing at these festivals, Mr. Grant says: "One of the toys [given to the Dyaks] was a dancing jemmy, with a string to pull its arms and legs. They were much amused at this, so I presented it to a grandchild of the chief. 'Adoh! he dances with his legs!' said they: for be it known the Dyaks dance principally with their arms; not, like a clown, heels up, but with a greater motion of the latter than of the former. . . . The *Si-Tang* women perform differently from those of Simpok; they dance more like the men, the motion of the arms being similar. . . . I remarked here that the principal dancers seemed to be the old ladies, whose beauty (if they ever possessed any) had long since faded, and the young women's modesty kept them aloof from such frivolous amusements as the light fantastic toe. . . . Sometimes the Dyaks get excited, and the performance becomes of a more warlike character. I have seen, as the gongs were beaten in quicker time, the young fellows jumping about, waving their arms, and then suddenly crouching and stealing towards some imaginary enemy, then they would pretend to draw the sharp-pointed *ranjows* from the ground, and, advancing again, go through the motion of cutting off an enemy's head; at other times in the dance they would put themselves on the defensive. During all the time, the expression of their countenances seldom alters—they look as if they were thoroughly in earnest." (Grant, pp. 5, 11, 13 & 90.)

A similar account is given by Mr. Marryat: "The men [? Sibuyaus] stood up first, in war costume, brandishing their spears and shields, and throwing themselves into the most extraordinary attitudes, as they cut with their knives at some imaginary enemy; at the same time uttering the most unearthly yells, in which the Dyak spectators joined, apparently highly delighted with the exhibition. The women then came forward, and went through a very unmeaning kind of dance, keeping time with their hands and feet; but still it was rather a relief after the noise and yelling from which we had just suffered." (p. 13.)

"On the 2nd instant (Dec., 1871), an exhibition of Dyak dancing took place at the Fort. The performers were Dyak fortmen, fifteen in number; the selection was left entirely to themselves. A select company, invited by the Commandant, were present at the performance. First came a solemn dance by two men in native costume, that is to say with a long chawat or waistcloth

wrapped around them and hanging down to their feet and a tight jacket, who gyrated round at opposite corners of a square formed by laying down four long planks on the ground, in a shuffling step, keeping time to a monotonous beating of gongs; this was succeeded by a spirited combat with drawn parangs and shields. Whenever they thought they were coming to too close quarters, both combatants rapidly retreated. It was grotesque enough when matters came to such a pass that the dancers, crouched or lying on the ground, took furtive stabs at each other round the edges of their shields. The most characteristic of all the Dyak dances followed. The story is always very much the same. One warrior is engaged in picking a thorn out of his foot, but is ever on the alert for the lurking enemy with his arms ready at hand. This enemy is at length suddenly discovered, and after some rapid attack and defence, a sudden plunge is made at him and he is dead upon the ground. The taking of his head follows in pantomime. The last agonies of the dying man were too painful and probably too truthfully depicted to be altogether a pleasant sight. The story then concludes with the startling discovery that the slain man is not an enemy at all but the brother of the warrior who has slain him. At this point the dance gives way to what was perhaps the least pleasing part of the performance—a man in a fit, writhing in frightful convulsions, being charmed into life and sanity by a necromantic physician. A few more dances on the advance and retreat principle concluded the entertainment.” (S. G. No. 31. Locality not given.)

“On the occasion of the institution of two *Seribas Orang Kayas*, the first dance consisted of the old chiefs, some twenty in number, going to and fro with a long drawn step and pointed toe, and with their hands swaying high and low and body bent; there were occasional yells from them; they all looked very serious and kept exact step to the music. After half-an-hour of this monotonous scene the young men came on and danced many different styles of war dances, some being accompanied by mimic acting, in trying to cook under the difficulties and danger of surprises. Great activity was displayed with their little forms, now crouched defensively quite under the shelter of a small shield, to be again, apparently without any exertion, standing upright in position of attack, advancing, retreating, on one leg, then on two, then on what seemed four, and so on. After a considerable time devoted to the young men, some women advanced and, with the utterance of a drawn and very melancholy mourning sound, they kept slow and solemn step to the sound of a tom-tom till they had exhibited sufficiently, when they sat down near Mrs. Scobell and Miss Fenwick, who talked with them in the native language. Various scenes followed: there were parties going round the posts, striking sticks on the floor to time, and chanting a rather pleasant tune; they half turn round occasionally and seemed to address each other, then went round again, all the time chanting. Another lot of old men, with a chorus, as in *Faust*, went up and down the whole length of the fort, keeping step, yelling, singing, stamping, some having adopted more comic costumes as the evening advanced.” (S. G., No. 201, p. 75.)

Sir James Brooke writes at Sarawak: “When I seat myself on the mat, one by one they come forward, and tie little bells on my arm; a young

cocoanut is brought, into which I am requested to spit. The white fowl is presented. I rise and wave it, and say, "May good luck attend the Dyaks; may their crops be plentiful; may their fruits ripen in due season; may male children be born; may rice be stored in their houses; may wild hogs be killed in the jungle; may they have *Sijok Dingin* or cold weather." This exhortation over, the dance begins; men and women advance, take my hand, stroke their own faces, utter a wild indescribable shriek, and begin a slow and monotonous twisting wriggling movement, with arms extended, the measure being occasionally somewhat faster when the old ladies feel inclined to indulge in a jump. When this occurs the music gradually becomes more furious and the dance proportionately animated; then may be seen a shy boy or girl stealthily mixing in the crowd, and perhaps some proud mamma will bring her little child of six or seven, and put her into the circle, and the tiny creature will move her tiny hands in unison to the music. At Rapang, on my late excursion, the wife of the Orang Kaya, who was very pretty, and danced exceedingly well, insisted upon exhibiting herself before Bethune and myself, and by this little piece of vanity greatly disturbed the economy of the dance. This being observed and complained of by the other performers, the Head Man (at once the chief and the master of the ceremonies) said in a loud tone, addressing her by name:—"Why don't you dance fair? There you are dancing before the Great Man, and the Great Man can see no one but you." (Mundy ii. 42.)

A Sakarang feast is thus described by Sir Chas. Brooke:—"On entering the house some of the elders came and dragged me to a nice clean mat placed in the midst of many hundreds, who were all dressed in their best, with fine cloths hanging in festoons over our heads. Ten men were howling and turning round and round in a circle, with big sticks, which they struck to the ground, keeping time to their steps and the music. There were viands in large dishes placed before groups—rice, fowls, eggs; bananas, all of a dingy hue, and exceedingly disagreeable to the eye, were on small plates, and many had evidently already partaken largely of them. The masters of the ceremony were busy marching about assisting everybody to the refreshments, and one brought a basin of what looked like gruel to me, and dipped me out a little in a small cup. He said it was his very best brew, and as it did not look so nasty I was persuaded to sip it. The taste was not disagreeable, being more like spruce beer than any other mixture. Some eatables and drinkables were carefully assorted and placed on the top of the house to feed the spirits. The women were in full dress, consisting of a petticoat and brass rings strung on rattans, then fastened round the body, reaching from below the waist up to the breast. There must have been many hundreds of these trumpery brass ornaments attached to each female, besides which most had fine shawls of different patterns arranged Scotch plaid fashion. Flowers were in their hair and shell bracelets on their arms, but beauty was scarce, and I have seldom seen less even among the Dyaks. The men, after a time, were stupidly drunk, or disgustingly stuffed, and the scene became a chaotic confusion of human beings, reeling about in a state of beastly insensibility. But however that may have been, it is a custom, and is strictly a thanksgiving to their

omniscient being after having received a bountiful harvest. The winding up by all parties, except the women, consisted in getting dead drunk." (ii. 72.)

The after effects of a feast are thus pourtrayed by Mr. de Windt:—"Cautiously clambering up the entrance pole, half the notches in which had rotted away and left but a precarious foothold, we entered the house, the flooring of which stood nearly 30 feet above ground, and within which a sorry spectacle presented itself. Heaps of food, in the shape of rice, pork, etc., lay strewn about the floor, on which also reposed (undisturbed even by the loud barking which the dogs set up on our arrival) the male members of the tribe, some seventy in number. The overpowering stench arising from stale arrack, etc., was well nigh sickening, while, to complete the unsavoury *coup d'œil*, a bunch of human heads, their mouths stuffed with rice, grinned at us from the end posts of the *ruai*, whence their owners had not yet sufficiently recovered from their orgies to remove them." (p. 84.)

"Dancing is too universal a custom of the Dusuns and Sundyaks not to be mentioned; they will always on the slightest inducement get up a 'main booloogsi' as it is called, while in times of abundant harvests, dancing is going on all night long, night after night, in every village or cluster of houses. The dance is a very primitive one; a large ring is formed of men and women holding each others' hands, the men together and the women together, and they circle round and round with a sort of slow sliding step, singing or chanting in a somewhat weird monotonous way as they do so. The Bajaus have the 'main booloogsi' also, in their case the women form an inner ring, and the men an outer one, round a pole, and circle round it in opposite directions; and whereas the Dusun dance goes on slowly all night long till daybreak, the Bajaus get excited and sing and dance faster and faster, bounding round the pole till at last they are all exhausted." (Pryer J.A.I. xvi. 234.)

Another account is given by Mr. Whitehead: "Most of the men were clean, healthy-looking fellows, with smooth, good-tempered faces, and some were decidedly good-looking; they were dressed in short loose trousers and jackets of dark blue cloth, their head-covering being a red or blue handkerchief twisted turban fashion; the unmarried men having long hair. The women also wear knickerbockers and a sort of Eton jacket, and round their waists are wound innumerable coils of blackened rattan-cane, strung with metal rings and small brightly-polished cylinders of steel. Their coiffure is simple, being a knob of hair on the top of the head, stuck through with a long pin either of brass or bone; some had many bracelets of brass wire on their arms. Their best holiday hats are most curious, being like the roof of a small Chinese pagoda, beautifully plaited with coloured straws of red, yellow and black; at the extreme point of the pagoda is a tuft of feathers. I think if I had to award the apple of Paris to the beauties of Borneo, the Patatan ladies would stand the best chance of receiving it. Now that I have described our company, I will proceed with the entertainment. This feast had already—when we arrived—been going on for about forty-six hours, and would probably continue another eighteen, making a three days' ball. The great enjoyment after drinking seems to be dancing on these occasions. The

dancers consist of three persons—two women, one at each end of the long house, and a man, who seems to do much as he likes. The women have little to do, merely posturing, holding out their arms at full length and slowly turning their hands up and down; their feet are slowly moved without changing their place on the floor during the whole dance. The man, however, careers up and down the house with a huge grass appendage tied to his back with bits of jingling metal and horn fastened to it; with bounds, accompanied by fiendish yells like a roaring maniac, he remains dancing a sort of break-down before one of his partners for a few moments, then with a bound he is off to the other end of the house; as this is considered really hard work, there are numerous intervals during the performance, which are occupied in administering potations to the supposed exhausted male performer. The music consists of gongs beaten in unison, and the beating of the native tom-tom." (p. 26.)

A Kadyan dance is thus described by Mr. Burbidge (p. 50): "One or two of the girls and boys danced a little, a mat being spread for the purpose; but their dancing is merely shuffling about in a more or less slow and stately manner, a singular effect being produced by the graceful way in which the arms are waved about in all directions. This was particularly noticeable in the case of one of the performers, who waved a handkerchief about during the dance, changing it from one hand to the other, until eventually it vanished from sight altogether; still the arms waved, and the fingers, in their ever slow changing movement, resembled tentaculæ groping for their prey as they were slowly waved through the air in every possible direction, presumably in quest of the lost article, the ultimate recovery of which terminated the dance. The only light in the apartment was the lurid flickering of a dammar torch, and its reflections on the faces and slightly-draped forms of the performers and lookers-on produced a weird effect, which was intensified by the silence of all present."

On the occasion of the first visit in 1845 of a white man to the Sebungoh Dyaks they gave a feast which is thus described by Sir Hugh Low (p. 255): "The Orang Kaya held in his left hand a small saucer filled with rice, which had been made yellow by a mixture with Kunyit, or Turmeric, and other herbs. He then uttered a prayer in Malay, which he had previously requested me to repeat after him. It was addressed to Tuppa, the sun and moon, and the Rajah of Sarawak, to request that the next Padi harvest might be abundant, that their families might be increased with male children, and that their pigs and fowls might be very prolific: it was, in fact, a prayer for general prosperity to the country and tribe. During its continuance, we threw towards heaven small portions of the rice from the saucer at frequent intervals, and at the commencement of every fresh paragraph of the supplicatory address. After this had been finished, the chief repeated the prayer in the Dyak language by himself, throwing the rice towards the sky as before; which, when he had finished, we returned together into the verandah, and the Orang Kaya tied a little hawk-bell round my wrist, requesting me at the same time to tie another, with which he furnished me for the purpose, round the same joint of his right hand. After this, the noisy gongs and tom-toms began to play, being suspended

from the rafters at one end of the verandah, and the chief tied another of the little bells round my wrist : his example was this time followed by all the old men present, each addressing a few words to me, or rather mumbling them to themselves, of which I did not understand the purport.

“ Every person who now came in brought with him several bamboos of cooked rice ; and each, as he arrived, added one to the number of my bells, so that they had now become inconveniently numerous, and I requested, as a favour, that the remainder might be tied upon my left wrist, if it made no difference to the ceremony. Those who followed, accordingly, did as I had begged of them in this particular. Soon after, a spotted fowl was brought in, having its legs tied together : it was held out to an old man, who also tied its wings, and the person who had brought it then made it fast to one of the posts of the door. Immediately after, a white one was brought, which was secured in the same manner. In half-an-hour the spotted one was again produced, and, its legs being loosened, it was given into the hands of the Orang Kaya, who, swinging it backwards and forwards over the heads of the seated people, repeated the same invocation as that previously used by the chief and myself outside. Having finished, the white one was given to me, and, walking up and down the place, I went through the same ceremony. After this, the white one was presented for my acceptance, and another was given to my servant and people. The spotted one was then held by the Orang Kaya over the saucer containing the remainder of the rice we had not used outside ; another man cut off its head with a sharp piece of bamboo ; and the bloody rice was then carried out by the chief and myself, who went through the praying ceremony again. This finished, the gongs and tomtoms again began to play, the boys being the performers. The pig, which forms the principal part of the festival, was then killed with a spear, and being first partially roasted over a fire, was cut up into small pieces, put into green bamboos, and boiled on the spot ; all the persons present assisting at this, to them, pleasing labour. After it was put upon the fires the people all dispersed for about an hour : when they returned, everything was ready to be eaten.

“ I was now getting very tired of their proceedings, and should have been glad to get away ; but retreat, without giving offence, was impossible. Everything being ready, and the feast served to the seated people, the fish, fowls, and pig, of which it consisted, were soon made to disappear, together with a very large quantity of rice. They drank the palm toddy, and finished what wine I had with me. By the time this was accomplished it had become quite dark, so that I requested to be allowed to eat my own dinner, not having the slightest wish to taste the many things which the Dyaks had placed before me, and which they doubtlessly considered the most delicate parts of the entertainment. Having finished my meal, and lighted my cigar, the dancing was commenced by the old men of the tribe, who were tottering under all the fine clothes the village could produce. This uninteresting performance consisted in placing and sustaining their bodies in the most contorted positions, and moving up and down the verandah with the slow and shuffling step and shrill scream of the Sea Dyak dances, which, excepting in the exhibition of heads, this performance much resembled. The actors were occasionally cheered by

the spectators, on having performed dexterously some more difficult and inelegant contortion than ordinary ; but as I did not sufficiently appreciate its

c.p

PANCHALLONG OF TENVALANG, WOODEN IMAGE OF A HORNBILL.  
Set up at Festivals by the Sarebas Dyaks. Height, 1 ft. 11 in. ; length, 2 ft 7 in  
British Mus.

beauties, I was unable to echo them. My Malays, however, who were living at the expense of the Dyaks, were liberal in their commendations. No

drunkenness, or other indecent behaviour, were exhibited at this festival. . . . When Mr. Brooke visits their residences, instead of supplicating him, they each bring a portion of the Padi-seed they intend to sow next season, and with the necklaces of the women, which are given to him for that purpose, and which, having been dipped into a mixture previously prepared, are by him shaken over the little basins which contain the seed, by which process he is supposed to render them very productive. Other tribes, whom from their distance he cannot visit, send down to him for a small piece of white cloth, and a little gold or silver, which they bury in the earth of their farms, to attain the same result. On his entering a village, the women also wash and bathe his feet, first with water, and then with the milk of a young coconut, and afterwards with water again: all this water, which has touched his person, is preserved for the purpose of being distributed on their farms, being supposed to render an abundant harvest certain."

"The principal festival among the Sea Dyaks is the 'Gawei Burong,' also called 'Gawei Pala,' from the head which is feasted. It is given after harvest, but not every year. When a house gets a good yield of paddy, and is so inclined, the feast is organised, and to that house the neighbouring population is invited.

"The preparations extend over a length of time, and cost considerable labour and trouble. Some of the arrangements are carried on with certain rites and formalities, and the impression is conveyed that something very important is about to take place. The chief religious interest of the feast centres in what is called the *Tenyalang*. This is a figure of the rhinoceros hornbill, which has been previously carved in wood. At the feast it is *timanged*, that is, sung to in a monotonous matter; the action being regarded, I presume, as a kind of consecration of it. At length the *Tenyalang* is set on a high pole, which is then fixed into the ground in front of the house. A portion of all Dyak delicacies is hung up beneath it for its food; after this, the climax of the feast is reached, and it becomes a 'Gawei' in earnest. Drinking, which has gone on before to some extent, is now indulged in to the greatest excess. It seems, in fact, to be thought a sin to be sober, and a virtue to be drunk; and if the whole assembly of men are not prostrate, or raving with intoxication, it is owing to the iron constitution of a few, who are able to drink an enormous quantity of 'tuack' and yet retain their senses and their equilibrium. At the feast, divination is practised by examining the hearts of pigs, from certain peculiarities of which they augur either good or bad for the owner. There appears to be no very definite theory among the natives as to the religious meaning of the feast. It is the custom of their forefathers. Sometimes it is said to be the worship of *Betara*, the nearest approach to the idea of God in the Sea Dyak language; sometimes it is 'giving *Bitara* to eat,' he being supposed to eat the essence of the food offered; again, it is a head feast and celebration of victory; and I have heard it claimed to be the worship of *Allah Taala*, but this, of course, is an idea imported from Christianity; but more frequently it is 'nyumbah' (worshipping) *Singalong Burong*.

"'Singalong Burong' is the white and brown hawk so frequently seen in this country; mythologically he is a great *antu* (spirit), the presiding power of

war and inspirer of bravery, from whom Dyaks are very fond of tracing their descent. Why the *Tenyalang* should represent the Rhinoceros Hornbill, and not the hawk, is an apparent inconsistency of which I have never been able to learn any explanation. It is, perhaps, too much to say that this is an idolatrous feast, for there is no proper worship of anything in it; the nearest approach to religious worship is the offering of food, and this is done without anything of religious reverence, as a mere observance of an ancient custom. It is a bare recognition of the higher powers, whatever they may be.

"Nor are the guests required to share in any religious worship. They witness the head feasting, but this is but a celebration of victory, and, though most unchristian and disgusting to European feeling, involves no religious ceremony.

"The social character of the feast is of more practical importance than the religious, and feasting the guests occupies more attention than feeding the

WOODEN MASK  
From Longwei. Length, 2ft.  
(British Mus.)

gods. In some places, at least among the Sea Dyaks, the term *Gawei* is also used of simply eating together, equivalent to the English 'dinner-party,' which they would call a '*Gawei*. In Malay and Land Dyak, too, '*Gawei*' is 'festival,' whether religious or not. In these feasts the obligations of friendship are acknowledged, and hospitality carried out even to prodigality. Here an opportunity is afforded for the celebration of social mirth and joy, which must be expressed with some such circumstances whether in a gathering of Europeans or in a feast of savages. To refuse to attend would not be regarded as any indignity done to their religion, but as a sign of ill-will to the inmates of the house. It is a social gathering of the tribe, when the dignity, the wealth, and position of the chiefs are brought prominently before the many; and everyone displays his finery and his importance according to his ability.

"Here, too, topics of common interest are discussed and plans formed, so that the feast assumes something of the character of a council, and affords one of the best opportunities for indulging in their intense love of '*bechara*.' Sociability, friendship, love of pleasure, religious instinct, and traditional custom, are all here united. . . ." (Perham Miss. Life 1871, p. 502.)

The following are two descriptions of feasts to raise an *ulit* :

"Near us was a sort of small tent, in which were the bones of two celebrated Dyaks, placed there for the occasion. A plate of cakes, rice, eggs, and plantains was put with them. Instead of the manang and cock, a man danced round the pillars with the 'pennegalon' in his hand, every now and then uttering a peculiar cry ; he had a drummer as usual. The pennegalon is a rudely carved and painted representation of a bird, with a remarkably long neck. One is placed on the top of each 'tras,' or pole." (Mrs. Chambers Gosp. Miss. 1st May, 1858, p. 69.)



KINYAH *Tungang*, OR DRAGON. Used at Festivals.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

"I then went down at Banting to Janting's 'Bergawei Antoo.' At the door of every room in which a death has occurred since the last Bergawei Antoo, hung small baskets, representing different articles in use among the Dyaks, a shield, a gun, a head-dress for the men, a sieve, etc., for the

women, prettily woven in colours, and filled with sweet cakes, eggs, and plantains. These are placed on the graves next morning. Just after I arrived, the usual concomitants of a Dyak feast were carried on trays to one end of the house, at which all the surviving female relatives of departed inmates were assembled. Part was eaten by them, part reserved for the Antoos. An old woman then waved a fowl over the head of each mourner, after which each bit a piece of iron and drank a mouthful of arrack to strengthen her against the Antoos. The rotan worn around the waist was then cut in two, and new pieces of rotan, and petticoats selected by the old woman for each person from a heap in the centre, which she put on. A foot of each was then smeared with the blood of the fowl to show that the 'oulat,' or taboo, was removed. Persons who have lost near relatives are supposed to wear very shabby clothes, and according to Dyak custom, cannot change them until the head of an enemy has been obtained. The recent importation of Sarebas heads has removed the 'oulat' very speedily, and almost every house has 'Bergawei Antoo.' In the evening the men performed the same kind of ceremony as the women, only they get very drunk. Wailing goes on during the day. At night dances are performed, and the people make merry." (Mrs. Chambers Gosp. Miss. 1st June, 1859, p. 84)

[FOR SPECIAL HARVEST FEASTS AND CEREMONIES, *see* AGRICULTURE.]



CLAPPER OR STRIKER. Used at New Year's Feast. Upper Kapuas.  
Prof. Molengraaff Coll.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
(Leiden Mus.)

## CHAPTER X.

### MEDICINE MEN AND WOMEN.

BORICH: Land Dyak priestess—Heredity—Theory of sickness—*Pinya*—*Sesab*—*Nyibaiyan*—Boriches at work—Doctrine of sickness—Recovery of the *semungi*—Daylight visions—Claim against spells—*Hantu* trees. MANANGS: Description—Heredity—Initiation—Sickness means demoniacal possession—Exorcism—Effigies to deceive the *antu*—Charms—Swinging cure—Altars—Seven souls—Offerings—*Lupong* and *Pengorah rumuah*—*Bungea jaket*—*Manang bali*—His importance—How initiated. MANANGISM (by the Ven. Archdeacon Perham): Mysterious powers—Treatment—*Pansa utci*—Epileptic fits—Fear of cholera and smallpox—His *lupong*—Impudent frauds—*Bata Ilau* (stone of light)—*Pagar Api* (fence of fire)—The incantation—Vicarious sacrifice—"Sweeping"—"Swinging"—"Making a rush"—"Planting a *Pentik*"—"Making a *Pencha*"—"Taking a long sight"—"Making a *Bayak*"—"Journey to Hades"—"A post for the Manes"—"Killing the demon"—"Adjutant bird"—"Displaying fire"—Swings—"Wrapping with floor laths"—Initiation—*Besudi*—*Bekliti*—*Manang bangun*—Women manangs—Comparison with Shamanism—The manang a doctor, not a priest. MALANAU MEDICINE: Great variety—*Berasit* and *Embayu*—*Siag*—*Abong* and *Elib* boat—The *Brayune*—A master medicine-man—A frenzied doctress. GENERAL MEDICINE BELIEFS: *Antu* tree—Seized by spirits—Turned into orang-outan—"Internal satisfaction"—A poisonous leaf—Laying hurricane spirits—Curious medicine—Hair to be buried—Questions as to health—Change of names.

#### BORICH—LAND DYAK MEDICINE WOMEN.

"In most Land Dyak tribes, there are five or six priests, and in some districts half the female population are included under the denomination of priestesses. In Western Sarawak they are not so numerous. The power of these women consists chiefly in their chanting, which is supposed to be most effectual in driving away spirits. Strange to say, some of the sentences they chant are not in their own language, but in Malay. These women are not necessarily impostors<sup>1</sup>; they but practise the ways and recite the songs which they received from their predecessors, and the dignity and importance of the office enable them to enjoy some intervals of pleasurable excitement during their laborious lives. Their dress is very gay; over their heads they throw a red cloth, on the top of which they place a cylindrical cap, worked in red, white, and black beads, and their short petticoats are fringed with hundreds of small, tinkling hawk-bells. Around their neck is hung a heavy bead necklace, consisting of five or six rows of black, red, and white opaque beads strongly bound together. In addition, they hang over their shoulders, belt-fashion, a string of teeth, large hawk-bells and opaque beads." (St. John i. 199.)

"The Land Dyak College of Physicians consists of two classes—the *daya beruri*, who are men, and whose aid is chiefly sought in sickness; and the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Chalmers considered them wilful impostors. (O. P. p. 2.)

*barich*, who are women, and their art consists chiefly in doctoring the paddy by means of their dull monotonous chants and songs. The doctorship of the men is frequently hereditary in families—the *setagi*, or circlet of large opaque white and black beads, on which is strung a few small fragments of gold, and the *somün*, a number of teeth of beasts, large and small hawk-bells, and beads, all strung together, which form the 'charm' by which the healing wonders are performed, descending from father to son, as no doubt the most profitable and productive articles of the ancestral heritage. Most of the females of a village are, when quite children, enrolled among the weird sisterhood of the *barich* as the mere fact of their enrolment is supposed to be sufficient to guard them from serious illness; but few of them ever attain skill and accuracy enough in the necessary formulæ to entitle them to enter upon the practice of their profession.

"The Dyak theory of sickness is—either that it is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the patient's body, or that he has been struck by one of them, or that one of them has been and enticed his soul out of his body. To expel *Hantu* from the human body, and to be able to see a vagrant soul, and then rescue it from the greedy clutches of the malignant spirits—in these things consists the perfection of the healing art. All accomplished Dyak physicians, therefore, pretend that they can see spirits, that they can see the souls of both men and paddy—for paddy has a soul also—and that their 'charm' is so powerful, as to bring forth inimical *Hantu* from a sick man's body, just as a dentist extracts a troublesome tooth in civilized countries. The only real medical application that I have ever known Dyaks use, are pepper and chilis, *sirih-pinang*, and turmeric; in slight sicknesses the two former are sometimes taken internally—more commonly, a quid of *sirih-pinang* is chewed by a friend, and spit out over the part affected, or if turmeric be preferred, a little is macerated in cocoa-nut water, &c., and rubbed into it and over it. If the sickness be somewhat heavy, and the doctor in his wisdom declares that there are *Hantu* in the patient's body, he thus proceeds to extract them: first, he rubs a mess of fowl's blood, turmeric, spittle, &c., over the part where the pain is, and striking it gently two or three times with his 'charm,' he then brings the 'charm' down to the floor with a crack, and, sure enough, there always roll out from it small fragments of wood, stone, cloth, &c., and these it is which are the *Hantu* whom his art has dislodged. Should the sickness still increase, however, or should it have appeared serious from its beginning, the patient's friends make choice of one of the two following modes of treatment—the doctoring called *Pinya*, or that called *Sesab*.

"1. *Pinya*. A pig and fowl are killed, and a large quantity of rice boiled, from which small portions are taken, and with the addition of *pinang* (betel-nut), yams, &c., placed in a paddy-shovel outside the door of the family apartment in the *awach*, or long room, as an offering to the *Hantu*, that they may eat and be satisfied, and so depart. The family are confined to their room for four days. One *daya beruri* (who continually beats a small drum, and is called *daya nütug*), and four or five *barich* must be present to give due effect to the doctoring. On the first day, two *barich* pretend to fight wildly together with naked swords outside the door of the patient's room—

varying their performance with fierce and frequent slashes, here and there, in empty space. This is supposed to inspire the troublesome spirits with a salutary terror of the *barich's* power. Then come singing and the monotonous beating of a single drum, and *chanang* (a small kind of gong), which lasts till dawn of the second day. At midnight, however, the male doctor obtains the soul of the sick man. First of all, he wraps a small cup tightly up in white cloth, and places it in the midst of the offering mentioned above, and then, with a torch in one hand, and tinkling his 'charm' with the other, he stalks mysteriously about, à la First Robber in a romantic drama of thrilling interest, and at length brings the exhibition to a close by requesting one of the admiring spectators to look into the cup which he had wrapped in white cloth and placed amid the *Hantu* offering; he is obeyed, and, sure enough, a small bunch of hair is always found in the cup. This is the sick man's vagrant soul (*semūngi*)—as it appears in the eyes of the uninitiated,—to a doctor it has the appearance of a human being on a small scale; and the medicine man thereupon takes it into his hand and pokes it back into the sick man's body by an invisible hole in his skull—but he by no means guarantees that it will stop there. At noon the next day he places a small fowl in a portion of the exterior skin of the *pinang* blossom, shaped like a boat, covers it up with red cloth, and, accompanied by a *chanang* and a drum, he proceeds to some small stream in the jungle and lets the chicken free by its side. If it return to the village, the patient may die; if not, he may recover. This business over, the doctoring is complete, the singing of the *barich* ceases, and the patient is left to recover, as best he may, in the hands of the great healer—skilled 'Mother nature.'

"2. *Sesab*. To perform this doctoring, one male doctor and no *barich* are required. The taboo<sup>2</sup> of the house lasts for eight days, and a pig and a fowl are slaughtered. Outside the sick man's apartment a *sekurung*, or bamboo altar is erected, and upon and around it are placed the eatables intended to satisfy the appetite of the gluttonous *Hantu*.<sup>3</sup> The lads of the village are

<sup>2</sup> "Among the Land Dyaks the Pamali Peniakit is undertaken by a whole village during any sickness which prevails generally amongst the members of the tribe; it is marked by a pig slain and a feast being made in order to propitiate the divinity who has sent the malady among them; in its severest form it is of eight days' continuance, and during this period everything in the village is at a stand still, inhabitants shutting themselves up from all intercourse with strangers. This form of Pamali prevented my personally visiting the Brang and Sipanjang tribes, as they were under the taboo when I was in their vicinity, for a kind of dysentery which was prevalent among them.

"The Pamali Peniakit is also undertaken by individuals when any member of the family is sick; thus, parents often put themselves under its regulations, fondly hoping that by denying themselves for a time the pleasures of intercourse with their fellow creatures, they will prevail upon the malignant spirit, which is supposed to have shed its withering influence over their offspring, to restore it to its wonted health and strength." (Low, p. 260.)

<sup>3</sup> "Once, on visiting a *Sibuyow* sick-room, I was struck with an old man who stood at the window and prayed aloud for the recovery of the patient; at the same time he made mention of a list of offerings about to be made, viz., one fowl, one jar, one plate, one cocoa-nut, &c." (Grant, p. 69.)

"During my stay in the house of the [? Kyan] chief, Knipa Batu, one of his children, a little boy, was at the point of death from fever. After exhausting all their skill in applying remedies, as a last resource the chief took a young chicken and passed it a number of times over the face of the child, then with his most valued war sword killed it at the window, and threw it upwards from him in the direction of the setting sun. The sword with the blood on it he then held over the face of the child as before, with fervent invocation, desiring that his beloved child might not die, and,

pressed into the service of the relative of the invalid who gives the feast, gongs and drums are borrowed, and for two days a continual clatter is kept up, while at intervals the said relative attires himself in his best, and shrieks and dances as long as his lungs and legs and arms are content to exert themselves. The Dyaks really seem to consider dancing as a part of divine service, attributing to it some mysterious and wholesome efficacy—the 'why' and 'wherefore' in the matter being, as usual, thought to be quite unworthy of rational and sensible folks, who, like themselves, have had wise and clever ancestors to establish for them salutary institutions. On the first night of the doctoring, the patient's soul is caught as in '*Pinya*,' and on the second day his body is washed with cocoa-nut water by the doctor—a very remarkable custom, as, in general, the Dyaks seem to think that unwashed bodies, unkempt hair, and a shut-up apartment, are the best means of obtaining health both for themselves and others.

"3. There is yet a third doctoring, called *Nyibaiyan*, but it lasts for only one day, and only one fowl is killed. Two *barich* conduct it, and chant away as usual; but no process occurs at it that is worthy of notice, and it is held only in cases of slight indisposition." (The Rev. W. Chalmers in "Mr. Grant's Tour.")<sup>4</sup>

laying himself down beside the unconscious little sufferer, indulged in the wildest paroxysm of grief." (R. Burns, *Jour. Ind. Arch.*, p. 146.)

"On the Quop river we passed, in the course of our walk to-day, a small plaited basket of viands swinging on a tree, containing rice, salt, and other uninviting condiments. They were placed there in consequence of a chief's wife being sick, and intended as an appeal to the Antus." (Brooke i. 31.)

"Usually in the case of a person suffering from some long illness, who wishes to make an offering to the gods when the omen has proved favourable, a small animal is placed in a cleft stick outside the house together with a few eggs and sometimes a fowl or so, in order that the spirits may regale themselves thereon." (Hose, *J.A.I.* xxiii. 163.)

"Several times in the forest at Pula Tega near the beach I have seen curious little models of houses; in the inside were coconut-shells and little grass trays containing tobacco; these little buildings have been erected by the fishermen, and contained offerings to the hantus, to ensure good luck in the fishing season. In the Kilias, amongst the mangrove-swamps, are many of these hantus' houses; some have even models of cannons at their doors. My men would not touch anything belonging to them, declaring that the 'hantus' would bring about ill-luck if they were to do so." (Whitehead, p. 80.)

When, at Banjarmasin, one of Beeckman's officers was taken ill, the natives wished to cure him by making offerings. "The manner of these offerings is thus: When a person is very ill (especially in the condition Mr. Becher was), imagining him to be possessed, they buy the aforesaid provisions [fowls, rice, and fruit]; and, having dressed them with as much care as if they were to make a splendid entertainment, they carry this banquet into the woods to a certain house, or shed, built always under the largest trees near the water side, where they leave it. As to what ceremonies of prayer, &c., they use on this occasion, I know not particularly, only that they invite the devil very kindly to it, assuring him that it is very good and well dress'd, and begging him to accept it. Now these woods are so full of monkeys that if never so much was left at night, they would devour all before morning, which these ignorant creatures believe to be eaten by the devil: and if the person recovers they think themselves very much obliged to him for his civility and good nature, and by way of thanks they send him more: but if the person dies, then they rail against him, calling him a cross, ill-natured devil; that he is often a deceiver, and that he has been very ungrateful in accepting the present and then killing their friend. In fine, they are very angry with him. I saw one of these houses on the banks of the narrow river (where we pass'd almost daily under a vast tree, which is called the devil's tree)." (Beeckman, p. 119.)

<sup>4</sup> "No enterprise can be undertaken with any chance of success, no marriage can take place, no child can be born, no sick person be cured, no dead person be buried, no one can even die in

Once Mr. Grant met "an old chief, who was very ill. The *manang*, or doctor, on this occasion was really a woman. She was pretending to draw bits of wood and needles out of the poor man's stomach; and as the old hag would feel, and at last suddenly seize hold of a bit of skin, and pretend that she had caught the malady (viz., a chip of wood), the prostrated chief, who thoroughly believed it all, observing me smiling, said, 'Ah! you don't believe in this; but she is doing me a *great* deal of good!' Then, to see a party of these doctors feigning to draw, by hand, an evil spirit or a malady from a person's body is very ridiculous. At times you will find a circle of them dancing round and round, like jumpers, and pretending to catch evil spirits. 'I've got him; cut him down—cut him down!' Dyaks, however, are fond enough, when they are really ill, to come to Europeans for medicines; but the use of these by no means weakens their belief in their practices. 'A different race a different custom,'<sup>5</sup> they say. A Dyak had lately to undergo a dangerous operation, and the doctor (Mr. Cruickshank) put him under chloroform. Another Dyak, who witnessed the operation, wishing to explain the effect of the chloroform on his friend, said 'his soul left him.'" (p. 71.)

"The doctrine of sickness held by all the Dyaks is that it is caused by the absence of 'principle of life,' *Semangat*, which has been abstracted from the body of the patient by an inimical *antu*. The Land Dyaks seem to think that a man has but one *Semangat*, or, as they call it, *Semungi*, and the form which it assumes to the eye of the vulgar is that of a bunch of human hair; to the initiated, however, its appearance is that of a living human body. To their paddy a *Semungi* is also assigned, and it is an object of their feast to doctor this living principle when the growing paddy is blighted or sick, and to retain it in their store-house when the harvest treasures have been gathered home. It will amuse you to hear how a Quop Dyak lost and regained his *Semungi*.

"Last August, a young married man named Si-Kisar, while going through the jungle, saw a squirrel seated on the large projecting roots of a lofty tree which overhung a stream. He threw his spear at it, and thought he had struck it. On running to seize his spoil, what was his horror when he saw

peace without the presence of some *bilians*. On these occasions these women sing several days in succession, or speaking more correctly they yell at the top of their voices, accompanying themselves on a tambourine which they strike with their fingers; at the same time they prophesy. All this is accompanied according to the object of the ceremony, by various juggleries; thus, for example, they distribute unhusked rice on the ground, then they besprinkle with water several times the object for which the assembly has been called together. At intervals in a low voice and with composed features they pronounce some mystic prayers, then from time to time they invoke with loud shouts the *antang* bird (*Falco pondicerianus*) or other spirits. All these ceremonies, which generally last several days, are accompanied by feasts and amusements, such as music, dances, discharges of guns, &c., &c., and there is also a considerable consumption of arak, or failing that another intoxicating liquor which is prepared by the Dyaks themselves, and is called '*dzak-ka-tan*' by them." (S. Müller, ii. 364-5.) The word *bilian*, female *manang*, probably has some connection with the word *pelian* used by Archdeacon Perham for the ceremony itself.—H. L. R.

<sup>5</sup> "Whilst visiting Ubong, who was sick, Bishop Chambers met a female *manang*, who assured him she had been to the infernal regions, and had a stone, by means of which she could tell everything that had happened. The *manangs* do not believe their own assertions, but impose on the people in a degree. Even Labba thought the Bishop had a glass which would tell who had taken some money he had lost." (Gosp. Miss. 1st May, 1859, p. 68.)

the apparently lifeless form raise up in the shape of a dog and walk a little distance, when it sat down on the trunk of a fallen tree in the form of a man. The body, hands, and legs were of many colors, and there was no head, the body being merely pointed at the top. This was the 'antu' of a man who had lost his head in war. These spirits have the power of assuming the form of men, beasts, etc.; and are very spiteful. Poor Kisar ran home, and immediately fell sick of fever. His father, who is the great *dyak berruri* (male doctor) of Quop, directly rubbed his body with a mixture of spittle and *tumu* (a yellow root), and set off into the jungle armed with his *Setaga*, a large hawk-bell, the sounding of which is a mark of grief. With a light grasp over the vagabond soul, he hastened back to the village, and sure enough by the next day Si-Kisar had recovered.

"Another Land Dyak idea of sickness is, that it is caused by the presence of *antu* in the body. One of my Quop Dyaks, Si-Rugi by name, was attacked by inflammation of the bowels; his grandmother insisted on sending for the old doctor just alluded to, Pa-Kisar. A fowl was killed, and the lad's stomach, as he lay on the mat, was rubbed with a filthy mixture of its blood, Pa-Kisar's spittle, and *tumu*. A *jurat*, charm composed of pig's teeth, *Setaga*, magic stones, etc., were shaken over the part doctored, and then brought to the floor with a crack. The doctor removed his hand and the charm, and sure enough (at three separate times) there lay on the mat a flinty stone, a splinter of bamboo, and a small roll of dirty rags. These were proclaimed to be *antu* which Pa-Kisar had just extracted from the lad's stomach—we, indeed, saw only rags." (W. Chalmers, O.P., p. 9.)

Here is a case in point. Bishop Chambers writes: "I found Anggi's wife in a high state of fever, shrieking and rolling about in agony. The only reply I could get to my questions as to her disorder was, 'she had been struck by a spirit, and was in pain everywhere.' I thought she must have eaten something poisonous, as I could not imagine that exposure even to the worst malaria for so short a time would produce such results, so I sent for one of the women who had been with her in the jungle to discover, if possible, what it was. But Tibi would not have it so,—'It is true we had been looking for mushrooms, but we found none: we had eaten some fruits and leaves, but they were wholesome. I saw the demon, he was crouching down; we fled and paddled with all our might, and got home in this state.' She herself was ill. One of the men who had been left in charge of her said that during our absence a *hantoo* or 'ghost' had come to the river's bank and pelted them, but the other man denied this assertion." (Miss. Field, 1867, p. 72.)

"The underlying idea of being made ill by inimical people is exemplified in the following story by Mr. Grant: "I had a good lot of *Becharas* to settle; one was of rather a curious nature. A Dyak of the Serin tribe was cutting down jungle to make a new farm, but a Bukar Dyak, whose land marched with the former, laid a claim for the newly-cleared land, and to assert his claim placed a farmhouse on it. Soon after, two men, near relations of the Serin, died, and their deaths he (the Serin) attributed to evil agency. His idea was that the Bukar had invoked the devil to lay his spells on the deceased. The Serin Dyak now asked permission to retaliate by the same means (that, I

suppose, of erecting a shed on the Bukar Dyak's farm). I could not help laughing at this odd fancy, although I had heard of superstitions in a less developed form in more civilized lands than Borneo. At first, not quite perceiving how the deaths had occurred, I pointedly asked the Serin whether the Bukar had killed, poisoned, or committed any personal injury on the deceased, so as to have caused their death, and he answered, 'No, he had not.' (p. 20.)

Mr. Grant (p. 94) relates the following curious superstition as existing among some of the Land Dyaks "about a certain *Hantu* tree. If a man happens to cut this with his sword he is immediately enchanted, and the attraction of the tree is so great, that for hours and hours he cannot help moving in a circle round it, and it is only when the spell is exhausted that the unfortunate man can get home."

"Walking through a jungle between the villages of Sennah and Sudoish, a large snake crossed our path; and when I enquired of the Sennah Dyak, Pa-Benang, who was walking before me, his reason for not killing it—his parang having been drawn, and his arm arrested when raised to strike—he told me that the bamboo bush, opposite to which we were then standing, had been a man, and one of his relations, who, dying about ten years previously, had appeared in a dream to his widow, and informed her that he had become the bamboo tree we then saw, and the ground in its immediate neighbourhood, and everything on it, was sacred on this account. Pa-Benang told me, that in spite of the warning given to the woman in the vision, that the Dyaks should respect this tree, a man had once had the hardihood to cut a branch from it, in consequence of which he soon after died; his death being considered by the tribe as a punishment for his sacrilegious act. A small bamboo altar was erected before the bush, on which were the remnants of offerings which had been, but not recently, presented to the spirit of the tree." (Low, p. 263.)

#### MANANGS—SEA DYAK MEDICINE MEN.

"The *manangs* or medicine-men of the Sea Dyaks rank next in importance to the *Tuah Rumah* or village chiefs, and it is by no means an unusual thing for the medicine-man himself to be the chief of the village in which he resides. There is nothing whatever to prevent him becoming so, provided he be popular; but to be popular he must be a faithful interpreter of dreams and a powerful exorciser of evil spirits. The entire system of the *manang* is based upon superstition and imposture supplemented with a smattering of herbalism. His reputation depends upon the number of cures he is able to effect; or, in other words, upon the trickeries his superior cunning enables him to practise upon the credulity of the people. The *manang* is an hereditary institution; it does not necessarily descend from father to son, but it is usually confined to the family.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "Many of the priests are the blind and maimed for life, who by following this profession are enabled to earn a livelihood." (Sp. St. John i. 63.)

"I have now got a blind man living with me. I heard that the Manangs, or spirit doctors, wanted to get hold of him, so one day I asked him if he really was going to become a manang? He replied, 'Yes, I suppose so; but if I only had eyesight, catch me becoming a manang.'" (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1874, p. 95.)

"To ensure success in his profession his cunning must be of a high order, otherwise his rogueries would be detected and his services discontinued. The more effectually to shield him from the possible revelations of a too prying curiosity he envelops himself and his belongings in a cloud of mystery. As it would be ruinous to him were his box of charms and devilries exposed to public view, he announces the punishment of blindness to any human being venturesome enough to peep into it." (Brooke Low.)

"When the Dayaks are questioned as to their belief in these easily-exposed deceits, they say no; but the custom has descended to them from their ancestors, and they still pay these priests heavy sums to perform the ancient rites." (Sp. St. John i. 62.)

"There are two descriptions of *manangs*, the regular and the irregular. The regular (*manang ngagi antiu*) are those who have been called to that vocation by dreams, and to whom the spirits have revealed themselves. The irregular (*manang ngaga diri*) are self-created and without a familiar spirit.

"The regular are male and female *manang laki* and *manang indu*, and also *manang bali*, or unsexed males, of whom more anon. When a person conceives a call from the spirits he bids adieu for awhile to his relatives, abandons his former occupation, and attaches himself to some thorough-paced *manang*, who, for a consideration, will take him in hand and instruct him until he is fully qualified to practice on his own account. It is not enough, however, for him to simply say that he feels himself called; he must prove to his friends that he is able to commune with the spirits, and in proof of this he will occasionally abstain from food and indulge in trances from which he will awake with all the tokens of one possessed by a devil, foaming at the mouth and talking incoherently." (Brooke Low.)

"The *manang* looks upon a sick person as being possessed with an evil spirit, and as long as this evil spirit remains in possession the patient cannot regain his health; he conjures it to depart; if it be obstinate and will not go he summons his own familiar spirit, and requests it to show him in what way the tormentor may be prevailed upon to take its departure. He acts upon its suggestions and propitiates it with sacrifices; but if it still prove obstinate and refuse to budge, the *manang* admits his inability to deal with it, and some other wizard is called in who is believed to have at his command a more powerful familiar. Whether the patient live or die the *manang* is rewarded for his pains; he makes sure of that before he undertakes the case, for he is put to considerable inconvenience, being fetched away from his own home and obliged to take up his abode with his patient; he can therefore undertake only one case at a time, but to it he devotes his whole attention. He takes his meals with the family, and in other ways makes himself quite at home. If a cure be effected he receives a valuable present in addition to his ordinary expenses. Herbal remedies are frequently administered by him, and a diet enjoined. Such treatment works wonders in all simple disorders, and not unnaturally, but to enhance the value of the cure, spells are muttered and cabalistic verses recited exorcising the foul fiend that is tormenting the body. I have known *manangs* to have administered in this way European medicines procured from the Government dispensary, for they are wide awake and ready

at all times to avail themselves of remedies of known efficacy. Every regular *manang* is supposed to be attended by a familiar spirit who is good and powerful; but it often happens that the evil spirit is the more powerful of the two, and when this is the case the sick man cannot recover, and death ensues. By death they understand the flight of the soul out of the body. When a person complains of pain in the body the familiar will often suggest that some mischievous devil has put something into him to cause the pain. The *manang* will therefore manipulate the part and pretend by some sleight of hand to draw something out of it, a stick, or a stone, or whatever it may chance to be, which no doubt he has previously concealed about his person, and he will hand it about and exhibit it as the cause of the pain in the body which he has thus been able to remove without so much as leaving a mark on the skin.<sup>7</sup>

"On other occasions if the disease be internal, the *manang* calls together all the friends of the sick person, making, with the assistance of others playing on gongs and tomtoms, a deafening noise sufficient to kill a person in ordinary health. He pretends to converse with the spirit which troubles the afflicted person, or he pretends to fall into a trance, during which his spirit is supposed to wander about in the spirit world to find out what is the matter with the patient.

"His method of treating diseases is not very conducive to the restoration of health, but if the strength of the person is sufficient to bear him through, it is well; but should the patient die no blame is attached to the *manang*, but it all devolves on the malignant spirit, who is certainly not so black as, on these occasions, he is painted.

"Once during a journey up the Rejang river a wizard was called in to visit the sick wife of one of my companions. He was dressed in war costume and wore his side-arms. The sick woman was seated close to where he was standing. The room was crowded with people and but partially lit with a single torch. The gifts were hung up in a row under a *cajang* canopy and Bua Dieng, the conjurer, was to cast out the devil who was tormenting the woman by the help of his familiar Avun Lalang. The first thing for the wizard to do was to discover through the instrumentality of his familiar whether the woman was destined to die. Being satisfied she might yet live he conjured his familiar to discover to him the evil thing that was vexing her body, and after a great deal of mystery and exorcism he gingerly exhibited between his finger and thumb a ball of moss which he

<sup>7</sup> "In ordinary times they pretend to work the cure of the sick by means of incantations, and after blinding the patient's eyes, pretend by the aid of the spirits to draw the bones of fish or fowls out of their flesh." (Sp. St. John i. 62.)

"To increase their authority, they do not hesitate to declare that they have predicted every event. No accident happens to man or goods of which they do not say that they had previous warning; and a sick man scarcely ever calls upon them for their aid when they do not tell him that for some time previously they had known he was going to have an attack. . . . For getting back a man's soul he receives six gallons of uncleaned rice; for extracting a spirit from a man's body, the same fee, and for getting the soul of the rice at harvest feasts he receives three cups from every family in whose apartment he obtains it. The value of six gallons of uncleaned rice is not very great, but it is the sixtieth part of the amount obtained by an able-bodied man for his annual farm labour." (*ibid* i. 201.)

claimed to have found in her head. His face was now a picture of horror as he offered to introduce this noxious thing into someone else's head, driving this other person nearly wild with terror until the latter was reassured by seeing it flung out of the window.

"Another form of cure is similar to that well-known one of sorcery found in Europe, and was witnessed as follows:—A son of Uñaté, Laghieng by name, a boy of tender age, was suffering from some disorder of the stomach, whereupon his mother quickly procured the services of a *manang bali* (hereafter described), who made effigies of mother and child by means of bundles of clothes. The effigy of the mother wore a mask, earrings, jacket and turban; that of the child, with beads for eyes, a turban, and a scarlet *chawat* (loin-cloth) was placed between its legs. The gifts of the 'devil' were hanging in a row under a *cajang*, and consisted of Uñaté's shield decorated with human hair at the one end, and his war jacket of panther-skin adorned with horn-bill plumes at the other end, while in between were the wife's waist-beads and showy clothing. The object of the witch was to persuade the devil to accept these bribes and leave the boy to recover." (Brooke Low.)

"I observed one of the Sibuyow customs somewhat new to me. A child was sick, and, as a charm, a straight stick, six feet high, was stuck in a water-jar before the door of the apartment in which it lay: leaves, surmounted by a Battick handkerchief, crowned the head, and the stem was twined with a *chawat* or waist-cloth. On inquiry, I learned that it was a charm, and that a ghost or fairy (*antu*) would descend and make known the best cure for the child—either in a dream, or whilst they were awake, they could not be certain which." (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 303.)

"In the evening near the Lingga we witnessed a poor sick woman being doctored. A decorated seat had been placed for her on the outer part of the house, and here she was seated, surrounded by eight of the doctors, who were dressed in gorgeous clothes, and some in female costume. An umbrella was over the patient, and the doctors paraded around her, giving utterance to a monotonous kind of chant. In the first circuit they placed their hands on their heads, and the second on their eyes, the next on their mouth; and so on, until they reached their knees; after which they lifted the woman from her seat, and swung her to and fro. This lasted for three hours, when I thought she would have died from exhaustion. The doctors were howling all night outside her door, and we heard she was better next morning. So much for imaginary satisfaction." (Brooke i. 94.)

"In cases of sickness a certain kind of altar is erected near the sick person's head, offerings are put on it, and a single gong beaten all the while. Then the priests sprinkle the sick man with blood, and make certain marks on him, as well as on his relations. No inmate of the house is allowed to leave it for two or three days; no stranger may enter. Then there are three or four men and women appointed to go by night with torches and gongs beating in the jungle, carrying with them rings of beads washed in the blood, and magic stones, in order to seek for the place where the departed soul of the sick may have run to, and bring it back to him, after which crowning feat he is said to recover." (Haughton, M.A.S. iii. 196.) See *supra*, p. 242 footnotes.

"The Dyaks believe that every individual has seven souls (*samangat*), and that when a person is sick one or more of these are in captivity, and must be reclaimed to effect a cure."<sup>8</sup> (Brooke Low.) "Dyaks when visited by any severe sickness ask forgiveness of the *antu*. They build a small hut like one of their own rooms, put a piece of matting on the floor, and then place rice, cakes, fruit, and eggs on plates as an offering; these they place in the hut, and round about they hang their gongs and place their jars on the ground near. A fowl and pig are killed and the blood sprinkled about the hut. All the roads to the house are shut up for three days; no work of any kind is carried on. They visit no one, no one visits them. Each man gives his share of rice and things to the *antu*." (Crossland Gosp. Miss., Mar., 1866, p. 40.)

"Some *manangs* are provided with a magic stone<sup>9</sup> into which they look to see what is ailing a man, and prescribe for him accordingly. Every genuine *manang* is provided with a bag of charms called *lupong*, to him a collection of inestimable value; being a present to him from the spirit world, it is irreplaceable if lost or stolen. In reality its contents are a mass of rubbish, curious sticks and stones, abnormal developments of cane and root, tusks and teeth and excrescences of horn, with here and there a herb or two, such as turmeric, ginger, &c. *Pengorah rumwah* are the bundle of charms handed from father to son and hung on the head of the post. Among Gari's (a *manang*) collection I observed a smooth venetian red pebble and a so-called cock's egg, and he mentioned as stolen a yellow stone bead and a gold button. The charms are used in a variety of ways, sometimes the body is rubbed with them, sometimes they are dipped in water, and the water thus enchanted is drunk, and sometimes a bit is given to the patient to wear about his person as a talisman to ward off some particular danger.

"When a *manang* is in attendance upon a sick person visitors are not received.<sup>10</sup> The room he occupies is tabued, and, if circumstances require it, so is everything that belongs to him: his farm, his fruit-trees, and his garden. The language used by the *manangs* in their incantations is unintelligible even to the Dyaks themselves, and is described by the uninitiated as *bungea jaker*, i.e. *manang* gibberish. Some profess to understand what is said, but if they really do so it is because they have taken the pains to learn it with the view, no doubt, of performing cures on their own account later on. It may be

<sup>8</sup> "The Balau Dyaks distinguish between the soul—which they term *semungat*—and the animal life. In cases of severe sickness they say that the soul has left the body, has entered *Sebaian hidop*, and is travelling towards *Sebaian mati*. If it enters *Sebaian mati* immediate death ensues, but in order to prevent this unfortunate conclusion, *mannangs* are employed to follow and overtake it while still in *Sebaian hidop*, and to bring it back to the body.

"The Sebuyos believe that each man has seven *semungats*, and that sickness is caused by the loss of one of them." (Horsburgh, p. 24.)

<sup>9</sup> Among the Upper Sarawak Dyaks "they have several large stones with distinct names, *Le Bandos*, *Le Gunas*, *Le Ruyare*, etc., at different Daya villages. On certain days they are carried about in procession, and festivals are held at their places. Such stones—'guna,' as they are called—have particular houses built, and a Daya, who is paid by the village, is appointed to watch over them." (Haughton, M.A.S., iii. 196.)

<sup>10</sup> This appears to be a contradiction to the statement on page 267.

simply some archaic form of the ordinary spoken language interspersed with cabalistic formulæ, spells and charms for different purposes. *Timong*, the monotonous chant of the *manangs*, is a mixture of prayer and invocation, cursing and imprecation; like the other it is not modern, and is largely mixed with archaic forms and disused words; sense gives way to the exigencies of rhyme with jingling-like endings, and it has a refrain.<sup>11</sup>

"The *manang bali* is a most extraordinary character, and one difficult to describe: he is a male in female costume, which he will tell you he has adopted in obedience to a supernatural command, conveyed three separate times in dreams. Had he disregarded the summons he would have paid for it with his life. Before he can be permitted to assume female attire he is sexually disabled. He will then prepare a feast and invite the people. He will give them *tuak* to drink, and he will sacrifice a pig or two to avert evil consequences to the tribe by reason of the outrage upon nature. Should he fail to do all this every subsequent calamity, failure of crops and such like, would be imputed to his conduct and he would be heavily fined. Thenceforth he is treated in every respect like a woman and occupies himself with feminine pursuits. His chief aim in life is to copy female manners and habits so accurately as to be undistinguishable from other women, and the more nearly he succeeds in this the more highly he is thought of, and if he can induce any foolish young fellow to visit him at night and sleep with him his joy is extreme; he sends him away at daybreak with a handsome present and then, openly before the women, boasts of his conquest, as he is pleased to call it. He takes good care that his husband finds it out. The husband makes quite a fuss about it, and pays the young fellow's fine with pleasure. As episodes of this kind tend to show how successfully he has imitated the character of a woman he is highly gratified, and rises, accordingly, in the estimation of a tribe as a perfect specimen.<sup>12</sup> As his services are in great request and he is well paid for his trouble, he soon grows rich, and when he is able to afford it he takes to himself a husband in order to render his assumed character more complete. But as long as he is poor he cannot even dream of marriage, as nothing but the prospect of inheriting his wealth would ever induce a man to become his husband, and thus incur the ridicule of the whole tribe. The position as husband is by no means an enviable one; the wife proves a very jealous one, and punishes every little infidelity with a fine. The women view him, the husband, with open contempt and the men with secret dislike. His only pleasure must be in seeing his *quasi* wife accumulate wealth and wishing her a speedy demise, so that he may inherit the property.

"In the time of Sir Spencer St. John (i. 62) in Lingga, out of thirty *manangs*, only one had given up man's attire.

"It is difficult to say at what age precisely a person may become a *manang bali*. One thing, however, is certain, he is not brought up to it as a profession, but becomes one from pure choice or by sudden inclination at

<sup>11</sup> "Their priests frequently use the names of the invisible spirits, and are supposed to be able to interpret their language, as well as to hold communion with them." (Spencer St. John, i. 62.)

<sup>12</sup> The *manang bali* "is quite unknown amongst the Hill Dyaks." (Mundy ii. 65.)

a mature age. He is usually childless, but it sometimes happens that he has children, in which case he is obliged to give them their portions and to start afresh unencumbered in his new career, so that when he marries, if he be so minded, he can adopt the children of other people, which he frequently, nay, invariably, does, unless it so happen that his husband is a widower with a family of his own, in which case that family now becomes his.

"The *manang bali* is always a person of great consequence, and manages, not unfrequently, to become the chief of the village. He derives his popularity not merely from the variety and diversity of his cures, but also largely from his character as a peacemaker, in which he excels. All little differences are brought to him, and he invariably manages to satisfy both parties and to restore good feeling. Then again his wealth is often at the service of his followers, and if they are in difficulty or distress he is ever ready to help. The *manang bali* as an institution is confined, to the best of my knowledge, to the remote tribes of the Sea Dyaks: the Ulu-Ais, Kañaus, Tutong, Ngkaris, and Lamanaks. It is not unknown to the Undups, Balaus, Sibuya, and Saribas, but is not in vogue among them, owing perhaps to their vicinity to the Malays, who invariably ridicule the practice, and endeavour to throw it into disrepute." (Brooke Low.)

"Bishop Chambers on once asking a *manang bali* how he professed to recover a drowned spirit, received as answer: 'We hold,' he replied, 'that in addition to the true spirit given by God to man, there is another spirit, the shadow, which ordinarily attends a man wherever he goes. This is the spirit which falls into the water. We are sent for. We place a platter filled with water before us. After incantations we fish in this platter with hawk-bells. We pull these out a few times with no result. At length the spirit comes up, is captured, and restored.' 'How is it you see this spirit when others cannot?' 'Oh! we are the Illuminated (Bakliti.) At our initiation gold is put into our eyes, hooks are stuck into our finger-nails, our skull is cleft open.'" (Miss. Field, 1867, p. 463.)

#### MANANGISM.<sup>13</sup>

BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON J. PERHAM.

"WHERE all rational conception of the causes of disease and of medicine is entirely absent, magical ceremonies, incantations, pretensions to supernatural powers in the cure of the sick have the whole field before them; whilst fear and anxiety in cases of illness lead to an eager credulity which clutches at any projected means of cure, however absurd in themselves: hence among the lower races of mankind, the medicine man is an important personage and as indispensable to the well-being of Society. The Dyaks of Borneo are no exception; they have their *manangs*. And as these are not reluctant to communicate their medical beliefs, and as their belief is also the belief of the Dyaks generally, it is not difficult to set down a general view of their theories, as well as their practices. The peculiar attribute of the *manang* is the possession of mysterious powers rather than special knowledge.

<sup>13</sup> Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 19, 1887.

" But though the *manang* function is procured for all serious ailments, yet the treatment of the sick is not confined to it. Dyaks use a few simples as outward applications, things composed for the most part of leaves of plants. The betel-nut and pepper leaf mixture is also used as an outward application for almost any malady. Some man, supposed to be lucky, is called in; he chews a quantity of this hot and stimulant mixture in his mouth, leans over the body, and squirts the saliva over the affected part, and gently rubs it in with his fingers. Dyaks in a burning fever with acute headache will be seen with their foreheads smeared over with it. And this dirty mess is supposed to possess great virtue in promoting the growth of newly born children, whose bodies, up to a certain age, are half covered with daily applications of it by their mothers. Other unprofessional modes of cure are practised by certain Dyaks, to whom, through the medium of dreams, benevolent spirits have made known medicinal charms for special diseases, such as pebbles, roots and leaves of various plants, bits of wood, and even feathers and scraps of matting, etc. The pebbles are rubbed in water, which is applied externally; the woods, feathers and matting are burnt, and the ashes applied.

" But these are of very minor importance compared with the functions of the *manangs*, who alone are believed to wield power over the malignant spirits which cause sickness. All internal maladies are supposed to be inflicted by the passing, or the touch of demons inimical to mankind. What is the matter with so and so? you ask. He is *pansa utei*, "something passed him"; he is struck by a demon who desires to carry off his soul to the other world. Consistent with this idea, somebody is required who can cope with the evil spirit and prevent the soul from being hurried away. And the *manang* comes forth as the man, ready to charm, cajole or kill the spirit, and rescue the departing soul from his clutches by a performance which is called *Belian*. Some years ago a Dyak lad was sleeping in my house, and in the early morning was seized with epileptic fits. The friends came and took him away, and soon the *manangs* were walking round and chanting over him. After the function was over, the chief *manang* gave out that a party of spirits, returning from a hunting expedition, caught sight of the lad, and thrust a spear at him; but that had they recognised the house as mine, they would have spared him.

" Nearly all diseases are believed to arise from ghostly causes, or at least to be accompanied by sneaking evil spirits; and the sorcerer must deal with these intangible and demoniacal influences. But some maladies are too terrible for even his mystical powers. Nothing is more thoroughly believed to be the direct personal influence of evil spirits than the epidemic scourges of cholera and small-pox; but seldom will *manangs* go near a case of either; probably a consciousness of the utter futility of their efforts, combined with fear of infection, have induced them to assert that such cases do not come within the reach of their powers. Other means must be resorted to, among which propitiatory sacrifices and offerings predominate.

" The stock in trade of a *manang* is a *lupong*, a medicine box, generally made of bark-skin, which is filled with *obat*, medicinal charms, consisting of scraps of wood and bark, bits of curiously twisted roots, and odd knotty sticks, pebbles, fragments of quartz, and possibly a coloured glass marble, *cum multis*

*aliis*. These charms are either inherited, or revealed by the spirits in dreams as possessed of medicinal virtue. The coloured glass marble, where not previously known, is an *obat* of great power. On one occasion in my neighbourhood years ago a travelling *manang* belauded the efficacy of one of these toys of civilisation, saying I think that it was the 'egg of a star,' and that he had given the whitemen's doctor two dollars for it. Among the audience was a Dyak to whose son I had given a similar marble, and he said: 'May we see this great medicine?' The *manang* produced it. 'Oh,' said the other, 'the Tuan Padri yonder has got plenty of these. He gave my boy one.' The *manang* speedily replaced the marble, and changed the conversation to a more unsuspecting direction. If an unscrupulous trader were to take into the interior of Borneo a cargo of these marbles with holes bored through them to enable them to be worn round the neck, he would make enormous profits. One which I had given to a child was afterwards sold for a brass gong worth three dollars.

"Another and a principal *obat* contained in the 'lupong' is *Bata Ilau*, 'Stone of Light,' a bit of quartz crystal, by virtue of whose mysterious power the *manang* is enabled to perceive the character of different diseases, and to see the soul, and catch it after it has wandered away from the body: for it is an article of *manang* faith that in all sicknesses the soul leaves the body, and wanders about at greater or less distance from its mortal tenement; if it can be caught within a returnable point, and recovered before having proceeded too far on the journey to Hades, well and good; if not, the patient dies.

The *manang* never carries his own lupong, but the people who fetch him must carry it for him. He comes to the house in the evening; for he never performs in daylight unless the case is very bad, and the people pay him well for it; to *belian* during the day, he says, is difficult and dangerous work. Sitting down by the patient, after some inquiries, he takes out of his lupong a boar's tusk, or a smooth pebble, or some other *obat* of magical virtue, and gently strokes the body with it; then he gravely looks into his *Bata Ilau* to diagnose the character of the disease and the condition of the soul, and to discover the proper *pelian* needed for its restoration, and then tells them what sort of function he would prescribe. If there be several *manangs* called in, the leader undertakes the preliminary examination, the rest giving their assent. This done, they retire to the outside public verandah of the house, where has been prepared a *Pagar Api*, which is a long handled spear fixed blade upwards in the middle of the verandah with a few leaves of some sort tied round it, and having at its base the 'lupongs' of each *manang*. Why it is called *Pagar Api*,<sup>18</sup> 'Fence of Fire,' no one has been able to tell me. Then the leader begins a long monotonous drawl at the rate of about two words a minute, which, however, increases in velocity as the performance proceeds; the rest either chanting with him, or joining in at choruses, or may be singing antiphonally with him, all squatting on the floor. After a tiresome period of this dull drawling, they stand up, and march with slow and solemn step round the *Pagar Api*, the monotonous chant slackening or quickening as they march the whole night

<sup>18</sup> See Fire as an antidote to bad omens, p. 229.

through with only one interval for a feed in the middle of the night. The patient simply lies on his mats and listens. Most of the matter chanted in these *manang* performances is unmeaning rubbish. They begin by describing in prolix and grandiose language all the parts of a Dyak house; but how such an irrelevant descant can effect the cure of a fever or a diarrhoea is a mystery to all but themselves. Then they 'bark at the sickness,' in other words, call upon it to be off to the ends of the earth, and to return to the regions of the unseen world: they invoke the aid of spirits, and of ancient worthies and unworthies down to their own immediate ancestors, and spin the invocations out to a sufficient length to bring them to the daylight hours. Here the grank climax is reached—the truant soul has to be caught. If the patient is apparently in a dangerous state, they pretend the soul has escaped far away, perhaps to the river; and they will wave about a garment, or a piece of woven cloth, to imitate the action of throwing a cast net to inclose it as a fish is caught; perhaps they give out that it has escaped into the jungle, and they will rush out of the house to circumvent and secure it there; perhaps they will say it has been carried away over seas to unknown lands, and will all set to and play at paddling a boat to follow it. But more generally the operation is made a more simple one. The *manangs* rush around the *Pagar Api* as hard as they can, singing a not unpleasing chant, until one of them falls on the floor and remains motionless; the others sit down. The bystanders cover the motionless *manang* with a blanket, and wait whilst his spirit is supposed to hie away to Hades, or wherever the erring soul has been carried, and to bring it back. Presently he revives, looks vacantly about like a man just waking out of sleep, then he rises with his right hand clenched as if holding something. That hand contains the soul; and the *manang* proceeds to the patient, and returns it to the body through the crown of the head, muttering at the same time a few words of incantation. This *nangkap semengat*, 'catching the soul,' is the great end, to which all that has preceded is only preliminary, and which only a fully equipped *manang* is competent to perform. As the devouring demon is supposed to be driven away by the magical arts and charms of the *manang*, so the soul is allured into submission to him by his persuasive invitations and melodious cadences. And as he approaches the point of accomplishing this grand feat of spiritual power, he sings thus:—

"*Trebai puna nepan di lamba kitap,  
Semengat lari nengah lengkap,  
Antu ngagai jaya jayap.*

*Trebai puna nepan di lamba midong,  
Semengat lari nengah darong,  
Antu ngagai ningah darong.*

*Trebai puna nepan di lamba pulu,  
Semengat lari nengah mungu,  
Antu ngagai ambis teransu.*

*Trebai puna nepan di lamba jita,  
Semengat lari niki tangga,  
Antu ngagai nyau nda meda.*

*Nyau dialu Ini Betik enggo rarik pulong temiang.*  
*Nyau dialu Ini Jurei enggo lukai redak tenchang.*  
*Nyau dialu Ini Menyaia enggo tuba bau sinang.*  
*Nyau dialu Ini Mampu enggo resu garu tulang.*  
*Dikurong Ini Impong di benong tajau bujang.*  
*Ditutup enggo Keliling gong selang.*  
*Dikungkong enggo Kawat panjai Kelingkang.*  
*Ditambit enggo sabit bekait punggang.*  
*Niki ka tuchong Rabong rarengang.*

The dove flies and lights on the *kitap*<sup>14</sup> sapling,  
 The soul escapes along the hollow valley,  
 The demon pursues in dishevelled haste.

The dove flies and lights on the *medong*<sup>14</sup> sapling,  
 The soul escapes through the ravine,  
 The demon pursues through the ravine.

The dove flies and lights on the *pulu*<sup>14</sup> sapling,  
 The soul escapes along the hill,  
 As the demon pursues, let him stumble.

The dove flies and lights on the *jita*<sup>14</sup> sapling,  
 The soul runs to climb the ladder (of house),  
 The pursuing demon sees it no more.

"It is met by Grandmother Betik,<sup>15</sup>  
 With a long stick of big knotted bambu,  
 It is met by Grandmother Jurei,<sup>15</sup>  
 With finely powdered *lukai*<sup>16</sup> bark,  
 It is met by Grandmother Menyaia,<sup>15</sup>  
 With the acrid smelling *tuba*.<sup>16</sup>  
 It is met by Grandmother Mampu,<sup>15</sup>  
 With the gum of the bone like gharu,  
 It is inclosed by Grandmother Impong,<sup>15</sup>  
 In a brightly shining jar.  
 It is covered with a round brass gong,  
 It is tied with wire of many circles.  
 It is secured with a chain fastened at the ends.  
 It ascends to the top Rabong<sup>17</sup> looming grand in the distance.

"One function remains to complete the cure: the sacrificial fowl must be waved over the patient. And as the *manang* does this, he sings a special invocation, which I give as a sample of the *manang* traditional lore, and of Dyak belief on the subject of sacrifice:—

<sup>14</sup> Dyak names for jungle trees.

<sup>15</sup> Names of ancient *manangs*, or of *manang* tutelary deities.

<sup>16</sup> The *lukai* bark when burnt emits a very pungent smell, and the root of the *tuba* (*Derris elliptica*) possesses well-known poisonous properties, and evil spirits are thought to have a wholesome dread of both.

<sup>17</sup> Rabong and Sintong, two adjoining mountains on the Upper Kapuas in Dutch Borneo.

"The speckled fowl for sacrificial waving and cleansing.

For doctoring, for resisting,  
For sweeping, for atoning,  
For exchanging, for buying,  
A substitute for the feet, substitute for the hands,  
A substitute for the face, substitute for the life.

"Ye fowls enable us to escape the curse muttered unheard :

To neutralize the spittle (of the enemy) ;  
To correct the speech of the angry despiser ;  
To make nought the visions of half waking moments ;  
To scare away evil dreams for ever ;  
To make harmless one's ghost<sup>18</sup> passing the farm ;  
To neutralize the ill omen bird flying across the path ;  
To cut off the *katupong's* flight coming from the left ;  
To cover its screeching ;—a bird of dread effect ;  
To make harmless the *pangkas*, a hot tempered bird ;  
To counteract the omen of the low voiced deer.  
Hence ye fowls are for having and for offering.

"But will not bodies of birds suffice ?

The bodies of the top knot jungle fowl which fills the lowland with long and gentle whistling,

The bodies of long necked cranes covering the hill,

The bodies of argus pheasants upon the hillocks of the plain,

The bodies of fire back pheasants filling the lowland jungle,

The bodies of blue kingfishers a pool full just coming from pecking on the big spreading rock,

The bodies of one kneed moorhens filling the gully,

The bodies of red beaked hornbills filling the ravine,

The bodies of adjutant birds in the swamps, like kings with covered feet,

The bodies of owls, a flock, sitting without doffing their hats ;

Many may be the birds, and many the minas,

Bodies of hornbills, and bodies of green parrots ;

But all are ineffectual for waving, for offering :

They are not worth a fowl as big as the fingers.

That is the thing for waving and for offering.

"Ye fowls were ever the race ever the seed (for sacrifice),

From our grandfathers and grandmothers,

From ancient times, from chiefs of old,

Down to your fathers and mothers :

Because we give you rice, we breed you,

We give you food, give you nourishment,

We hang for you nests, we make for you roosts ;

We make you coops, we make you baskets :

Hence ye fowls are used for substituting for buying,

Substitutes for the face, substitutes for the life.

<sup>18</sup> The *Jeda* is the ghost of a living man seen by another person.

“ Ye fowls are possessed with much foolishness and mischief :

Ye have many sins, many uncleannesses,  
Many evils and much viciousness,  
Ye are in debt for sugar-cane as long as a pole ;  
In debt for plantains a long bunch ;  
In debt for potatoes got by planting ;  
In debt for melons with flattened ends ;  
In debt for pumpkins one man's load ;  
In debt for kladi growing to perfection ;  
In debt for maize a handful or two ;  
In debt for shoots of the moon cucumber ;  
In debt for paddy a deep big bin ;  
In debt for rice in the earthenware jar ;

Hence ye fowls are for waving and for offering.

“ The *ubah* tree falls upon the *kumpang* sapling.

Ye fowls have many crimes and many debts ;  
Ye bear the spirits of sickness, spirits of illness ;  
The spirits of fever and ague, spirits of cold and headache ;  
The spirits of cold, the spirits of the forest ;  
Ye bear them, ye are filled with them ;  
Ye pile them up, ye put them in a basket ;  
Ye carry them, ye take them clear away ;  
Ye conduct them oft, ye gather them ;  
Ye drag them along, ye lift them up ;  
Ye embrace them, ye carry them in your bosom ;  
Ye fowls have beaks as sharp as augers ;  
Your feathers are like fringes of red thread ;  
Your ear feathers like sharpened stakes of bambu :  
Your wings flap like folds of red cloth ;  
Your tails are bent downwards like dragging ropes ;  
Your crops weigh heavily like many iron hawkbills ;  
Your nails are like sharp iron knives.

“ Ye fowls scare away sickness, and make it run

To the opening dawn of the morning,  
To the end of the further heavens,  
To where kingfishers ever screech,  
To the end of the muntjac's run,  
To the place of the setting sun,  
To the birds fanned by fire,  
To Jawa the settled country,  
To the pebbly shallows of inland waters,  
To the hill of burning fire,  
To the end of *Lalang* hill of Hades.<sup>19</sup>

“ So now we have nothing to hurt us, nothing wrong ;

We are in health, we are in comfort ;

<sup>19</sup> There are added here the names of many supposed places in Hades to which the evil spirits of disease are called upon to retreat with all speed ; but they are untranslatable.

We are long-lived and strong-lived,  
 Hard as stone, hard of head ;  
 Long as the waters, long of life.  
 Like the waters of Ini Inda,<sup>20</sup>  
 Like the stones of the Dewata.<sup>20</sup>  
 Like a pool five (fathoms) deep ;  
 Like a stretch of river beyond eyeshot,  
 Like the land turtle's burrowed bed,  
 Like the waterfall of Telanjing Dara,<sup>21</sup>  
 Like the land of Pulang Gana<sup>22</sup>  
 Like the cave bed of Raja Sua<sup>23</sup>  
 Like hills fixed by the gods.  
 Like the moon at its full,  
 Like the cluster of three stars ;  
 As high as heaven, as high as the firmament.

" There is nothing wrong, nothing to hurt ;  
 When sleeping have dreams of strings of fish ;  
 Lying down, dream of bathing in the shallow pebbly streams ;  
 When dosing, dream of a branch of *rambutans* ;  
 Dream of *langsats*, squeezed in the hand ;  
 Dream of Ini Impong inclosing you in a *pelawan* jar ;  
 Dream of Ini Sayoh keeping you safe for ever ;  
 Dream of living in the heart of the moon ;  
 Dream of gazing up into the heights above ;  
 Dream of the summit of the eternal Rabong.

" This invocation of good dreams ends the ceremony, and is supposed to complete the cure.

" The foregoing is a general account of all pelian, or *manang* performances ; but they distinguish different kinds according to the fancy of the *manang*, the violence of the disease, and the ability of the patient to pay. These are marked by special ceremonies over and above the general course of invocations, song and enchantment which are common to all. The pelian then is divided into the following :—

" 1. *Belepas*, 'Sweeping.' At the time of the birth of each individual on earth, a flower is supposed to grow up in Hades, and to live a life parallel to that of the man. If the flower continues to grow well, the man enjoys good robust health ; if it droops, the man droops ; so whenever the man has unpleasant dreams, or feels unwell two or three consecutive days, the flower in Hades is said to be in a bad condition, the *manang* is called in to weed, cleanse and sweep round it ; and so set the compound earthly and unearthly life on its right course again. This is the first, the lowest and the cheapest function of the *manang*. In this he does not 'catch the soul,' as is done in all others.

<sup>20</sup> Names or titles used of deities in general.

<sup>21</sup> Telanjing Dara is said to be a female mythical spirit who lives at a waterfall, and who is ever on the watch to take people away to the land of death.

<sup>22</sup> Pulang Gana is the spirit who presides over the land and cultivation.

<sup>23</sup> Raja Sua is the spirit who presides over rivers.

"2. *Berua*, 'Swinging.' The *manang* sits in a swing, and rocks himself with the idea of knocking and driving away the disease.

"3. *Berenchah*, 'making a rush.' The door between the private room and the open verandah of the house is thrown open, and the *manangs* march backwards and forwards from room and verandah beating together a pair of swords, which is interpreted as making a grand charge into the midst of the evil spirits, and scattering them right and left.

"4. *Betanam Pentik*, 'Planting a Pentik.' A Pentik is a piece of wood very roughly carved into the figure of a man, a sort of rude doll, which is stuck into the ground at the foot of the ladder of the house with the object of divining the fate of the sick man. It is inserted into the ground in the evening; and if it remains till the morning in a straight position, well and good, recovery is certain; but if it be inclined either to the right or left, it is an omen of death.

"5. *Bepancha*, 'Making a Pancha.' A Pancha is a swing erected on the 'tanju,' or platform in front of the house, and the *manang* swings in it, as in *Berua*, to express the action of 'kicking away' the malady. An offering to the spirits is laid on the platform.

"6. *Ngelembayan*, 'Taking a long sight.' A number of planks are laid about the verandah, and the *manangs* walk upon them chanting their incantations; and when in the pretended swoon, one is supposed to sail away over rivers and seas to find the soul and recover it.

"7. *Bebayak*, 'Making a Bayak,' i.e., an iguana. Some cooked rice is moulded into the shape of an iguana which is covered over with cloths. The iguana, or perhaps his congener, the alligator, is supposed to eat up the evil spirits which cause the disease.

"8. *Memuai ka Sabayan*, 'Making a journey to Hades.' The *manangs* with hats on their heads march in procession up and down the house, during which their spirits are supposed to speed away to Hades, and bring back all kinds of medicinal charms, and talismans of health, as well as the wandering and diseased soul. At daylight they go into the jungle to 'catch the soul.'

"9. *Betiang Garong*, 'Making a post of or for the Manes.' A swing is constructed on the roof-ridge of the house, and the *manang* performs his swinging there. An offering is also made on the ridge.

"10. *Munoh Antu*, 'Killing the Demon.' Occasionally the *manangs* will declare, of some unusual and obstinate disease, that an evil spirit called *Buyu* is the cause of it, and must be killed. A goodly number of them is called together, and the feat is performed in this way. The patient is taken out of the room, and laid on the verandah, and covered with a net; the *manangs* walk in procession up and down the whole length of the house, chanting their incantations to entice the demon within the charmed circle of their magical influence. This occupies some time, for the spirit may be far away on a journey, or fishing, or hunting; and at intervals one of them peeps in at the door to see if he has arrived. In due time the demon is there, and then the *manangs* themselves enter the room, which is quite dark. Presently sounds of scuffling, of clashing of weapons, and of shouting are heard by the Dyaks outside, and soon after the door is opened, and the demon is said to be dead. He

was cheated into coming to plague his victim as usual, and lo, instead of the sick and helpless patient, he encounters the crafty and mighty *manangs*, who have killed him; and as proof of the reality of the deed, lights are brought, and the *manangs* point out spots of blood about the floor, and occasionally the corpse itself is shewn in the shape of a dead monkey, or mayas. The trick is a very shallow one, and is managed thus: some time in the day the *manangs* procure blood from a fowl, or other animal, or may be from their own bodies, mix it with water in a bambu to prevent congealing, smuggle it into the room, and scatter it on the floor in the dark, which they can safely do in the absence of all witnesses of the proceeding. Neither lights nor outsiders are permitted in the room, on the plea that, under such circumstances, the demon would not be enticed to enter. The trick has often been detected, and the performer openly accused of imposture, and the result is that it is not now practised so often as in former times. When this feat of ghostly warfare is over, the 'pelian' is proceeded with in the usual way till the morning hours.

"11. *Beburong Raya*, 'Making, or doing the Adjutant Bird.' The distinctive mark of this is the procession round and round the house, the *manangs* being covered with native cloths like cloaks, in which, I suppose, they profess to personate the bird.

"12. *Bebandong Api*, 'Displaying fire.' The patient is laid on the verandah, and several small fires made round him. The *manangs* pretend to dissect his body, and fan the flames towards him to drive away the sickness.

"13. *Ninting Lanjan*. Two swings are constructed along the whole length of the house, and the swinging farce is gone through in another form.

"14. *Begiling Lantai*. 'Wrapping with Lantai,' or floor laths. One of the *manangs* personates a dead man. He is vested with every article of Dyak dress and ornament, and lays himself down as dead, is then bound up in mats, and wrapped up with slender bambu laths tied together with rotans, and taken out of the house, and laid on the ground. He is supposed to be dead. After about an hour, the other *manangs* loose him, and bring him to life; and as he recovers, so the sick person is supposed to recover.

"These comprise the range of Dyak medical magic. The Betepas, the Berua, Berenchah, Betanam Pentik, are the forms most commonly used: the Bepancha, Betiang Garong and Munoh Antu are rarely resorted to; and the others hardly ever heard of now; but altogether they form an ascending scale of 'pelian' functions rising in pretended medicinal virtue from the Betepas to Begiling Lantai; and they demand a corresponding scale of increasing fees, which are paid over to the *manang* on the spot as soon as the performance is over.

"To qualify the practitioner to work this system of mixed symbolism and deceit, an act of public initiation is necessary. The aspirant for the office must first commit to memory a sufficient amount of traditional lore to take a share in the incantations in company with older *manangs*; but before he can accomplish the more important parts, or catch the soul, in other words, do the more audacious tricks, he must be initiated by one or more of the following ceremonies:—

"The first is *Besudi*, which seems to mean feeling, touching. The

neophyte sits in the verandah as a sick man would, and the other *manangs* belian over him the whole night. By this he is supposed to become endowed with the power of touch to enable him to feel where and what are the maladies of the body, and so apply the requisite charms. It is the lowest grade of *manang*, and obtainable by the cheapest fees.

"The second is *Bekliti*, or 'Opening.' A whole night's incantation is gone through, as in all pelians, and in the morning the great function of initiation is carried out. The *manangs* lead the neophyte into a private apartment curtained off from public gaze by long pieces of native woven cloth; and there, as they assert, they cut his head open, take out his brains, wash and restore them, to give him a clear mind to penetrate into the mysteries of evil spirits, and the intricacies of disease; they insert gold dust into his eyes to give him keenness and strength of sight powerful enough to see the soul wherever it may have wandered; they plant barbed hooks on the tips of his fingers to enable him to seize the soul and hold it fast; and lastly they pierce his heart with an arrow to make him tender-hearted, and full of sympathy with the sick and suffering. In reality, a few symbolic actions representing these operations are all that is done. A coco-nut shell, for instance, is laid upon the head and split open instead of the head itself, &c. The man is now a fully qualified practitioner, competent to practice all parts of his deceitful craft. He is now no longer an *Iban*,<sup>24</sup> a name by which all Dyaks speak of themselves, he is a *Manang*. He is lifted into a different rank of being. And when engaged in their functions, they make a point of emphasizing this distinction by constant use of the two words in contrast to each other.

"A third grade of *manang* rank is obtainable by the ambitious who have the will and means to make the outlay: they may become *manang bangun manang enjun*, 'manangs waved upon, manangs trampled on.' As in other cases, this involves a night's pelian, but the specialities conferring this M.D. of Dyak quackery and imposture are three. At the beginning of the performance, the *manangs* march round and round the aspirant for the higher honour, and wave about and over him bunches of the *pinang* flower, an action which, all over Borneo I believe, is considered of great medicinal and benedictional value in this and many other similar connections. This is the *Bangun*. Then in the middle of the verandah a tall jar is placed having a short ladder fastened on either side of it, and connected at the top. At various intervals during the night the *manangs*, leading the new candidate, march him up one ladder and down the other; but what that action is supposed to symbolize, or what special virtue to confer, I have not been able to discover. To wind up this play at mysteries, the man lays himself flat on the floor, and the *manangs* walk over him, and trample upon him, to knock into him, perhaps, all the *manang* power which is to be obtained. This is the *Enjun*. It is regarded as a certificate of medical superiority, and the *manang* who has passed the ordeal will on occasions boast that he is no ordinary spirit-controller and soul-catcher, but a *manang bangun, manang enjun*.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 40.

"Women as well as men may become *manangs*. In former times, I believe, all *manangs* on their initiation assumed female attire for the rest of their lives; but it is rarely adopted now, at least on the coast districts; and I have only met with one such. If you ask the reason of this strange custom, the only answer forthcoming is, that the spirits or deities who first taught Dyaks the knowledge of the powers of *manangism*, gave them an injunction to assume the woman's garb. It will be observed that most of the beings mentioned or invoked by *manangs* are addressed as *Iui*, 'Grandmother,' which perhaps implies that all the special deities of the *manang* world are supposed to be of the female sex, and, to be consistent with this belief, it might have been deemed necessary for the *manang* to assume the outward figure and the dress of his goddess.

"The Malays also have their *manangs*, who are called *Bayoh*, while the ceremony is *Berasik*, but I believe the better instructed Mahometans consider the practice of it altogether inconsistent with the true religion of Islam.

"It has been said that the *Pawang* and the *Poyang* of the Malay Peninsula, and the *Datus* and *Si Bassos* of the Battaks of Sumatra, and the medicinemen of Borneo, are all offsprings and ramifications of the Shaman priests, the wizard physician of Central Asia. The *manang* of the Dyaks certainly contributes his share to the proof of the assertion. A main point of the Shamanistic creed appears to have been that every object and force in nature has its 'spirit,' which could be invoked by the worshipper to confer things either good or bad. This entirely corresponds with Dyak religion; the *manang*, in certain of his functions, calls upon the spirits of the sun and moon, the spirits in heaven and earth, spirits in trees, hills, forests, lowlands, and rivers, to come to his aid; and if they are not equal to the '300 spirits of heaven, and 600 spirits of the earth' of Shamanism, they are a goodly company which the *manang* professes to bring from all quarters to the house of his patient. Again, the Shaman priest on particular occasions worked himself into an ecstasy; the *manang* runs round and round, and pretends to fall in a faint, at which time his greatest power is exercised. And then the seat of the Shaman deities was placed on 'the summit of the mountains of the moon,' the central pivot of the earth; the special deities of the *manangs*, as before mentioned, dwell on Rabong and Sintong, Mountains in Central Borneo; and when waving the sacrificial fowl, the last and best wish the *manang* expresses for his patient is that he may have 'dreams of Rabong and dreams of Sintong.'

"But in these days, in practice, the *manang* answers to the idea of the Doctor, rather than to that of the Priest; for his presence is not necessarily required for any purposes except that of treating the sick. At certain great religious functions of the Dyaks, such as the sacrifice of propitiation to the earth deities for a good harvest, or the greatest of all Dyak celebrations, the sacrificial festival to Singalang Burong, or at marriages, he is not of necessity the officiant. He may possibly be; but not because he is a *manang*, but because he has given his attention to that part of ancient Dyak customs, or because he has the credit of being a lucky man. Generally, other Dyaks are the ministers of the office on these occasions; the one requisite qualification

being ability to chant the traditional story and invocations which accompany the offering and ceremonies. On the other hand, the fact that at his initiation he obtains a new generic name, and is believed to enter into a new rank of being, looks like the idea of succession to an ancient priesthood."

#### MALANAU MEDICINE.

"Among the Milanaus there are various ways of propitiating these spirits [who afflict mankind with various diseases] by hanging festoons of plants before the house; by making fictitious prahus of sago-pith, and either setting them up at the mouths of rivers or letting them float out to sea;<sup>25</sup> by calling in sorcerers to swing in the house all night to the sound of all kinds of gongs, while feasting is kept up the whole of the night, and the sick person carried down in a boat next morning to smell the sea air; by making images of the spirit, and paying the sorcerer to abuse the image. With all this the people cannot be called superstitious, for they only seem to perform these rites as a matter of custom, never assuming any air of religion nor making any prostration, nor uttering any prayers to the spirits while performing them, but evidently hoping the sick person will be satisfied that nothing is left undone which should be done under the circumstances." (De Crespigny, J. A. I. v. 35.)

"Among the Malanau there are two methods of overcoming sickness, viz.: *Berasit* and *Embayu*. The former sometimes lasts for seven and eight successive days. The inhabitants attend such a display as we should a theatre. The ceremony is done by a person, either man or woman, who is supposed to be able to interpret Satan's language, and they act in various ways while doing so. He, or she, is comically dressed, the costume being varied each night—going through imaginary everyday amusements, such as fishing, pulling in boats, or climbing to pick fruit, and many other daily occupations. The tones of their continual wail are monotonously musical, and the scene altogether is not displeasing, but produces a sensation of pity in a spectator's mind. The actors are hired individuals, who receive large sums from the afflicted. The ladies and audience are glad of an opportunity of getting 'an out,' meeting their admirers, and wearing their fine clothes. . . . The Embayu is the more primitive, and a more savage proceeding. The actors in such a scene present a ghastly and wild appearance. The man, or woman, with dishevelled hair, twirls the head round until his staring eyes show that he is almost beside himself. Then, with much sleight of hand, he is supposed to converse with spirits, and at a certain time to gain a power of withdrawing the devil, or evil *simangat* ('soul') from him who is possessed of sickness." (Brooke i. 77.)

"When any member of a family is afflicted with sickness a sorcerer is called in to intercede with the evil spirit on behalf of the sick person. This sorcerer immediately seats himself, or herself, down by the afflicted one and after beating sometime on a gong he or she commences swaying the body about. With hair dishevelled and eyes almost starting from their heads they

<sup>25</sup> Cf. with Soul Boat, p. 144.

present a wild appearance. They become apparently insensible to the outer world, and are supposed to converse with the spirits of the other.

"Should this fail in producing a cure, they resort to another mode of soliciting the good will of the spirits. For instance "*Siag*" is sometimes appeased by making a figure of nipa leaves and hanging it near the dwelling of the afflicted one.

"*Abong* and *Elib* are appeased by the following interesting proceeding. A picturesque boat is carved out of the pith of the sago palm and the figure of a man is placed therein; a sorcerer is then called in and consulted in order to find out the abode of the evil spirit at that time, and the place propitious for sending the boat afloat, so that it will be sure to fall into the hands of the spirit. The sorcerer then takes the image from the boat and instructs it what to say to the spirit on behalf of the patient, after abusing the image and enforcing on his mind the necessity of remembering the lesson, by way of indelibly fixing it on his memory, he winds up by spitting sirih juice in its face. The image is then replaced in the boat, decorated with a sprig of nipa leaf, and mysteriously conveyed to the spot pointed out by the sorcerer. Here it is immersed in water, the sprig of nipa is taken from it, as well as some water from the spot, when the boat is allowed to float away on its mission. Sometimes a light is placed in the boat to draw the spirit's attention. The water is taken to wash the patient's body, and the sprig of nipa is placed in the bed over the invalid. This is meant to guide the spirit to the afflicted person.<sup>26</sup>

"Should the sickness still continue then the last means is resorted to—that is the *Brayune*. A sorcerer is again called in, he, or she, is supposed to have power of invoking the good spirit against the bad, and of, in fact, exorcising all kinds of sickness. Should they fail, there is no help for the patient. This sometimes lasts for seven or eight days, during which time their neighbours' sons and daughters all meet, dressed in their fine clothes, and feasting goes on as well as a great deal of flirtation. I visited one of those ceremonies some time ago out of curiosity. On entering the house I found crowds of people assembled, a seat of honour being placed for me in the middle of the room near the centre of operations. This same seat was an absurd representation of a Chinese dragon with a seat on his back, having also horns, and scales painted all the colours of the rainbow; he was represented as standing on the back of a skate, the whole being a masterpiece of carving. It was afterwards given to me.

<sup>26</sup> "They have, besides, several other ways of enchanting away distempers, and fixing them sometimes on other persons as they think. One particular manner is thus: They make a thing in the form of a boat, but so little that one can carry it in his hand; into this they put some offerings, and set it on the water and let it go adrift; but woe be to him (as they imagine) that takes it up. I was once going to take up one of these diabolical storeships as it floated down the river; but the natives cry'd out immediately, charging me not to touch it, for that I should instantly die, the devil would be in that rage with me for intercepting his provisions. I often enquired of them whether they ever saw the devil, and, being answered in the affirmative, I offer'd to go anywhere with them to see him; but they refused to go purposely on that account, by reason he would be very angry at it, being mischievous enough of himself. I ask'd them in what shape he did appear to them; they answer'd, 'like a flame of fire,' and that they only see him in the woods. This convinc'd me that what they take for the devil is only what we call in the country, *Will-in-the-wisp*, or Jack-a-lantern, seen chiefly in such swampy, wet grounds." (Beekman, p. 122.)

"The room itself was decorated with parti-coloured cloths, a swing composed of rattans hung across the room, to which were attached several small bells, and flowers of the beautiful areca palm. In the back ground a large band of players on drums and tomtoms kept up the life of the entertainment. The wizard<sup>27</sup> got upon the swing, which he commenced vibrating slowly, keeping time to the music. Presently he commenced swaying his body in every possible posture, increasing the time and tinkling the bells. Around his person floated two loose silk scarfs, his head being decorated with a *gold* crown and a gaudy red silk handkerchief. The music increased in noise and time until he fell from the swing, apparently insensible, but still struggling with the evil spirit, over which he was trying to gain the mastery.

"A woman afterwards got up. She commenced singing in a low monotonous half-wail, very wild, weird and musical. She was entreating the evil spirits to be merciful. She then commenced an imitation of paddling and was supposed to travel into the next world and converse with the spirits. By and bye her appeals become more violent; she got on the swing and worked herself into such a frenzy that she had to be removed by force. Meanwhile,

<sup>27</sup> This man was named Tabai; he continued his impositions on the people until a few months ago [1876], when he was murdered at Oya, the particulars of which appeared in the *Gazette*. The following is the murder referred to:—

"We have received the following particulars of a murder which took place at Oya in November last. Much as we deprecate such a dastardly act, we consider the river well rid of the wizard. After such disclosures we cannot help wondering that people who are so far civilized as the Melanows should still place faith on such moonshine and hold on to such pagan practices. Tabai was formerly a reputed wizard, residing at Teh, up the Oya, but of late at Dalat in the same river. He had for some time past become a convert to the Mahomedan religion, and took the name of Draman. This day a letter comes from Pangeran Haji Abu Bakar, reporting that Tabai was killed at mid-day of Tuesday, the 23rd inst., by Tur, Igud and Pok, at the house of Tur at Dalat, that he jumped from the house and was speared on the ground by those men. Biat and his party on arriving at Oya found the Pangeran Haji about to go up river with a large following. Biat brought a paper, written by Saali the Tuah of Kakang, at his request, in which is set forth the reasons of Tur, Igud and Pok for killing Tabai. That when Tur gave his daughter in marriage to a Medong man, the man lost his reason, and Tabai received one picul of guns from Tur to restore his son-in-law to reason; that Tabai had then said, "If you do not give me another picul I will not cure him," whereon Tur gave him another picul, and his son-in-law became sane: again, Tur's child was taken ill, and he paid Tabai one picul to cure him; the child not recovering, Tur engaged another doctor, and Tabai said, "Because Tur did not continue to retain my services, the child shall not live long." The child died. Another child of Tur's was taken ill, and Tabai agreed to cure it for sixty catties, saying, "If you give me sixty catties the child shall live, but if not, it shall die." Tur gave the sixty catties, but the child died notwithstanding. And Igud's reason for killing Tabai is that when his child was ill, Tabai said, "If you do not give me some guns I will eat (be the death of) your child, and within two or three days the child died. It was the work of Tabai. And Pok's reason is that Tabai demanded some gold of him which he would not give. Tabai said, "If you will not give it your child shall die," and that very night the child died. (C. C. de Crespigny, S.G. No. 116.)

On the Lingga once a "Dyak doctor had engaged to attend on a sick man, and in the event of his remaining alive three days, a payment in jars was to be made as a fee. The three days expired, and the payment was made, when the patient died; upon which the son of the dead man, an impetuous young lad, demanded the restoration of the jars—a request the doctor refused to accede to. The son drew his parang, and exclaiming "My name may return to the skies!" cut down the doctor, and severely wounded his son. Though neither was killed, the former received some fearful wounds over the face and shoulders. The case was heard before the whole of the population, and the culprit fined three jars, or about £24." (Brooke i. 97.) Sir Sp. St. John (ii. 133) mentions the case of a Bukar father who on the death of his child accused the medicine-man of wilfully causing its death and killed him on the spot.

the poor sick person was lying in a corner of the room, being disturbed continually by the operators, who waved the flower of the areca palm over him in a wild and witch-like manner. The sight gave rise to painful feelings, and I was grieved to see such a nice people so thoroughly given over to these pagan practices, and placing implicit faith in such moonshine." (W. M. Crocker, S.G., Nos. 120 and 121.)

#### GENERAL SEA DYAK MEDICINE BELIEFS.

"I had a curious case not long since. A man from Banting came to ask for medicine for his brother, who, he said, was unable to move his lower limbs, and that part of his thighs were falling off in pieces. I inquired particularly as to whether he had ever received any blow on the spine; or had a fall? No. Then what was the commencement? It came of itself. Afterwards, I found out the man had been trimming or lopping a tree on his farm, called 'rara,' and hereby hangs a tale. This rara tree is an *antu tree*, and, generally speaking, nothing will grow under or near it. It is forbidden amongst the Dyaks to cut down this tree, unless they first take a hatchet, which they carefully wrap round with cotton; they then strike as hard as they can, and leave the axe in; then they call upon the antu, either to leave the tree, or give them the sign that he does not wish the tree to be cut down; then they go home. Next day they visit the tree, and if they find the axe lying on the ground they know the tree is inhabited, and don't attempt to cut it down; if the axe still remains in, they can without danger, cut the tree down. I say it is no antu, but strychnine, which exists in the sap to a large percentage. Now so long as the sap is running, no axe could long remain in, but must necessarily be cast out by the action of heat, and the expansion of the gutta exuding. If the axe remains in, it only proves that the tree is not lively, but ready to die. The gutta, falling on the flesh, is taken up by the absorbents, and so impregnates and poisons the whole body." (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1868, p. 214.)

An old warrior told Sir Charles Brooke: "That many years ago a party of Sibuyau Dyaks, mostly his own near relations, and all known to him, were walking in the jungle, when one man, to their sudden surprise, ran to a distance from the rest, as if he had been seized by the spirits; he climbed a tree and remained in the woods, while his companions returned home. After the man had been absent several years, living as an Antu, he returned to his family, covered with hair like an orang-outan. After some months the hair fell off, and he became like the others again. This was narrated with a serious and grave face, and he likewise assured me he knew the man in question." (i. 41.)

The Rev. Mr. Horsburgh who lived among the Balaus relates a story which may confirm the above: "On one occasion, when walking in company with two Dyak boys, Kassa and Biju, Kassa told me that his grandfather had become a Prince among the miasas or orang-outans, and that one day Biju spied this mias in a tree, and not knowing that it had formerly been a man,

<sup>28</sup> Compare this with Antu tree mentioned by Mr. Grant, *supra*, p. 265.

threw a stick at it and tried to frighten it. The mias, indignant at such an insult, exerted its hidden malignant influence and smote the offender with a severe fever, from which with difficulty he recovered. On asking Biju if such were the case, he admitted the truth of the story, adding such details as left no doubt that he had once thrown a stick at a mias, and had had a severe fever after doing so. 'But how did you know it was your grandfather, Kassa?' I asked. With unbounding faith, grave, earnest countenance, and large bright eye, he answered, 'Oh, sir, most certainly it was!' What logic could stand against this?" (p. 23.)

Perhaps this may have something to do with Sir Chas. Brooke's statement later on (i. 156): "The natives, both Malay and Sea Dyak, have a method of seeking internal satisfaction (I cannot explain it by other words in my limited vocabulary) by communing in private with the spirits of the woods; the Dyaks call it *Nampok*, and the Malays, *Bertapar*. They stay away many days, feeding on little or nothing, and if they see any living person during the time, they come home, and afterwards start afresh. Doubtless it does them good, soothing their simple minds."

Sir Chas. Brooke tells the following: "I have always made it a point to attend, with considerable respect to strange people's practices, for it is as well not too abruptly to laugh at superstitious modes, however far-fetched they may seem. On one occasion, some of the Malanau people had laid the dry leaf of a palm, peculiarly folded up, within a few yards of my house, owing to some one having fallen down on this spot and been injured. The *Antus* (spirits) in consequence had to be appeased. Antus, or no Antus, I did not approve of the vicinity of this leaf to my abode, so picked it up and threw it away. I had been warned that anyone touching it would get a swollen arm. By some unpleasant coincidence, within two days of touching the leaf, my arm became inflamed and swollen for more than a fortnight afterwards." (i. 79.)

A correspondent of the S.G., No. 122, p. 2, gives the following account of a method of satisfying the ire of malevolent spirits. "On the night of the 2nd inst. it blew a heavy gale, first from the south eastward, then veered round to the westward. Rain descended in torrents for about two hours, and lightning was incessant from all directions, and so appalling that the native women and children ran out of their houses and rushed wildly about the different kampongs. This disturbance was the cause of an old and nearly forgotten custom being resorted to. During the force of the gale several men in the lower kampongs rushed about with swords cutting down fruit trees and otherwise slashing and damaging property; not only of their own, but that of their neighbours. This act of vengeance was supposed to frustrate the evil spirit of the storm, who otherwise would destroy both life and property by a curse called *Kudi*, or in Kuching dialect *Buá*. A few days after the storm had abated, the losers of the property complained that they did not see the wisdom of this old custom, and hoped the Government would in future have it abolished. The Malay chiefs strongly seconded this proposal, allowing that in bygone days it had been a custom, but then, they state, their gardens were of little value; it was different now, as labour was dear and everything was of

value in the market. It was found that these desperate men had cut down 225 trees of different kinds, for which they had to pay the value."

A curious request was made to Sir Hugh Low by a Land Dyak: "It was that of a young woman who, being married to an old man, was childless, and she requested me to give her some medicine which would cause her to have children, which she felt persuaded I could do." (Low, p. 308.)

The Rev Mr. Crossland also says: "I have funny requests sometimes. A man will ask for medicine to make his dog brave to fight the wild pig; or for his paddy, that blight may not touch it." (Miss. Field, 1860, p. 92.)

"Only last night, after bathing, I was combing my hair, and threw some loose hair into the fire. One of my friends, the second son of Api Gurnong, said, 'Tuan, we never throw our hair into the fire; for, if we did, we should have a sick head.' I asked if into water? 'No, we should have a sick head.' On the earth? 'Yes; no sickness there.'" (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1873, p. 541.)

"I found out a short time ago that I had been ignorant of a peculiar custom observed by the Undups. I used to go and visit my patients, and cheer them by telling them they seemed improving, or the reverse, just as I should do in England. I said to a lad, 'That looks healthy; now don't you go sitting over the fire, or you will be making good bad.' I left him. Next day I found him sitting over the fire wrapped up in a blanket, the picture of misery. I soon found he was in the sulks and left him in them. When he was quite well he said to me, 'You were a stupid to go and say before me that the rash was good, just like a little child that knows nothing.' 'So it was good,' I replied. 'Good or bad, you should not have said a word to me, whatever you said to others,' said he. 'So that was the reason you went into the sulks like a bear,' I said. 'Yes, and enough too,' he replied; 'you were a fool and I was angry.' A Dyak never admits he is well, nor can you say so to him. So anything eaten is never praised." (Crossland, Gospel Missy., Nov., 1871, p. 163.)

"A man who has been suffering from a bad illness, on recovery will often change his name, in the hope that the evil spirit who caused his illness will be unable to recognise him under his new name. In such a case his former name is never again mentioned." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 165.)



DESIGN ON BAMBU BOX.

$\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size (see p. 241).

(Hose Coll.)



DESIGN ON BAMBU BOX.

$\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size (see p. 241).

(Crossland Coll.)

## CHAPTER XI.

### PATHOLOGY.<sup>1</sup>

Variety of diseases—Remedies—Love of strong measures—No knowledge of medicine—Cholera—Massage—Water from sacred jars—Great distress—Treatment—Smallpox—Great fear of—Fleeing from it—Inoculation—The forsaken sick—General treatment—Malay vaccination—Care of the sick—Great losses—Malay inoculation—Fear makes peace—Panic-stricken people—A "cannibal"—Russian influenza—Malarial fever—*Kurap*—Very widespread—Leprosy—Elephantiasis—Goitre—Consumption—Ophthalmia—Insanity—Albinos—Quick-healing wounds—Bleeding and cupping—Cauterising—Spittle as a poultice—Other mixtures—Snake bites—Leeches.

THE diseases the people suffer from are :—The Fevers: Cholera, Smallpox, Intermittent Fever, Russian Influenza, Anthrax; and the Skin Diseases: Ichthyosis, Elephantiasis, Tetter, Scab, Leprosy, and Scrofula. They have also Ascites (dropsy), Goitre (Derbyshire neck), Threadworms, Consumption (? pulmonary), Otitis (inflammation of the middle ear), Ophthalmia, and Indolent Ulcers. But syphilis and gonorrhœa are never known. (Houghton M.A.S. iii. 196.) "Among those Upper Sarawak Dayas who do not come in contact with Malays, the treatment of the sick is entirely in the hands of the *manangs*. Those who have had intercourse with Malays often try their remedies, after the attempts of their own priests have failed to produce a cure. All remedies are external, either rubbing, or washing, or sprinkling. I have never seen or known of a Daya doctor giving a drug or any internal medicine, or interfering with the diet. If one excepts, therefore, such few cases where rubbing or washing would rationally be of any use, the whole medical treatment of the Dayas rests on their heathen system of superstition, in some cases approaching sympathetic cures professing to transplant sickness." (*ibid.*)

Speaking of the Land Dyaks, Sir Hugh Low says: "The diseases which are most common among them are those incident to their exposed manner of life. Agues and diarrhœas are the most prevalent. . . . Rheumatic pains are very common. For the cure of internal diseases, turmeric and spices, taken in monstrous quantities, are the favourite remedies; but for anything at all serious, recourse is had to the 'Pamali,' both in medical and surgical cases." (pp. 304, 307.) "They have not that antipathy to the use of castor oil so frequently observed amongst other people; but, on having taken one dose, generally hold out the glass and ask for another, saying at the same time that it is very good. European medicines have great effect upon their constitutions, so that, in all cases, smaller doses than usual must be prescribed for them." (*ibid.* p. 309.)

<sup>1</sup> This chapter has been placed after that on the Medicine Men as in the minds of the natives there is no real distinction between the magic of their doctors and true medical knowledge.

"The Land Dyaks have little or no knowledge of medicine, though they sometimes collect pepper and onions with which to make physic, a kind of stomachic." (St. John i. 198.)

#### CHOLERA.

"When cholera was in the country, the Sea Dayaks lost comparatively few, as they healed those taken with it by rubbing and warmth . . . . The most successful system practised by the natives appears to be to rub the stomach and limbs with cajput oil (*kayu putih* oil), and administer a strong dose of spirits immediately the first symptoms are perceived. It is said a few drops of the oil are also given with success. When the cholera, after committing great ravages in the capital, appeared among the Muruts and Bisayas of Limbang, they all fled from their villages, retiring to the hills and the depths of the forest; their loss was very slight." (St. John i. 74.)

"At Tamparuli when the cholera attacked the people the only remedy they appeared to apply was water from the sacred jars, though they endeavoured to drive away the evil spirits by beating gongs and drums all night." (*ibid* i. 346.)

About four years later at Kwap (Quop) "Sixty-six died of cholera. Heartrending scenes of human misery are related by those surviving ones, who, frightened by the sudden ravages in their homes, fled into the jungle in order to escape their enemy, but only to meet him in a more fearful shape in the wilderness; through exhaustion, fear and want of food, they were only more open to his attack. I could tell you how whole families with their children fled; how they built small temporary huts, living on a little rice and wild herbs only; how, after a day or two, one of them being attacked by cholera, the others fled again, leaving his corpse a prey to wild beasts; then building again, and leaving again and again, till at last perhaps only one or two little children are left, watching lonely by the side of their dead parents, unwilling to forsake their late protectors even then, and not knowing to the full extent their dreadful misery; weeping, weeping all day, crying aloud for help, till at last some other stray sufferer and fugitive from the same fate, attracted by the cries in the silent jungle, happens to come near, and, throwing off all fear, takes the poor little bereaved ones to the nearest village or house to be taken care of." (Rev. Abé Miss. Field, 1865, p. 216.)

In one case, when a Land Dyak man was dying of dysentery, those attending him had prescribed the frequent use of plantains as his only food. Honey enters largely into their medical practice, and to it they ascribe healing qualities. (Low, p. 309.)

#### SMALLPOX.

Writing of the Smallpox on the Sakarang (?) in 1856 Sir Chas. Brooke remarks: "Indeed, near the mouths of small streams the stench was most offensive from the decaying bodies. When first taken with the unmistakable symptoms, they were left to look after themselves. The consequence was the disease proved fatal in almost every case. The poor creatures had not the

remotest chance of recovery if delirium attacked them ; but where inoculation was practised, the average amount of deaths did not exceed one per cent. The inhabitants (particularly the Dyaks) have an extraordinary fear of this disease, and never speak of it without a shudder. On making inquiries after a person's health, the question is put in a whisper for fear the spirit might hear, and it is termed by various names, the most usual being jungle flowers or fruits. (i. 208.)

"The smallpox attacked six months ago (1856) the people up the main river, the Batang Lupar. In some of the Dyak houses it made frightful ravages, chiefly through the panic fear into which it threw the occupants, who, in some cases, fled into the jungles, abandoning their sick friends and carrying the infection in their own bodies. It is said there are long houses, whose occupants having thus rushed away, not one of them has since made his appearance. The Dyaks regard the smallpox as an evil spirit, with the notion which induced our English peasantry to use the same caution in reference to fairies—they never venture to name the smallpox, but designate it politely by the titles *Rajah* and *Buah-Kagu*. I heard an old woman yesterday, telling how that, during the time she was nursing her grandson, she was continually begging, 'Rajah, have compassion on him, and on me, and spare his life—my only child.' In the neighbourhood of Sakarran, the Malays inoculated with success both 'their own people and the Dyaks. By inoculation the disease was gradually drawing near to Lingga. I wished the Dyaks not to inoculate until the appearance of the disease in the country, but they had an idea that the Rajah was more mild to those who thus made submission to him. So the inoculators came to Banting. They certainly have had great success. Out of hundreds who have been inoculated, only three have died under the operation. This is independently of two deaths from casual smallpox." (Bishop Chambers, Miss. Field ii., Oct., 1857, p. 236.)

In 1868 "the Sakarang Dyaks behaved disgracefully. No sooner was any one taken ill, than off they set, and ran into the jungle, leaving the sick to live or die. Sometimes they carried the sick into the jungle and left them there. One young man I heard of was carried to the edge of the graveyard, and left there with his mother to take care of him. He died ; his mother called to the people of her house to come and bury him, but not one would perform the friendly office ; she was obliged to pay people from another house to bury her son. I thought for some time that there was no one who had any medicine, but I found at last that there is an old man I know well, who professes to have a charm which causes the pox to subside. At this present time he is driving a thriving trade on the credulous. I inoculated *his grandchildren*, yet he had this charm. There is nothing like assurance and utter deceit for making way among this people. These medicine-men look wise, chew some leaves, colour them, spit on the people who are sick, rub them up and down, tie a piece of string round the neck, fasten a stone, bone, or piece of stick to it, finally ask a high price for the charm, and so get on, and are sent for from all parts. To be able to do this they must have a lot of dreams, in which the antu tells them of a drug or plant, or stone, bone, pig's, dog's, or

deer's tooth, which is in a certain place and possesses certain properties. Having first caught their hare, they skin it. They get the tooth, etc., narrate their dream, which is the best part of their charm. . . . During the last month I have inoculated about five hundred, just as I might have vaccinated in England; it does not suit the people far away. They like to have the Malays, who practise pretty well upon the people, and make a fine thing of it. Had I asked Malay prices, I should have made 180 dollars during the month, and that is double my pay as a missionary; as it is, I simply ask a fowl or small quantity of rice as an acknowledgment. You may think the people cannot pay: so I thought, till I found out how exorbitantly the Malays charge, and how *readily* the people pay them." (Crossland, Miss. Life 1868, p. 216.)

But the same missionary, writing three years later of the Undups, says: "Nothing could exceed the great care the people took of their sick, and the kind way in which they spoke to me. The generality of Dyaks run away and leave their sick to live or die. Yesterday, some of my people came home from the Lemanak country, where they have been for fruit. They told me the Lemanaks left their sick where they died, at the foot of the fruit-trees, simply wrapt up in their curtains. It is owing to this want of courage to bury their dead that the wild pigs feed on the bodies and then die of the disease. All the Undups were properly buried, and I never saw nurses in England take more care of the sick." (*ibid*, 1871, p. 86.)

"An epidemic of small-pox broke out at Balleh last year (1875) and carried off hundreds of people during the ensuing four or five months.

"The Kayans, Dyaks, and other wild tribes fled into the jungle, neglecting their farms, and thus paving the way to a famine. They did not, however, escape from the disease, which followed them to their retreats, and made an easy prey of the miserable half-starved wretches.

"Vaccination was proposed, but was at first viewed with more horror than the small-pox itself. The natives believed it to be the same as the inoculation practised by the Malays, of which they have just cause to be afraid, as they say that during a similar epidemic some ten or twelve years ago, 50 per cent. of those inoculated died.

"It was not until the beginning of October, when upwards of 400 deaths had occurred, that any one could be persuaded to be operated upon. As soon, however, as the efficacy of vaccination had been proved, the Fort was inundated with people of all tribes: Dyaks, Kayans, Punans, Bakatans, Skapans, Kajamans, &c., &c., who mingled fraternally together, forgetting for a time their old enmities. The disease soon disappeared from the district, but there is no doubt that a great deal of want will be felt before next harvest.

"The total number vaccinated up to the present time is 10,489, 3,452 being by Europeans at Balleh, and 7,037 by a Malay who was sent into the Kayan country for that purpose."<sup>2</sup> (S. G. 125, pp. 4-5.)

<sup>2</sup> Bock (p. 71) referring to a portrait of a Poonan in his book, says: "On the arm of the younger girl will be seen the marks of a kind of vaccination practised by these people." But is it really such a mark, and on what authority is the statement made, he could not speak to them?

"Small-pox from time to time commits terrible havoc amongst them; numbers of Dusuns in Melangkap were deeply pitted by this disease." (Whitehead, p. 109.)

"When the small-pox was committing sad havoc among those Sea Dyak villagers who would not allow themselves to be inoculated, they ran into the jungle in every direction, caring for no one but themselves, leaving the houses empty, and dwelling far away in the most silent spots, in parties of two and three, and sheltered only by a few leaves. When these calamities come upon them, they utterly lose all command over themselves, and become as most timid children. Those seized with the complaint are abandoned: all they do is to take care that a bundle of firewood, a cooking-pot, and some rice, are placed within their reach. On account of this practice, few recover, as in the delirium they roll on the ground and die.

"When the fugitives become short of provisions, a few of the old men who have already had the complaint creep back to the houses at night and take a supply of rice. In the daytime they do not dare to stir or to speak above a whisper for fear the spirits should see or hear them. They do not call the small-pox by its name, but are in the habit of saying, 'Has he yet left you?' at other times, they call it jungle leaves or fruit; and at other places the datu or the chief. Those tribes who inoculate suffer very little." (St. John i. 61.)

"In ordinary sickness the relatives are attentive, but not so, as I have said, when there is a sweeping epidemic, as small-pox; in such cases they think it to be useless striving against so formidable a spirit." (*ibid* i. 74.)

"In many cases of sickness and death, on inquiring the cause, they reply, '*Pansa antu*,' or 'A spirit has passed.' This may be otherwise interpreted 'He possesses a devil.'" (Brooke i. 63.)

"I forgot to mention an old chief I met on the road during the day. He told me there had been a man rushing about the country where I was going to and who had been eating men and women. I asked him why they had not killed him, but he said they were unable to catch him. I then asked if I should have a chance of putting a ball into him, but he stated the man had cleared out and gone in the direction of the Paitan river. I discovered next day that cholera was what the old gentleman had been aiming at." (Von Donop Diary, October 6th.)

#### RUSSIAN INFLUENZA.

On the Batang Lupar "Ten Dyak children aged about one year have succumbed to the influenza in the Saduku stream. These are the only deaths from the influenza that have been reported. It seems that in nearly every case of these Dyak children diarrhoea accompanied the influenza and the combination was too much for these small mortals. It would appear, therefore, that the influenza epidemic is not so bad in the Batang Lupar as in other places." (S. G. 1894, p. 68.)

## MALARIAL FEVER.

Mr. Von Donop had pointed out to him a small shrub called *Lebullyboo*, the leaves of which are used as a substitute for quinine. (Diary, October 8th.)

"The Punans when suffering from fever swallow the poison which they use for their arrows, and which is regarded by them as a valuable medicine when taken internally." (Hose J.A.I. xxiii. 158.)

## KURAP.

"This is a disease which produces a repulsive appearance, causing the skin to hang in ragged loose flakes or scales all over the body, excepting those parts which are tightly bound round, *e.g.* the loins. But even here the skin, though not scaly is of a very dark unhealthy brown. In some subjects, instead of being scaly the appearance is as though a small parasite had found its way beneath the surface of the skin, and had tunnelled his way all over the body, producing a most beautiful pattern of intertwining spirals and circles, like embroidery. The patient suffers very much from irritation and itching at certain stages of the disease, which induces scratching and thus the skin is torn and loosened. The disease is said to be hereditary, though often a generation or two may exhibit no symptoms of it. Still the poison appears to be in the system, and it will probably break out again. It may also be contracted by using the garments or sitting upon the mats of people who suffer from the disease. A scale or flake of skin may become attached to the new subject and the disease may thus be transplanted upon their bodies. A native cure consists of a mass of certain leaves all pulped together, with oil and soot and then smeared and plastered over the affected parts, and at once excluded from the air by various wrappings, first with leaves, then with cloth. At certain intervals, these wrappings are taken off, the patient allowed to bathe, and then new applications put on again. This process of cure takes from one to three months, and even longer, and sometimes it fails altogether." (F. W. Leggatt.)<sup>3</sup>

This disease is mentioned by nearly all travellers. Mr. Denison speaks of it at Jagni and Brang (ch. iii. p. 31, ch. vii. p. 80). Mr. Grant refers to it (p. 78) and Sir Chas. Brooks calls it the "offensive skin disease" among the Undups. (ii. 85.) Mr. Hornaday writes of it at Simunjan: "Some had that repulsive skin disease called ichthyosis, which causes the epidermis to crack and loosen somewhat, and roll up in thousands of minute rolls, giving the otherwise dark brown body a grayish appearance." (p. 373.) Mr. Whitehead met with it among the Muruts and the Dusuns. (pp. 70, 109.) Lieut. De Crespigny had previously mentioned it as prevalent with these peoples. (Proc. R. Geogr. S. ii. 348; Berl. Zeit. p. 330.) He attributed it to bad food. In fact nearly all writers agree in considering the unsanitary life and occasional food as largely responsible for this disease. (Low, p. 304.) On the Sadong the popular belief is that a decoction of leaves of the *sulok* plant will cure the sufferers, but it

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Earl saw Dyaks with it and some also whom the disease had left with nearly white spots. It was not considered infectious. (p. 296.) Mr. S. Müller also met with it (ii. 357), while Mr. Bock says the Poonans are especially subject to skin diseases. (p. 213.)

rarely succeeds; again, the hot water cure is also resorted to and drunk at nearly boiling pitch, but usually with poor results. (S. G. 1894, p. 121.) Natives who have entered the European service have lost it, but the discolouration of the skin remains. (Low, 304.) Madame Pfeiffer remarks (p. 77): "Besides outbreaks on the skin and ulcers I noticed few diseases amongst them. Of the latter the men seem to suffer more than the women."

#### LEPROSY.

At Sennah Sir Hugh Low saw a small hut erected in a tree far above the ordinary houses of the village and though in sight of at some distance from them. He was told it contained a man and a woman who were afflicted with a loathsome disease which caused large pieces of their flesh, particularly from the extremities, to drop away. They were debarred from all society, never permitted to descend and well supplied with food. (p. 305.) Mr. Witt met a Dusun whose foot was half rotted away. He adds (Diary, Nov. 25) they are free from syphilis, but Sir Chas. Brooke on the Lingga remarks that scrofula is prevalent. Leprosy also exists among the Muruts. (De Crespigny, Berl. Zeit. p. 330.)

#### ELEPHANTIASIS.

This is common on the coast and particularly in the low countries. Many Europeans including His Highness have suffered from it temporarily. (Brooke i. 57.)

#### GOITRE.

Mr. Denison (ch. vii. p. 90) observed goitre at Brang. Sir Hugh Low met with it at Simpio. It grows very large but causes no pain, only inconvenience. "I have myself seen young women with them, so long as to hang below the breasts, and was informed that amongst other tribes they were frequently thrown over their shoulders by the people troubled with them. They appear to me to be more frequent amongst the women than the men. I did not see them exceed more than two in number on one individual,"<sup>4</sup> (p. 306.)

#### CONSUMPTION.

"On the Lingga consumption is not uncommon, and children are especially subject to it, often with fatal consequences." (Brooke i. 57.) The Rajah also met with cases of wasting away for which he never could administer any complete remedy. (*ibid.*) "Cases of consumption also exist among the Dusuns." (De Crespigny, Proc. R. Geogr. S. ii. 348.)

#### OPHTHALMIA.

This is very frequent among the Land Dyaks, "it occasions loss of sight from cataract, though a weakening discharge is the most common appearance." (Low, p. 304.) Mr. Hornaday mentions sore eyes at Lake Padang. (p. 373.)

<sup>4</sup> "It is no exaggeration to say that every third woman is afflicted with a protuberance in the throat, varying from the size of an apple to that of a child's head." (Bock, 213.)

On the Lingga the people suffer most during the weeding of the padi farms in September and October. "When neglected, it deprives many of sight, but taken in the first instance yields to the mildest remedies." (Brooke i. 57.) "The Kanowits suffer because they extract their eyelashes." (St. John i. 39.) "On the Limbang sore eyes are perhaps caused by the people crowding over their fires at night." (*ibid* ii. 133.) "While the neighbouring Malays suffered the Dusuns at Bongau were quite free from weak and inflamed eyes." (De Crespigny, Proc. R. Geogr. S. ii. 348.)

#### INSANITY.

An insane Dyak once attacked Mr. Everett at Marup on the Batang Lupar. "The Dyak, according to the custom of his people, is a privileged person, being insane, and wanders about the jungle or near the houses without molestation." (S. G., No. 26, 1871.) "Madness is supposed, amongst the Singhie Dyaks, to be the punishment inflicted on the hardy offender against the Pamalion deer's flesh, and a man is now living in that tribe who committed the horrid crime of parricide to save his family from the disgrace incurred by his father running about the woods in a state of nudity, making the noises and imitating the habits of a deer, of the flesh of which animal he was supposed to have eaten." (Low, p. 306.)

#### ALBINOS.

These are found among the Sea Dyaks, who are fond of such monstrosities. They are not deficient in mental and physical capacity. "The weakness of their eyes produces a nervous trembling, as if the pupil could not bear the light—the colour is of a faint pinkish tinge." (Brooke i. 62.)

#### HEALING WOUNDS.

A Sakarang youth was caught by the foot by an alligator. "Fortunately a boat approached, and the alligator then dropped his foot and made off. The wounded man dragged himself up the bank and there lay exhausted, with his foot merely attached to the leg by a small piece of flesh. The wound was ghastly, with the bones protruding just above the ankle. Some of the nerves must have still been unsevered, as he had some sensation in his toes. I could do nothing but give him clean cloth, and recommend him to keep the limb cool. A doctor, I suppose, would have at once amputated the foot. The man did not appear to suffer any acute pain, but was in an exhausted condition. Four years subsequently to this event the same individual walked into my house, informed me he had quite recovered, was married, and had a young family. On examining the limb, I found it was six inches short, and he was walking on the end of his shin bone: the foot was drawn up and useless. I feel sure no European would have recovered from such a wound without medical treatment."<sup>5</sup> (Brooke.)

"Wounds are always covered by a kind of paste, made of pounded

<sup>5</sup> That the Dyaks [*sic*] are not as a rule unhealthy is proved by the rapidity with which wounds and fractures heal. (Bock.)

turmeric roots and other herbs, which entering the sore, keep it in an unclean state, and prevent rather than assist the cure. From the simple nature of their food, and their way of life, inflammation in wounds or sores is rare amongst them, and generally to a small extent." (Low, p. 307.)

#### BLEEDING AND CUPPING.

Among the Land Dyaks bleeding "is performed very rudely, by cutting large gashes in the limb which pains them. The cupping process is curious, and, as far as I know, peculiar to the people. The wounds being made with a sharp knife, or a piece of bamboo, a small tube of this cane is placed over them, with fire on its upper end, so that the air of the tube being exhausted by the action of the fire, the blood flows readily, and the operation is successfully carried on." (Low, p. 307.)

"Two days ago I witnessed a surgical operation, performed by two Undop women on a man; it was cupping. The man lay on his side, and one woman having a conical piece of wood, hollowed out with a base about the size of an ordinary cupping glass, and a small hole at the top, applied it between the shoulders of the man and by suction endeavoured to exhaust the air. Having succeeded in attracting the blood to the part, she took off the wood; and the other woman, who had a very sharp knife, proceeded to incise the part freely; the wood was again applied, and a very fair quantity of blood extracted." (Crossland, Miss. Field 1860, p. 92.)

On the Barum River, "cupping is practised by the medicine men, small joints of bamboo being used for the purpose. Blood-letting about the skin is a very common practice, and I have often seen a man take a small knife and make slight incisions in another's leg till the whole limb was smothered in blood." (Hose, J. A. I. xxiii. 166.)

#### CAUTERISING.

The Sarebas people have a very barbarous method of cauterising wounds made by fish spikes, viz., "heating a wire till it is red hot, and then introducing it into the wound to cauterise it. But the poison has entered the whole system before this operation can be effected." (Brooke i. 231.)

Of the same people Sir James Brooke writes: "I have seen them with a smouldering fire under a bamboo grating, only a foot high, on which the patient sits or sleeps, naked, enveloped in smoke, which would smother a European." (Mundy i. 237.)

#### SPITTLE AS A POULTICE.

The Sarawak Dyaks "also bathe the sick with cocoa-nut water, mixed with ginger and a yellow root. Often also they use spittle (saliva mixed in their mouth with red sirih), and spit on his face, neck, and other parts of his

<sup>6</sup> "One day one of the Poonans staying at Long Wai fell ill, and complained of a pain in his back. Without hesitation the chief took his small knife from his mandu sheath, and taking a piece of flesh firmly between his fingers made three incisions in the lower part of the back, in the region of the kidneys. In each slit he inserted a bamboo cylinder, two inches long, which he first made very hot, pressing them down firmly, and afterwards applying a little hot water to the wounds. I felt this novel kind of seton, and found the three pieces of bamboo were fastened very securely into the flesh." (Bock, p. 75.)

body." (Houghton, M. A. S., 197.) And Miss Combes reports being called at Lundi to see a sick child "which was covered with filth, having been squirted with betel juice, and daubed with a kind of red ochre." (Gosp. Miss., 1st Aug., 1858, p. 120.)

"Other Dyaks use the same remedy for sprains, bruises, or cuts." (Hornaday, p. 473.) "Some Sakarang wounded were once brought to Sir Chas. Brooke to be spat upon. He declined, so his "people gave them a volley of saliva over their wounds in my stead, and promised a speedy recovery." (Brooke i. 186.)

"On more than one occasion when in the interior I was presented by the Murats with a sumpitan arrow with the request that it should be spat upon by myself and my party; this arrow it seems was used afterwards as a charm in cases of fever." (Ricketts, S. G. No. 348, p. 19.)

"The grated flesh of old cocoa-nut is occasionally applied to wounds and bruises, but there is no general knowledge even of the powers of rice poultices. Blue-stone they eagerly inquire for, and they have learnt its properties. Their most common physic is to get a friend to chew up a mass of sirih-leaves, areca and lime, until it is reduced to a thick red juice, which is then squirted from the mouth over the part affected. If this physic be thus administered by a regular doctor it will be more efficacious, but anyone may do it. This mess is used indiscriminately for all diseases: stomach ache, sore eyes, ulcers, wounds, boils, rheumatism, as well as fever. When it is squirted on to the forehead it is supposed to be efficacious in relieving the accompanying headache." (St. John i. 199.)

#### SNAKE BITES.

Among the Sea Dyaks "old and dried Indian corn is kept for medicinal purposes, particularly for the cure of snake bites; each man carries a small quantity in jungle travelling." (Brooke i. 189.)

A Punan being bitten in the foot by a large cobra, "some Dyaks at Tatau took him in hand and applied some roots to the wounded foot, and it was not long before he was able to walk about again." (E. P. Gueritz, S. G. No. 122, p. 6)

"Some Muruts have an anti snake bite anklet called *glang antu*, and greenstone which is said to absorb the poison." (De Crespigny?)

#### LEECHES.

"The coloured leeches of a bright green hue, the natives and especially the Sea Dyaks hold in great horror, as they have an idea that they are capable of entering the intestines, and eventually killing a person. One man had this idea, and came with a pitiful story about his case. I gave him everything I could think of, and he took, besides my medicine, some tobacco and salt until he vomited profusely. He made himself very ill before he was better, and then told me the Antus had promised that he should recover his health." (Brooke ii. 186)

<sup>7</sup> "The Dyaks and the Malays also, are very fond of the fat from the python as an ointment, and apply it to all kinds of external wounds." (Bock, p. 213.)

## CHAPTER XII.

### LEGENDS.

The creation of the world—Another version—The deluge—Origin of white people and survival of books—Origin of Sibuya—Origin of Buludupi—Legend of Kina Balu—Ancestor of a Sadong chief—Origin of paddy (rice)—Jungle-leeches—Origin of Borich—Klieng's war-raid to the skies (by the Ven. Archdeacon Perham)—Fragment of a story of Klieng—The story of Limbang—Adventures of Klieng—Two fragments—A third fragment—The story of Manging—History of the Siju idol—Plandok and Kikura—Deer, pig, and Plandok—Plandok, deer, and pig—Alligator bird—Alligators afraid of Dyaks—Orang-Outan stories—Turtle with a pearl—Rats—Stump-tailed snake—Tailed men—Spooks—The Kinabatangan cave—Water Spirits—Spirits of the rock—Mountain spirits—Curious mounds.

#### THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

“THE following account of the creation is given by the Dyaks of Sakarran :— In the beginning, existed in solitude, Rajah Gantallah, possessed of a soul with organs for hearing, speaking, and seeing ; but destitute of any other limbs or members : he rested upon a *lumbu*. *Lumbu* is the Malay word for a bull or cow ; but it was not upon this animal he had his seat ; nor were the Dyaks able to give any account of what a *lumbu* is. By an act of his will, Rajah Gantallah originated two birds, a male and a female, after which he did not directly produce any creature, his will taking effect through the instrumentality of these birds. They dwelt on the *lumbu*, above, beneath, and around, in what was originally a void. Whilst dwelling upon it, they created first the sky, then the earth, and then the Batang Lupar—a large river in Borneo—which was the first of waters, and the mother of rivers. Leaving the *lumbu*, they flew round the earth and sky, to discover which of them was the greater. Finding that the size of the earth considerably exceeded that of the sky, they collected the earth together with their feet, and heaped it into mountains. Having completed this work, they attempted to create mankind. For this end they made the trees, and tried to turn them into men ; but without success. They then made the rocks for the same purpose. These they shaped like a man in all respects ; but the figure was destitute of the power of speech. They then took earth, and, by the aid of water, moulded it into the form of a man, infusing into his veins the gum of the kumpang-tree, which is of a red colour. They called to him—he answered ; they cut at him—blood flowed from his wounds ; as the day waxed hot, sweat oozed through his skin. They gave him the name of Tannah Kumpok, or Moulded Earth.

"Besides this account of the creation of the first man, the Dyaks have likewise several traditions regarding the Deluge, one of which, curiously enough, connects it with the universally diffused story of the dragon, the woman, and the fruit of a tree for which she longed." (Horsburgh, p. 20.)

#### ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

"Their traditions of the creation are also singular. In the beginning, they believe, there were Solitude and Soutan (a Malay word meaning curious person or soul), who could see, hear, speak, but had no limbs, body, or members. This deity is supposed to have lived on a ball, and after some ages to have made two great birds—bullar and erar. He himself did nothing further; but the birds flew round and round, and made the earth, sky, and rivers. Finding the earth greater than the sky, &c. &c. (as above) . . . . After a time this first man, Tanacompta, brought to life a female child, who gave birth to offspring. The succession of day and night then began; and her progeny became most numerous, and sailed continually up and down on the river. Hitherto the sky had been so near the earth that one could touch it with the hand; but she now raised it up, and put it permanently on props." (Bishop McDougall, T. E. S. ii. 27.)

#### THE DELUGE.

"My friends now gave me a description of the Deluge. The fact of their telling me that *Trow* (Noah), who was the ancestor of these Dyaks, married a Malay woman named *Temñjen*, made me wonder, however, whether or not the following is a story derived from the Malays,—most probably it is.

"*Trow* was a great man, and when the flood commenced proved himself to be so, for he procured a *lessong* (a large wooden mortar used for pounding paddy), and made a boat of it, and taking the fair *Temñjen*, and a dog, a pig, a fowl, a cat, &c., he launched forth into the deep. After the flood subsided, *Trow*, having landed his stock and cargo, thought long and deeply, and after mature consideration seems to have come to the conclusion that to re-people the world many wives were necessary; so out of a log of wood he made one, and out of a stone he created another, and various other articles having been converted to a similar purpose, he married them, so that it was not surprising that ere many years he had a family of some twenty, who learned to till the earth and to lay the foundation of various Dyak tribes, including that of *Tringus*.<sup>1</sup>

"*Trow*, then, is the reputed ancestor of the *Tringus* Dyaks; *Tüppa* is their Supreme God, who in his anger sends thunder and lightning, and in his mercy the sun and gentle rain. But unfortunately this is not all, for the *Tringus* folk, both young and old, believe in other good genii, who, like the heathen gods of old, are supposed to have special charges, such as that of war, &c., and to whom offerings are made; and besides this, they have a very great dread of many evil spirits, which cause sickness, bad crops, and the like, and require propitiation." (Grant, p. 68.)

<sup>1</sup> Compare the classical story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. [Wm. Chalmers.]

## A SEA-DYAK TRADITION OF THE DELUGE AND CONSEQUENT EVENTS.

"Once upon a time some Dyak women went to gather young bamboo shoots to eat. Having got the shoots they went along the jungle and came upon what they took to be a large tree fallen to the ground, upon which they sat, and began to pare the bamboo shoots, when to their utter amazement the tree began to bleed. At this point some men came upon the scene, and at once saw that what the women were sitting upon was not a tree, but a huge boa-constrictor in a state of stupor. The men killed the beast, cut it up, and took the flesh home to eat. As they were frying the pieces of snake strange noises came from the pan, and at the same time it began to rain furiously. The rain continued until all hills except the highest were covered, and the world was drowned because the men killed and fried the snake. All mankind perished except one woman who fled to a very high mountain. There she found a dog lying at the foot of a jungle creeper, and feeling the root of the creeper to be warm she thought perhaps fire may be got out of it: so she took two pieces of its wood and rubbed them together and obtained fire; and thus arose the fire-drill, and the first production of fire after the great flood.

"This woman and the fire-drill gave birth to Simpang-impang, who, as the name implies, had only half a body, one eye, one ear, half a nose, one cheek, one arm, one leg. It appears that many of the animal creation found refuge in the highest mountains during the flood. A certain rat, more thoughtful than the rest of his friends, had contrived to preserve a handful of paddy; but by some means not told, Simpang got knowledge of this and stole it from the rat, and thus man got paddy after the flood. Simpang spread his handful of paddy upon a leaf and set it upon a tree-stump to dry, but a puff of wind came and away went paddy, leaf, and all. Simpang was enraged at this, and set off to inflict a fine upon the Spirit of the Winds and to demand the restoration of the paddy. Going through the upper regions, he passed the houses of Puntang Raga and Ensang Pengaia, who asked Simpang to inquire of the Wind Spirit the reason why one plantain or sugarcane planted in the ground only grew up one single plant, never producing any further increase. After this, Simpang came to a lake, who told him to ask the Wind Spirit why it was it had no mouth and could not empty itself. Then he came to a very high tree whereon all kinds of birds were gathered together and would not fly away. They had taken refuge there at the deluge. The tree sends a message to the Wind Spirit, 'Tell the Spirit to blow me down: how can I live with all these birds on the top of me, balking every effort to put forth a leaf or branch in any direction?' On goes Simpang until he arrives at the house of the Spirit, he goes up the ladder and sits on the verandah. 'Well,' says the Spirit, 'and what do you want?' 'I am come to demand payment for the paddy which you blew away from the stump on which I had set it to dry.' 'I refuse,' replies the Spirit; 'however, let us try the matter by diving.' So they went to the water, the Spirit and his friends and Simpang and his friends. Simpang's friends were certain beasts, birds, and fishes, which he had induced to follow him on the way. Simpang himself could not dive a bit; but a fish came to the rescue, dived and beat the Wind Spirit. But the Spirit proposed

another ordeal. 'Let us jump over the house,' says the Spirit. Simpang would have been vanquished here had not the swallow jumped for him and, of course, cleared the Spirit's house. 'Once more,' says the Spirit, 'let us see who can get through the hole of a sumpitan.' This time Simpang got the ant to act for him, and so held his own against the Spirit. But the matter was not yet decided, and the Spirit declared he would not make any compensation. 'Then,' says Simpang in a rage, 'I will burn your house down about your ears.' 'Burn it if you can,' says the Spirit. Now Simpang had brought the fire-drill with him and he threw it on to the roof of the Spirit's house, which flamed up into a blaze at once. The great Spirit fumed and raged and stamped, and only added fury to fire. He soon bethought himself of submitting and shouted out: 'O Simpang, call your fire-drill back and I will pay for the paddy.' He recalled the fire-drill, and the flames ceased. Then there was a discussion. Spoke the Spirit: 'I have no goods or money wherewith to pay you; but from this time forth you shall be a whole man having two eyes, two ears, two cheeks, two arms, two legs.' Simpang was quite satisfied with this and said no more about the paddy. Simpang then gave the messages with which he had been instructed on the way, and the Spirit made answer: 'The reason why Puntang Raga and Ensang Pengaia are not successful with their sugarcanes and plantations is that they follow no proper customs. Tell them never to mention the names of their father-in-law or mother-in-law, and never in walking go before them; not to marry near relations, nor to have two wives, and the plantains and sugarcanes will be all right. The reason why the lake cannot empty itself is that there is gold where the mouth ought to be. Take that away and it will have an exit. The tree I will look after.' The tree fell by the wind, the lake found an exit, and the world went on as before. But how paddy was recovered does not appear." (Perham, S. G. No. 133, p. 53.)

#### THE ORIGIN OF WHITE PEOPLE AND OF THE SURVIVAL OF BOOKS.

"A story that was related to one of our clergymen, William Chalmers, by a Balow Dyak, which had reference to the origin of the white people. He said that, once upon a time, a Dyak woman, who had skin disease, and was consequently whiter in colour than her countrywomen, got into a canoe, which drifted out to sea. As she had no paddle the boat was at the mercy of wind and wave. After some time she descried land; the boat was driven to it by the wind, and, to her great joy, she was enabled to get to the shore. In course of time she gave birth to a child, who was white-skinned, like the mother, and who was the father of the Europeans.

"In the course of conversation with *Pa-Molong*, I asked him if it was true, as I heard, that his forefathers 'grew out of the top of the mountain' on which they lived, viz., *Gumbang*? 'No,' said he, 'that is not the case. The story I have heard is this:—'Years and years ago there was a great rising of the waters (the Deluge?) There were four men who encountered this flood, and who did not perish in it. Each had a *surat* (a writing, or book). The first man tied his round his waist, and the waters rising up to his shoulders

destroyed it. This man was the ancestor of the Dyaks, who, even to this day, cannot read or write, seeing his book was then lost. The second man put his writing under his arm; but the water reached it too, and wet it, though without entirely destroying it. He was the father of the Malays, who can read, though imperfectly. Another put his book on his shoulder, but the rising deluge just reached it, and, like the last, it was partially destroyed, or rather damaged. See in his descendants the Chinese, many of whom can read and write though they, too, are not very clever at it. But behold the cleverness of the fourth and last man. The waters rose and rose, but what did he do? He put the writing on the top of his head and consequently the waves did not reach it, and the result is, that even now, whenever you meet a white man, he is sure to have a *surat*, alias a book, before him." (Grant, p. 79.) "This story being related to the Orang Kaya of Sennah: 'No! No!' said an old man, 'that's not right. The Dyak took his across in his sirih-case quite safe, and the Malay lost his, but when they got ashore, and the Malay discovered his loss, he bullied the Dyak till the latter gave up the writings and has remained ignorant ever since.'" (S. G. No. 161, p. 9.)

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE SIBUYAUS.

"The Sibuyows never eat the *puttin*, on account of an old tradition in their tribe. One day a Dyak was fishing and caught only a single puttin, which he gave to a Malay at whose house he landed to procure a light for his pipe. On his coming back to get the fish, the fish was no longer there; but crouched in the bottom of his canoe was a pretty little girl. The good Dyak was greatly astonished at this transformation, but carried the little girl home, where she was brought up with the family, and grew to be a woman; and in due course married her finder's son. No peculiarity was observed in her conduct; she was like any other Dyak woman, and made a good wife; she pounded the rice, drew the water, made mats, and conducted the affairs of the household with propriety and neatness. After a time she bore her attached husband a son, and suckled the boy till he could run about; when one day, being at the edge of the water with the boy, and her husband, she suddenly said to him "Here, take the child; be kind to him for he is my child; I have been a good wife, but I must now rejoin my own tribe"; and thus saying she plunged into the river and became once more a puttin." (Keppel's Meander ii. p. 77.) According to Bishop McDougall, the fay left her husband because one day in a temper he struck her. (T. E. S. ii. 27.)

"A different version was given by an old Bruni man, who said there were some white people who lived in a hill a few days off. As usual a man loses his way, sees seven nymphs bathing, nooses one, and brings the girl home to his wife to be brought up as a wife for his son. All goes well; but the son has a violent temper. One day he takes off his jacket to beat her, another jacket drops from heaven and the fairy woman vanishes, leaving her child who is the ancestor of the tribe." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 144.)

## THE ORIGIN OF THE BULUDUPIH RACE.

"In past ages a Chinese settler had taken to wife a daughter of the aborigines, by whom he had a female child. Her parents lived in a hilly district (*Bulud*-hill), covered with a large forest tree, known by the name of *ōpih*. One day a jungle fire occurred, and after it was over, the child jumped down from the house (native houses are raised on piles off the ground), and went up to look at a half-burnt *opih* log, and suddenly disappeared and was never seen again. But the parents heard the voice of a spirit issue from the log, announcing that it had taken the child to wife, and that, in course of time, the bereaved parents would find an infant in the jungle, whom they were to consider as their offspring of the marriage, and who would become the father of a new race. The prophecy of the spirit was in due time fulfilled."

## A CHINESE LEGEND OF KINA-BALU.

"That the Emperor of China sent a great fleet for the stone of a snake which had its residence at Keeney-Baloo; that the number of people landed was so great as to form a continual chain from the sea, and when the snake's stone was stole it was handed from one to the other till it reached the boat, which immediately put off from the shore and carried the prize to the junks; they, immediately sailing, left all those who were ashore behind, though their dispatch was not enough to prevent the snake's pursuit, who came up with the junks and regained his treasure." (Dalrymple, p. 41.) About seventy years afterwards Mr. Earl is told that the legend was considered to prove the Chinese origin of the Dusuns. Here are his words: "The Chinese suppose the Dyaks to be descended from a large body of their countrymen left by accident upon the island, but this opinion is entertained solely on the faith of a Chinese legend. If they can prove their paternity to the Dyaks, they must extend it to the whole race inhabiting the interior of the larger islands in the Archipelago. They say that many hundred years ago a monstrous serpent existed in the interior of Borneo, which possessed a talisman of inestimable value, and that the sovereign of the Celestial Empire, coveting so valuable a treasure, despatched a large fleet with an immense body of men, to steal it from its lawful owner. The serpent was found asleep, and the men were stationed in a line extending from the sea coast into the centre of the island, so close to each other that the talisman could be passed from hand to hand, until put on board the junks: but all these admirable arrangements were rendered of no avail, by the clumsiness of the person appointed to steal the talisman, for the serpent awaking and seeing what was in the wind, raised such a dust that the junks were blown off the coast, and the long line of Celestials were left to colonise the country." (Earl, p. 294.)

According to Lieut. De Crespigny, Kinibalu is inhabited by the Dusuns' ancestor who brought them into the land and who went up there when he saw they were comfortably settled. (Berl. Zeit. N.F., p. 334.)

"The Dusuns say on the top of Kinibalu there is a large lake, watched by

a *naja* or dragon god. On an island in the middle of the lake there is a lovely Chinese princess held in strong durance by the *naja*. Many handsome princes had tried in vain to rescue the unfortunate princess. To do this some had transformed themselves into birds, fishes, &c., but they were always destroyed by the *naja*. The princess is only to be released by a very powerful man. But then danger threatened the Dusuns for the lake would overflow and the mountain fall to pieces." (*ibid*, p. 338.)

#### THE ANCESTOR OF A SADONG CHIEF.

"It was many, many years ago that a Dyak, of Semābang (in Sadong), and his young son arrived, after a long journey through the jungle, at a village called *Si-Lébor*. The village was extensive, the Dyaks very numerous. On arriving, the chief of the tribe placed food before the older visitor, but to his young son they offered nothing. The little fellow seeing this, and being very hungry after his journey, felt much hurt, and began to cry. 'To my father,' said he, 'you have given food, the *priok* of rice is before him, the fatted pig has been killed—everything you have given him; why do you give me nothing?' But the child's appeal was useless. These strange Dyaks had hearts of stone; not a morsel was handed to the fatigued and hungry little wayfarer; so he wept on, and wept in vain.

"After a while the boy looked more cheerful; he had dried his tears, and was now engaged in catching a dog and a cat. These he put together on the mat, round which all the people were seated. The cat and the dog played, or more likely, as these animals will do, fought together; but whatever it was, there was something so ludicrous in it all, while the boy sat over them and set them at each other, that the whole assemblage burst into immoderate laughter. The boy, it would seem, was working some spell—there was an object in what he had been doing. Perhaps he was in communication with evil spirits, or under their influence; there was something ominous about it, we know not what. But, to proceed, presently the sky became overcast, and gradually great volumes of black clouds came sailing up, propelled by great gusts of wind; one by one they rolled along, and were heaped up one on top of another, or got all broken up, as it were, in their collision. The sky appeared one mass of confusion, looking blacker and more angry as the sun gradually disappeared in the darkness. At last the storm burst forth with a fury never known before; sharp flashes of lightning, followed by awful peals of thunder, succeeded one another, fast and furious; the very ground below shook as the palm leaf quivers in the breeze—it seemed as if the great end of all things was at hand.

"Now commenced a gradual but awful change. Amidst the rolling thunder and the dazzling lightning, which only served to make the awful darkness visible, the village, the houses, all began to dissolve, to melt away, as it were, into burning lava, and, with his works, man perished likewise. There you might see the grey-headed chief starting up with his

grandson in his arms, but ere reaching the door, being gradually hardened into stone. There mothers would be seen flying with their little ones to escape the same dreadful fate, but all in vain. There a young and helpless maiden would be clinging to her brave warrior, to that arm which had always been the first to help her, which could surely save her now. Alas, that cruel transformation. The living light in those bright eyes is gone, the tender grasp of that warm hand is cold; from flesh and blood they too pass away into senseless petrifications, whilst, mingling with the shrieks and yells, and invocations of the men and the *Borich*, would still be heard the boom of the thunder and the crackling of the houses. Not a man, woman, or child—no, nor even a visitor—at that fated village, save only the neglected boy, was left alive to mourn the loss of his all. One after another, they all melted, and were changed, when the heat of the storm was over, into solid rock. Houses and all in them succumbed beneath the fiery elements, and when the storm ceased, all lay, not a heap of charred ruins, but huge masses of smoking stone.

“A hill with great precipices now marks the spot where this tragedy occurred, and on the hill (itself the transformed village) are still pointed out, if people speak truth, the traces of petrified houses. An upright rock is shown as the transformed figure of a Malay, an unhappy visitor on that awful day. There he stands with his hand still fixed on his sword hilt, once a living soul, now a lifeless stone. The whole scene indeed is a standing monument at once of the crime of inhospitality and its fearful punishment. Gazing on his revenge, the youth retreated. He returned to his native village, Semābang: and time flew on, and ere he died, he was the chief of his tribe, the grey-headed patriarch appealed to by the new and rising generation. Years and hundreds of years rolled away, fathers and mothers passed off the stage, and young children grew up to take their places, to attain manhood, to work, to become old, to die too; and so time went on, and children danced and played over the same ground that their ancestors had danced and played on for centuries before.

“At last, no great time ago, the tribe of Semābang having flourished and become populous and rich, a young chief, the lineal descendant of the little hungry boy, dreamed that great riches were in store for him and his tribe if they went to Mount Si-Lébor, the petrified village. The next day a party was organized, and they went there and searched. They at last discovered a magnificent cave. With lighted torches they entered, and found it to be very extensive and full of the celebrated edible birds'-nests. ‘Ah,’ said they, ‘this is our portion, instead of that which was denied to our ancestor; his due was refused then, it has now been given to us, his descendants; this is our “*balas*” (“revenge”).’ Thousands and thousands of birds'-nests they brought out of the cave, which realized many *reals* to the discoverers. The Si-Lébor caves are now said to be the richest, and the tribe possessing them (the Semābang youth's descendants) the wealthiest and most prosperous in Sadong.” (Grant, p. 43.)

## THE ORIGIN OF PADDY.

(A SĒNTAH STORY.)

"Once upon a time, Dyak mankind ate nothing but *kulat*—the fungus which grows about the trunks of trees and decayed wood—together with such roots, fruits, pith, &c., as they could pick up, and such animals as they could snare and trap. A number of folks went sailing out to sea; among them was a young Dyak named *Se Juru*. They were driven by the wind far out to sea, till they came to a place near which they heard the roar of a whirlpool, and they saw a large *sibaï* tree loaded with fruit, having its roots in the sky and its branches touching the water. Urged by his companions, *Sē Juru* got up among the branches to gather some fruit, and as he continued there a long time—and, in spite of the remonstrances of his companions, would keep climbing higher and higher—they got tired of waiting, and away they went without him. Here was a fix! *Se Juru*, however, climbed up and up very philosophically, determined to see what was at the end of the trunk, and what it was rooted upon. At length he came to a place in the sky from whence it grew out, and found himself in a new and beautiful country—that of the 'seven stars' (the Pleiades). While gazing about him in wonder and admiration, he was accosted by a being named *Se Kera*, who took him to his house (which was built Dyak-fashion), and set the pot a-boiling. After a time the contents of the pot were turned into a dish, and a mass of soft white grains appeared, heaped up together. *Se Juru* thought they were boiled maggots, but was too polite to make rude enquiries. 'Eat,' said *Se Kera*. 'Eat what?' replied *Se Juru*. 'That in the dish,' said *Se Kera*. 'What, those maggots?' 'Don't be a fool, it is not maggots, but *tubi* (boiled rice),' and *Se Kera* thereupon explained to him the processes of planting and reaping paddy, of pounding it into rice, and then of cooking it for food. Just then *Se Kera*'s wife went out to get some water, and *Se Juru* took the opportunity of looking into a large *tajaï Bandirai* (a kind of jar), near which he was standing. What was his wonder to see therein ('just as one sees in a telescope,' said my informant) the whole family of his father's house assembled together and talking, apparently quite close to him. The remembrance of home was thus awakened; his spirits sunk; and when Mrs. *Se Kera* returned, and they all sat down to eat, his appetite was gone. 'Why don't you eat?' asked *Se Kera*; 'rice is very nice, I assure you.' Poor *Se Juru* told him his grief, but his host bade him be of good cheer, for he would soon make matters all right. He thereupon made a hearty meal, and found rice much to his liking; and, when his appetite was satisfied, *Se Kera* bade him prepare to return home. Then he instructed him in all the mysteries of farming, taught him the use of bird-omens, told him how to cut down the jungle, how to burn it, and how to plant, reap, and store paddy, and at the close of his lesson gave him seed of three kinds—of *padi-mas*, *padi-bire*, and *padi-kachō*. When these, his treasures, were properly secured, *Se Kera* finally crowned his kindness by letting him down to earth by a long rope, and he landed safe at a place no great distance from his own village, that of Simpok.

"From that time the Dyaks began to farm, and they still continue to

follow the instructions given by the great *Se Kera* (whom they invoke at their harvest-feasts) to their ancestor *Se Juru*. Hence they know that when, in early morning, before sunrise, 'the seven stars' are low in the eastern sky, then it is time to cut down the jungle; when they appear in mid-heaven at the same time, then they burn; and when they are seen declining towards the west, they plant. Again, when, in early evening, they are seen thus declining, then are they at liberty to bring their harvest treasures home, without fear of any ill-luck attending their joyful labours." (Wm. Chalmers.)

### THE ORIGIN OF JUNGLE-LEECHES.

#### A MOUNT PENINJAUH STORY.

"In the beginning of mankind, before they had increased and multiplied to any large extent, in the original dwelling-place of the ancestors of the Sarāwak Dyaks, there lived a man and his wife whose names were *Terōuch* and *Temunyian*.<sup>2</sup> The husband (*Terōuch*) had, on a certain occasion, some business to do seawards, and he departed leaving his wife alone. Scarcely had he set out, when a big '*Umōt*,' of the species called *Buañ*, who had watched his opportunity, laid violent hands on Mrs. *Temunyian*, and, in spite of her cries, and a vigorous resistance, succeeded in carrying her off to the jungle. When he had borne her some distance from her home, to prevent her escape he fastened her by means of some sticky substance, rubbed to her back, down to a large flat rock, and so left her. He did not forsake her altogether, however, but came to visit her, and bring her food every day towards evening.

"In the meantime *Terōuch* returned. He sought his wife, on his first arrival, with all the ardour of a fond husband; but, to his horror, she could nowhere be found. For several days he wandered far and near in the jungle, piteously calling out her name, and one morning his perseverance was rewarded. He thought he heard a faint voice reply by uttering his. Rushing to the spot whence he fancied the sound proceeded, to his dismay he found his poor wife in the sad plight above described. All his efforts to loose her were in vain,—the *Buañ*'s glue held fast. She then related her sad history, and they wept and wailed together till the sun began to sink. 'O, fly, fly,' said *Temunyian*, 'the hour for the *Umōt*'s visit is approaching, and if he catches you, I am sure he will kill you.' 'By what path does he come?' asked *Terōuch*. She pointed out a steep rocky descent in the face of a hill close by, and up this path ran her husband, making on his way a rattan *jerat*, or noose for trapping deer, which he laid across the way, and then hid himself behind a large mass of rock, holding in his hand the extremity of the *jerat*, so as to be ready at a moment's notice to noose the unsuspecting *Buañ*. In a few minutes, down trotted the evil-doing spirit, apparently in high good humour; he stepped within the noose of the *jerat*; the next moment it was pulled tight, and he lay sprawling and helpless upon his back, with both his legs entangled in the snare. Out rushed *Terōuch*, sword in hand. 'Villain!

<sup>2</sup> "It may be remembered that, in a former paper, I referred to a story of the Deluge (related by the Orang Kaya of Tringus), in which these same individuals figure—only instead of spelling the names as above, I have spelt them *Trow* and *Temenjèn*. [Chalmers.]

have I caught you ?' said he, seizing the *Buañ* by the pointed part of his body (a *Buañ*, as I have said before, is the ghost of a man killed in war, and has no head). 'What have I done to be attacked in this murderous way?' he asked. 'Done!' cried *Terōuch*. 'How about my wife, you scoundrel?' said he, following up his words by a very threatening lounge with his sword. 'Spare my life,' implored the *Buañ*, 'and I will give you some stuff that will loosen your wife from the rock; kill me and there she will stick till she dies.' 'Agreed,' said *Terōuch*. The *Umōt* thereupon gave him the desired resolvent; but no sooner had he got it in his possession than, without uttering a word, he made an end to the too-confiding, though rascally *Buañ*.

"He then proceeded to release his wife, and took her home; but before long she gave birth to a child, whose father was the *Buañ*—and a horrid-looking little imp it was; as soon as it was born, moreover, it applied its lips to its mother's breast, and would never let go—not even for an instant. Night and day, day and night, unceasingly, did it suck, while poor *Si Temunyan* got thinner and thinner, till at length she seemed about to die. Her husband did not know what on earth to do; he dare not kill the child, lest the dead lips should still cling to his wife. The child itself, though horribly ugly, was remarkably intelligent; from its birth it had the power of speech, and knew the names of everything it saw, though whenever it opened its lips to speak it still held fast to its mother with its teeth. One day *Terōuch* concocted a scheme for his wife's deliverance, and he told his wife to follow him with the child into the jungle. As they went along, he kept asking the latter the names of the different kinds of trees and plants which they came across, and the child knew and could tell them all. At length they came to a tree called *pang*. 'What is the name of this tree?' asked *Terōuch*. '*Pa-ang*,' answered the ghostly child, rashly opening lips, teeth and all, in the excitement of replying; and that instant, while the word was yet in its mouth, *Terōuch* (who had been looking out for the chance) clove its skull with a blow of his sword. His wife threw down the body, and, to make sure that it was really dead, they cut it up into small pieces, which immediately transformed themselves into leeches—to the adhesive and suckling powers of which all who have journeyed amid damp old jungle can bear shuddering witness." (Wm. Chalmers.)

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE BARICH OR WOMEN DOCTORS.

(A MOUNT PENINJAUH STORY.)

"A long, long while ago, before the Dyaks had become the numerous and important people which they now hold themselves to be, there was no knowledge of 'medicine' in the land. The Dyaks got ill, and knew no remedy; their paddy became blighted, and was devoured by rats, and they had no means of mitigating these evils. *Tūpa-Jing* looked down from heaven and saw the sad condition they were in; he saw, moreover, that when a Dyak got very ill, his friends soon put an end to their trouble, and his misery, by sending for the *Peninuch* (the burner of the dead), who carried the patient off to the *Tinungan*, laid him on the funeral pile, and consumed him to ashes. 'If this system continue,' said *Tūpa-Jing* to himself, 'the Dyaks will soon

cease to exist,' and he therefore determined to put an end to so cruel and odious a custom.

"A poor married woman just at that time happened to fall ill; day by day her pains increased; so, as usual, her husband sent her off to the *Tinungan*. The pile was built, the sick woman laid thereon, the fire lighted, clouds of dense black smoke ascended; but from the death that seemed so imminent *Tüpa-Jing* rescued the poor helpless woman, took her up to his dwelling (which is said to be a large house, erected Dyak-fashion, and full of spears and swords, guns, jars, and gongs, *Tüpa* himself looking and dressing like a Dyak), and there he instructed her in all the mysteries of medicine, both for paddy and mankind. He then sent her down to earth again, to practice her new art, and to instruct others; and, strange to say, she alighted, invisible to mortal eyes, on a spot where her husband was busily engaged planting his paddy. He was making the seed-holes preparatory to planting the rice, which was lying near, and his wife (still invisible) began to do the work which is generally done by Dyak women, viz: to follow the movements of the hole-maker, and put the seed-corn into the holes which he has prepared for it. Her husband, thinking himself alone, after making a line of holes returned to do this part of the work himself. What was his surprise to find it already completed for him! But away he went again to the process of hole-making, his wife following him, and putting in the seed as before. When he returned to do it himself, and found the holes planted and filled, he could no longer restrain his amazement; and, half-angry, half-frightened, he cried, 'Whoever has done this let him appear!' No sooner were these words uttered than his wife was manifested to his astonished gaze, clad in all the paraphernalia of a *barich*—the parti-coloured bead cap (*Segubak*), the black and white bead necklace (*setagi*), the scarf of teeth, beads, hawk-bells, &c. (*somün*), and the mantle of red cloth; she wore also a magnificent petticoat (*jomuch*), hung round the extremity with hundreds of tinkling hawk-bells; and in her hand she held her magic staff of office (*sekud*), decorated with birds' feathers, human hair, &c. The poor husband was ready to die from fright, but she soon managed to re-assure him, and then she told him how she had been saved, and why she was sent to earth once more. This woman it was who introduced all the 'customs of doctoring' at present practised by the Dyaks. Before she died she instructed many in the mysteries and songs which she had learned from *Tüpa-Jing*; her disciples in turn instructed others, and thus they have come down to the present time—and to refuse to make use of them would be death and destruction to mankind and paddy."

"I have been told by a *Sëntah* historian that there is certainly some little mistake in the above most probable account, as the *barich* of his tribe originated in no such way. The following is his version of the matter:—

"It is quite true (he allows) that in the olden time the Dyaks were quite unacquainted with 'medicine,' but he utterly denies that ever such a cruel custom existed among his people as that of burning alive those

who seemed hopelessly sick. They used, however, to expose them, and then leave them to their fate.

"It happened that a certain married couple had two female children, who both fell grievously ill in one day,—so ill, in fact, that they thought it desirable to get rid of them. They, therefore, took a *durang aiyo* (a large pig trough), put both the sick girls into it, and sent them floating down the river towards the sea. *Jang*—who is said to live on the lofty summit of Mount Santubong (a high hill situated at the westerly mouth of the river Sarāwak), saw the poor little creatures as they were borne away to a lingering death, and had compassion on them. He took them up to his dwelling, doctored them, and made them well, and then taught them the art of medicine. Their knowledge being complete he gave them the name of *Barich*, and sent them back to their village to become the benefactors of their race. Of these two girls the present women-doctors are the lineal successors; and to this day the most of their incantations are addressed to *Jang*, the founder and protector of their ancient order." (Wm. Chalmers in Grant, pp. 133-152 incl.)

#### KLIENG'S WAR-RAID TO THE SKIES.\*

BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON J. PERHAM.

THE Sea Dyaks possess numberless stories, legends and fables handed down by tradition from ancient times. Some are related in plain prose, whilst others are set in a peculiar rhythmical measure, and sung to a monotonous chant, but none are written; all are transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. A story plainly told is an *Ensera*, and a story sung is a *Kana*. One large collection of *ensera* is similar in character to the stories of Reynard and the Fox, whose place in Dyak tale is occupied by the Pelandok and the Kekura (the mouse-deer and the tortoise), who are always represented as acting in concert, and whose united cunning is more than a match for the strength and ferocity of all other animals. Intrigue and stratagem, so abundantly illustrated in these fables, are qualities upon which Dyaks love to dwell, and they have an analogous series of stories of the adventures of Apai Samumang and Apai Saloi, two men who are always plotting against each other, the latter however always being outwitted by the former, and then, when occasions serve, not ashamed to practice deceptions upon his own family. Other tales relate the history of Rajas and their dependents in various circumstances, but it may be that these have been borrowed in more recent times from Malay sources. Others describe the exploits of mythical Dyak heroes, and these perhaps constitute the most genuine specimens of the oral literature of the Dyak race. Of this class the following is one, and being generally sung is called a *Kana*.

The greatest hero of Dyak mythical story is Klieng, of whom many exploits are recorded—good and bad, warlike and peaceful. He is supposed to belong to this world of ours, but is not now visible to human eyes as in the

\* Journ. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 16, 1886.

good times of yore to which Dyaks look back as the golden age. He is without pedigree. Tradition makes him out to have been found in the hard knot of a tree by Ngelai who brought him up as his brother. When of age, he developed a tendency to a wandering life, and never applied himself to any regular pursuits, except those of pleasure and war. He was wayward and capricious, yet handsome and brave; he would often disappear for months and even years at a time, and be given up as dead, and then would re-appear at his mythical home, coming from where no one knew, and no one dared to ask. He had a wonderful power of metamorphosis, and could transform himself into anything, and become monkey or man, tiger or *orang-utan*; could be ugly or handsome; dirty and diseased, or clean and healthy-looking just as he pleased. On one occasion, it is said, he turned himself into a fragment of a broken water-gourd, and in that disguise was carried by Ngelai in a basket to the battle, when, being set on the ground, he revealed himself in his true character and routed the enemy. In the following adventure, he figures as a man whom we should call a chimney sweep, and is named the "Smutty One, the Blackened Bambu," and it is not until the end of the story that his appearance changes, and he is recognised as Klieng.

He married Kumang, the Venus of the Dyaks, but in his many wanderings and metamorphoses he became the husband of many others, yet always returned to Kumang in the intervals. And she, following his example, allowed herself the same wide license, and the varying incidents of their constantly recurring separations and re-unions make up many a chapter of Dyak story, amusing perhaps, but not very wholesome.

Klieng is not, so far as I know, called Petara; but in Dyak estimation he holds the position of a tutelary spirit, and is sometimes presented with offerings, and often invoked as a helper of men.

*The story of the Ancient Traveller whose coming is unknown.*

The grey-haired Traveller whose way is hidden.

His name is "Bungkok Arok Papong Engkiyong Bujang,"<sup>4</sup> "Pengema Ribis Basong."<sup>5</sup>

He is between Ngelai and Bujang Bulan Menyimbang.

He is the Traveller whose cleverness is great.

When he eats rice, at his touch it tastes like chestnut.

The remains of his drink tastes like honey of the bee.

Ngelai asks him—

"What, friend, is the object of your visit to our country?"

"What news have you to tell?"

Klieng—None, friend, except that I am weary of pounding rice and fetching water.

Ngelai—O you want to get married.

Klieng—Even so: I wish you to go with me to ask Kumang to marry me.

Ngelai—How can you marry whose country is unknown?

<sup>4</sup> Literally: "The Sooty Crooked One, the Charred end of Bambu." (J. P.)

<sup>5</sup> Literally: "Young Slanting Moon." The story represents Klieng as appearing suddenly in his own house; but in disguise, so he is not recognised. (J. P.)

*Klieng*—My country is the highland of light soil, which touched becomes sago,  
The Lake Barai, where bathe flocks of birds.  
So they began to cut the knotty branches, as the evening was far enough  
advanced to begin discussion.  
*Ngelai* arranged his armlets of shell with distinctly cut grooves—  
Arranged his plumes of hair like shoots of the young fern—  
Arranged his turban like the coil of the black cobra.  
*Bungkuk* also arrayed himself: his waist-cloth was of bark,  
His turban a bit of dried *tekaleng*<sup>6</sup> bark,  
His armlets were a twist of *rotan*.  
They went to the other end of the woven-walled house,  
Walking after each other keeping step;  
And came to the room of *Tutong*.

*Tutong*—Sit down, friends, on the *rotan* mat woven by *Lemantan* of the land of  
*Entigelim*.

Sit on the mat woven in sprigs by *Lemok* called the star-like *Lulong*.  
Eat the *pinang* just coming into ripeness.  
Eat the little *pinang* gathered from the midst of the fruit trees;  
With spoon-leaf *sirih* spreading in septiform branches;  
And tangled tobacco mossing like the hairy *kelindang* fern.  
And they fell to talking till the morning hours, speaking of many things.

*Tutong*—What report, cousin, what news?  
What is talked of in the land?

*Ngelai*—We wish to cut into the top of the wide spreading bee-tree.  
We wish to tie the feet of the great wood pigeon.  
And net the *adong* fish at the head of the stream.  
We ask for *Kumang* to wed our cousin the Traveller here.

*Tutong*—My sister does not marry anybody.  
I require a man who has found a mosquito's proboscis big enough for a  
stanchion of a boat's bow.  
I require one who has found a *pangolin's* tooth fit for a band of the *nyabor*<sup>7</sup>  
sheath.  
But my speech is that of joke and laugh,  
Talk spoken without thought.  
But truly I require a man who can lead me to rescue my father and mother  
from *Tedai* in the halved deep heavens;  
One who can lead me to wage war where the dim red sky is seen:  
This is the man whom I seek, whom I search for, to borrow as a debt.

*Klieng*—I am the man, cousin *Tutong*: if to-night we split a bunch of ripe *pinangs*,<sup>8</sup>  
to-morrow we carry war to the halved deep heavens.  
If we split the red-spathed *pinang*, I can lead you to wage war to the zenith of  
the roomy heavens.

So they agreed to split the *pinang*; but the elder brother of *Tutong*  
refused consent: and *Ngelai's* company returned carrying faces of shame

<sup>6</sup> Owing to my ignorance of botany, I can only, as a rule, give the native names of plants. (J. P.)

<sup>7</sup> A Dyak sword. (J. P.)

<sup>8</sup> "Melan Penang," splitting the betel-nut, is the name given to the marriage ceremony, of which that action forms the central part. (J. P.)

unable to meet the gaze of others; with faces red like a lump of dragon's blood. Coming to his own room, Ngelai went to his sleeping place carved like the luminous sparks of the milky way. Great was the shame of Ngelai Bujang Pedar Unbang.<sup>9</sup> Then spoke Bungkok Arok Papong Engkiyong:—

*Klieng*—Let us three Ngelai and Bulan Menyimbang get bird-lime.<sup>10</sup>

*Ngelai*—To-day? Shall we return in a day?

*Klieng*—Nay, we spend nights away, and take as provision three *pasus* of rice.

*Ngelai*—Where shall we collect the bird-lime?

*Klieng*—Say nothing: let us start and fell the *pempan* tree of Ngelai of the Rain

Chestnut, where we can arrange our weapons:

Arrange the plumes of hair like shoots of the *lemiding* fern;

Put on the ancient war cap, the well fitting one;

Take the war charms to gird the loins;

Take the shield cut in slanting curves;

Gird on the horn-hafted weapons;

Take the plumes of hair thickly studding the sheaths;

Carry the sumpitan of *tapang* wood.<sup>11</sup>

And away they marched with feathers of the hornbill tossing in the sheaths.

Away down the ladder of evenly notched steps,

Holding the long rails converging at the bottom.

So started the three setting forth from thence.

In the day time they pushed on following the sun.

By the night they used flaming torches of light.

But weak was Bulan Menyimbang, weaker than a scorched leaf;

The strength was gone from the midst of his loins.

He fell to the right but was caught by the horn-hafted sword.

He fell to the left, but was held up by the barbed spear handle.

*Spirit of the Winds*—O dead is our friend, beloved of heart!

O dead is our husband, beloved of body!

And up rose Bunsu Entayang from the spout of the leaping waterfall.

Up rose Bunsu Rembia from the top of the bee-trees;

And touched him with the knuckles of the fingers of the hands,

And dropped upon him oil sweetly perfumed;

And there was a twitching in the soles of his feet,

A throbbing of the pulse in the region of the heart:

And Bulan Menyimbang stood up.

He smelled an odour like the scented *gharu* of the hills;

He inhaled a perfume as of pressed cardamom flowers.

And lo! there was cooked rice, a bambu-full,

And dried fish a basket full.

"Whether for life or for death I will eat this rice," says he.

And he ate to his satisfaction.

He smoked, holding the fumes in his mouth,

He ate *pinang*, throwing the refuse away,

And Bulan Menyimbang started to walk.

<sup>9</sup> "Youth of the Pedar (fruit) Skins." (J. P.)

<sup>10</sup> A metamorphical way of saying: "Let us go on the war path." (J. P.)

<sup>11</sup> A long wooden blow-pipe used for propelling poisoned arrows. (J. P.)

He walked slowly holding on to the wing feathers of the swallow.  
He marched on holding to the beak of the hornbill.  
And there was heard a booming sound like the roar of the tidal bore,  
A rushing and crushing as of pelting rain.  
And Ngelai Bujang Pedar Uambang looked behind.

Ngelai—O you are alive, friend! our friend lives!

And the three went forward, and came to the highway like the breast of the land turtle,

A path already made clear and good.

Looking they saw a long house which a bird could only just fly through in a day.

A short house through which a little *tajak* flies in a day.

Ngelai—"O that is an enemy's house, friend."

And he donned his coat of hair woven by a woman of Sempok with deformed shoulder.

He put on his war-cap of jungle fowl feathers.

And girded on his sword tufted with hair, as big as an empty paddy bin.

And set on his shoulder a *sumpitan*.

And grasping the shield with slanting ends Ngelai started to advance.

"Stop, friend," says Bungkok Arok Papong Engkiyong Bujang Pengema Ribis Basong,

"That is not an enemy's house, it is my farm lodge,"

"My house the worth of a *rusa* jar"<sup>12</sup>

The three advanced, and saw a house of one door, a single row of posts,

A beautiful house in the midst of a wilderness.

Bulan—Whose sleeping place is this?

Klieng—That is the sleeping place of Laja, brother of Dara Lantang Sakumbang.

This belongs to Ngelai Bujang Pedar Uambang

That to Tutong Bujang Lemandau Gendang.

Bulan—And where is mine?

Klieng—You have none, Bulan Menyimbang.

Bulan—You who have sleeping places are not more brave than I.

In fighting with spears never did I run away.

In fighting with swords never did I fear death.

Klieng—Don't talk so, Bulan Menyimbang.

Let us sit down here on this mat of well crossed warp;

This Java mat with over-lapping ends.

[And Bungkok muttered growlings like thumpings of a Melanau building a boat.

And talked like a Sebaru man upside down.]

Klieng—<sup>13</sup> Where are you, ye Spirits of Contending Winds?

Strike the house of Sanggul Labong at the lair of the *kendawang* snake.

Call them to the war to the zenith of the deep heavens.

<sup>12</sup> The property of Dyaks consists in great part of old earthenware jars, comparatively valueless in themselves; but highly prized by them, and ranging from 40 to 200 and 300 dols. a piece. (J. P.)

<sup>13</sup> Klieng commands the winds to collect his army. (J. P.)

Tell them of Batu Jawa's house on the hill of the feathery tufted *lamba*.  
Tell them of Tutong's house at Batang Gelong Nyundong.

[And the Wind Spirit arose and blew a strong blast,  
A violent tempest furiously raging.  
Broken were the struts and posts of the houses.  
Uplifted were the shingles of split wood.]

"What wind is this blowing with such strength?"

"What rain is this beating without stint?"

*The Wind*—We are not wind without object, not natural wind:

We are wind inviting to the war on the skies following Bungkok who rescues  
the father and mother of Tutong at the zenith of the roomy heavens.

*Chorus*—This is the debt to be incurred, this is to be wished and sought for.

Cut down the *pempan* tree, the rain chestnut: time it is we should be up  
and make ready.

Sanggul Lalong descended from the cave covering the *kendawang's* lair  
Tutong came from his county or encircling rocks.

And many were their numbers, numerous as the dawn;  
Their heads as a myriad of spots.

And there was a rustling of the cardamom bushes as the army rushed by  
and was gone.

They came to the river Tapang Betenong at the foot of the Riong Waringin.

"O many are our numbers, more than sprats and minnows,"

"More than the layers of the plantain buds."

"Try and search the companies, whether all be come or not"

And Kumpang Pali arose and looked around,

He looked to the left, they stretched beyond the range of his sight:

"He looked to the right, the sound of the rear was not to be heard.

"We are more in number than sprats and minnows,

"More numerous than the layers in the plantain bud.

"Thicker than the stringed hawkbells of iron.

"Is Sampurei here? Him I have not seen.

"If so, untimely will be our advance like the *merunjan* fruit of the uplands.

"Slow our march and fruitless too!

"Not so, let us onward!

"Nay, if they come not, we do not proceed."

And Bungkok began to growl like a Melanau building a boat.<sup>14</sup>

And to talk like a Sebaru man upside down.

*Klieng*—Where are you, ye tempests? I charge you to strike the house of Tintang

Lalang Kuning,

The land where Linsing Kuning spat out the refuse of *pinang*.

Where are you, ye contending winds? Strike the house of Tuchong Panggau  
Dulang.

And the wind began to blow a violent storm,

And struck the fruit trees unstintingly.

Bent were the struts of *medang* wood;

Sent flying were the shingles of red *jaung*.

<sup>14</sup> There is nothing peculiar about the boat-building of a Melanau, or talk of a Sebaru Dyak the names are introduced simply to make rhyme. (J. P.)

*The Wind*—"What wind is this that will not cease?

"What rain is this that will not slacken?

"We are not wind without object, natural wind:

"We invite you to follow Bungkok to the war

"Against Tedai in the circle of the roomy heavens;

"To visit Chendan at the half moon."

*Chorus*—"That is the thing to be bought and borrowed;

"That is the debt to be incurred."

"Cut down the *mutun* tree, time for us to start.

"The army is within hearing we can take a rest."

*Sampurei*<sup>15</sup>—"What about the army, cousin Laja? Shall we try its mettle?

*Laja*—Try it, cousin, that we may know whose hearts are brave and fearless,

And Sampurei donned his plumes of hair like shoots of the *limiding* fern,

Donned his purple coat like the black plumage of the crow,

And grasped his slantingly cut shield.

And he rose up and shouted like the roaring of the cave tiger.

"The enemy," said Bulan Menyimbang. "Who are you?"

"We are not to be asked about."

"We are the army of Tedai from the circle of the roomy heavens,"

"The army of Chendan from the rising shining moon."

And they fought with spears sounding like thumping blows of the boat-builders.

They struck with swords, as if cutting through the *pandan* bushes.

And Ngelai was beaten by the company of Sampurei.

"Let us stop the joke, Sampurei, enough to have tested our friends."

And they ceased the play.

And called back the great mass of the army,

Numerous as the unknown spirits.

And the army went forward.

The foremost were not within hearing of a calling voice,

As the hindmost were just bending to rise and advance.

The middle sounded like the pounding of the *gurah* fruit when seeking the *tuba*.<sup>16</sup>

And they came to the slack water lake Tekalong;

Where flapping the water they bathed and dived.

A pond was passed by the army in a panic.

Lo! Sampurei became weaker than a toasted leaf;

Slacker than the current met by the flood tide.

The sweat of his body was as the streaming of a wet day.

In the sweat of his side could be dipped an eight-length bambu water bottle;

And his body floated in his perspiration.

And Nawai Gundai wept with heavy sighing of the breast,

And shed tears with tender grief.

After a time, lo! Sampurei emerged, seized the betel-nut and ate it.

And he smoked holding the fumes in his mouth.

"O Sampurei cannot die." So said the army.

<sup>15</sup> Sampurei and his followers, coming up to Klieng's army, feign themselves to be enemies and get up a fight with it by way of joking. (J. P.)

<sup>16</sup> The juice of the "*tuba*" (*derris elliptica*) root is commonly used for poisoning fish, which are thus obtained in great numbers; but other products of the jungle will serve the same purpose, and amongst these is a fruit called "*gurah*," which may possibly be the *cocculus indicus*. (J. P.)

"Cut down the *mutun* and *simun* with leafy branches."

"Sufficiently strong are we in numbers to take counsel."

*Klieng*—Hear, all ye of the army;

Whoever first gets to the hill of Perugan Bulan,

He shall be the possessor of Kumang.

Daylight came and the army ran a race.

At midday Bungkok arrived first at the hill.

And lo! a spirit with long loose hair over the shoulders,

Foaming at the mouth to devour some one.

And he fought with Bungkok.

Now the spirit was worsted, now he:

But the spirit was beaten, being dashed to the left and flung to the right.

And, whining, the spirit beseeched him to cease, and let him go free.

*Spirit*—I will give you a charm, as big as a hearth-stone to make you invulnerable.

*Klieng*—I refuse.

*Spirit*—I will give you courage and never shall you wage war without taking spoil.

*Klieng*—I refuse.

*Spirit*—I will present you with a tooth of mine which will become a ladder reaching to the flock of clouds.

I will give a tooth with which you may ascend to the house of grandmother Manang.<sup>17</sup>

*Klieng*—If so, I will let you go.

So Bungkok let the spirit go free.

And the main army began to arrive at the hill Perugan Bulan;

Close to the precincts of grandmother Manang.

And came to the rising shining moon.

"Rest all ye of the army"; said Sampurei;

"May be we are vainly following the paths and tracks of wild beasts."

*Klieng*—We shall not return without gain and without spoil.

*Sampurei*—How so?

*Klieng*—Whenever I have gone to inflict fines, never did I return empty-handed:

Every day did I bring a string of knobbed gongs.

Whenever I have gone on the war-path, never did I return unsuccessful.

Every month did I get a seed of *nibong* palm.<sup>18</sup>

Here let us test the skill of the woman, the stimulant of the bones.

Whose hands are those which can work skilfully?

And Sampurei arose, and threw up a ball of dressed thread;

And it became a clump of *bambus*.

Sapungga arose, and tossed a ball of raw thread;

And it became a plant of *rotan*.

And the chief set in the ground the spirit's tooth,

And he arrived at the falling, setting sun.

He planted the spirit's tooth, and it reached to the rising shining moon:

It became a ladder of ironwood, perfect with eighteen steps.

And Ngelai stood up, and tossed a ball of red-dyed thread to the sloping heavens;

<sup>17</sup> An old medicine woman who is supposed to live in the skies, and to have in her keeping the "door of heaven," through which the rain falls to the earth. (J. P.)

<sup>18</sup> Meaning a human head. (J. P.)

And it became a flower snake whose tail twirled round the Three Stars,  
 Whose head caught Sembai Lantang Embuyang.  
 And Tutong arose, and flung a ball of blue-dyed thread;  
 And it became a cobra whose tail caught the star of mid-heaven,  
 And with staring eyes it seized the loins of Buyu Igang.  
 There was a single *bambu* on the highland of *jingan* wood lighted upon by flocks  
 of white storks.  
 And the main army marched on, and ascended to the circle of the roomy  
 heavens.  
 The vanguard came to the house of Manang Kedindang Arang of speckled  
 skin—

Of Manang Gensarai of sweet smelling cardamom.

*Sampurei*—Is your house free of entrance, grandmother?

She did not reply (as much as) a grain of rice  
 She did not answer (as much as) a bit of bran.

*The Army*—O why does not grandmother answer us?

*Sampurei* arose, and clutched a log of wood,  
 Threw it at her, and hit the hole of her ear.  
 And lo! out came bees and dragon flies,  
 Out rushed pythons and black cobras.

*The Army*—No wonder grandmother does not hear, so many things are in her ear.  
 Again they inquire: Is your house free of entrance, grandmother?

*I. Manang*—My long house, children, is never tabooed;  
 My short house has no forbidding laws.

*Sampurei*—How can that house be large enough for us—  
 A house of only one door, one family,  
 A house of only one row of *medang* posts?

*I. Manang*—Come up, grandson, this my house is large enough for you all.  
 Up they went, and not before the army was all inside was the house filled.  
 And the army rested there.  
 "Let us of the army fetch wood and seek for meat:" so said they.

*I. Manang*—No, no, grandchildren; at all costs, I will give you a meal.  
 And she filled with rice a pot the size of a chestnut;  
 And a pot of meat the size of a bird's egg.  
 Said *Sampurei*: "I will go in, and see grandmother cooking."

*Sampurei*—Where is the rice which has been cooked, grandmother?

*I. Manang*—That is it, grandson, only that.

*Sampurei*—Let me swallow it all up and no man know it.

*I. Manang*—Not so, grandson, let each one fairly have his share: do you go and get  
 leaves.<sup>19</sup>

Away went *Sampurei* and fetched some blades of *lalang* grass.

*I. Manang*—Why bring that—for a pig's litter?

*Sampurei*—No, friend, to eat rice with.

*I. Manang*—How can a man eat with *lalang* leaves?

*Sampurei*—Don't you know how much a grain of rice is?

<sup>19</sup> When Dyaks have to feed a large company, plates are apt to run short; so they use the large leaves of one or two kinds of trees, as a substitute.

*I. Manang*—Go again and fetch some plantain leaves.

*Sampurei*—I will not weary myself to no purpose :

Were they required I know how to get *ataps* :

As for rice there is none to be put into the leaves.

And grandmother Manang arose, and took rice and meat ;

She served it out sitting, piling it in heaps as high as herself was sitting.

She served it out standing, piling it in heaps as high as herself was standing.

*I. Manang*—*Sampurei*, you divide the food ; long have men praised your skill in dividing portions.

*Sampurei*—Yes, grandmother. Get ready, all ye of the army.

And he took the rice and meat, and tossed it to the left ;

He tossed it to the right and behind, and sprinkled it about :

And yet not a grain was lost.

Astonished was grandmother Manang.

*I. Manang*—In truth you are clever, grandson, skilful with the tips of your fingers.

But why do you not eat, *Sampurei* ?

*Sampurei*—Full is the bag made by my mother, the pouch made by my grandmother.

And the remainder of the rice left by the army was a matful ;

The fragments of meat five plates full.

But it was all devoured by Lualimban :

Yet still he wanted to eat, wide open was his mouth.

They fetched ten *pasus* of rice, and upset them into his mouth ; yet still he wanted more.

They got a chest of paddy, and poured it into his mouth, rammed it down with a rod ; but yet he was not satisfied.

And he proceeded to eat the gongs big and small and the jars.

And all the goods of grandmother Manang were consumed, and the old lady wept.

*Klieng*—You have also shown your power, grandmother : so have we :

But do not be vexed at heart ;

Your things shall all be restored as before.

After their jokes were ended, grandmother Manang departed.

The solitary *bambu* on the highland, the army marched by and was gone.

The vanguard came to the hill of "Jengku Lengan" like a *kembayan* fruit in red-ripe bloom,

The ridge of trickling rain like the flow of burnt resin.

It is the country of young Sabit Bekait Selong Lanchong.

His people go with the army, two of them claiming the foremost place :

Tebingkar<sup>20</sup> Langit Luar, Bujang Bintang Ensaiar,

And Kariring Tambak Aping, Bujang Bintang Betating :

These with *Sampurei* and *Sapungga* marched at the head of the army.

They came to the rock of a thousand heights, the land of the cave tiger,

The hill of Sandar Sumpit, the land of the Ukit Peketan Payang.

*Klieng*—Which is our way, cousin ?

I know not : hitherto when on the war-path, I have only come as far as this.

<sup>20</sup> I have not been able to discover the meaning of "Tebingkar and Kariring." There are many words in these ancient songs, whose signification the present generation of Dyaks has lost. Omitting these two terms, the rest stands thus : "The Wide Heaven, Young Shooting Star, The Aping (kind of palm) Plant, Young Star Constellation." (J. P.)

And Bungkok went forward, and growled like a Melanau building a boat,  
Muttered like a Sebaru man upside down.  
And lo! the way at once was clear and straight,  
A highway like the breast of the land turtle.  
Then began a rustling of the cardamom bushes, as the army marched by and  
was gone.

They came to the highland of *kelampai* copse;  
Where Tedai hung out to dry the tufted war plumes;  
To the level lowland where Chendan shaped the *tenyalang*<sup>21</sup> posts.  
And the army stopped there and rested.  
Cut down the *libas* tree in the jungle: who of us will form a company to spy out  
the land?

"I for one," said Sampurei Manok Tawei of the *manang* hawkbells.  
"I for another," said Sapungga Bujang Medang.  
Kariring was another, Young Aping, the star-cluster youth.  
These three went forward walking in single file;  
And arrived at the house of Pintik Sabang, watcher of the spirits which cannot  
see.

"O that is Sampurei." Up they started and flung spears, missing on either  
side.

They fought with swords reaching far over the shoulder.  
"This is the enemy," shouted Sampurei.  
And they fought with spears like the thumping of the boat-builders.  
They struck with swords as if cutting through the *pandan* bushes.  
All day they strove; at night they returned.

*The Army*—Well what news bring ye, ye who spy out the land?

"We could not find the way;" they reply.

*Army*—In vain we trust to you:

Talk no more of the clever-speaking maidens.  
Cease to think of the pretty girls, as they totter going over the tree-stems.

*Klieng*—Since it is thus, let me be the spy.

You go with me, Laja, brother of the virgin Lantan Sakumbang.  
You also, Ngelai, Bujang Pedar Uambang.  
Let us three go alone.

"I go with you," said Sampurei, the youth who never flags.  
And Bungkok rose up, and donned his coat of black hair all glistening.  
Over it a cotton padded coat, woven by Bunsu Rembia who rides the flood-  
tide wave.

Slowly he walked holding to the wings of the swallow.<sup>22</sup>  
Swiftly he ran, quicker than the speed of the gazelle.<sup>23</sup>  
And arrived at the house of Pintik.

*Pintik*—O that is Sampurei.

*Klieng*—Will you fight with me?

<sup>21</sup> In the festivals to Singalang Burong, high poles are erected in front of the house, having on the tops of them carved figures of the rhinoceros hornbill which is called by the Dyaks *tenyalang*. (J.P.)

<sup>22</sup> A mystifying contradiction, specimens of which are found in other songs, as when Ini Manang gives this puzzling answer to an enquiry about distance. "If you start in the morning, you will be a night on the way; if you start in the evening you will get there at once." So above, Klieng spoke of the same house as long and short. (J.P.)

*Pintik*—Nay, I simply chose to have a bit of play with Sampurei.

And they came to the place where people bathe like tumbling prawns.

And as the day was now dim, they rested.

Lo! there was heard a rattling giggling talk of argus pheasants with shawls  
red as fire which burns the dry jungle.<sup>23</sup>

They came to bathe splashing the water about like showers of falling rain.

"I smell an odour of Sampurei," so said Bunsu Tedai.

*Klieng*—How can they recognise us?

*Tedai*—If Sampurei be really here, his head shall be cut off on this tree-trunk.

[And Sampurei rose up, and thrust at him a spear.]

*Tedai*—There are gadflies about, the day is closing in.

*Sampurei*—O my mother! the blow of my spear he thought but the sting of a fly.

And they came forth and ascended the house when the feasting was at its height.

"Welcome, cousins; come and sit down."

And they were given to eat, and were afterwards asked to sing the *Pandong* song.<sup>24</sup>

They were willing; so ran the word.

*Klieng*—How goes the song? [Whatever your skill "suggests;" said they.]

If so, here it is.

"Fell the *nibong* palm to be suspended (in other trees);

"Let it fall to the earth in the middle of the road.

"Tear and squeeze the heart of Tedai.

"Fell the *nibong* palm to be suspended;

"Let it fall to the ground at the end of the bridge.

"Tear and squeeze the heart of Chendan."

*Tedai*—Why sing you so, cursing our hearts?

*Klieng*—We are confused, cousin; our heads are giddy; we will stop.

And getting up they climbed to the upper room when they heard weeping and wailing.<sup>25</sup>

"O the sorrow of my conception of Indai Mendong, half of the full moon.

"I thought she would have won a husband.

"Who would shout like a *pasun*<sup>26</sup> in the attacking army.

"All unripe her father and I shall be used by Tedai (as a sacrifice) to raise the *Pandong* of the rhinoceros hornbill.

"O the vanity of giving birth to Kuning Jawa:

"I thought she would have married a man,

"Even a dragon-fly, accustomed to rush and strike and sting the ribs (of the enemy).

<sup>23</sup> Klieng and his friends are now supposed to be near Tedai's house; they lie concealed in ambush in the jungle near his bathing-place. The "argus pheasants" are women who come for their ablutions. (J. P.)

<sup>24</sup> They come out of their concealment, and proceed to Tedai's house as friends. A festival to Singalang Burong is being celebrated. "The Pandong" is a trophy which is erected in the verandah of the house, and upon which are hung shields, spears, warm-charms, etc. (J. P.)

<sup>25</sup> In the upper part of the house they hear the captive father and mother of Tutong wailing and bemoaning their fate, as destined by Tedai for a forthcoming sacrifice. They are confined in an iron cage. (J. P.)

<sup>26</sup> An animal something like a dog. (J. P.)

"They cannot rescue her father and me who are to be killed by Tedai to make the war plumes."

And Bungkok seized the iron cage.

They cried out, thinking death was near.

"It is I;" said Klieng Bujang Ranggong Tunggang.

"It is I;" said Laja, brother of the virgin Lantan Sakumbang.

And they rejoiced in spirit.

Klieng pressed them into a lump the size of a squirrel:

Held in his hand they became as small as a *pinang*.

He stowed them in his quiver, and only when arrived at home did he take them out.

They descended below.

The army had come up, and Chendan knew.

"This is the enemy," said Tedai; and fled carrying off his wife and children.

Then they fought with swords and spears, and the followers of Tedai were beaten.

And all who lived there were killed.

It was midday, and the army rested.

Sampurei looked round, and lo! half heaven was darkened.

*Army*—O what is this?

*Klieng*—That is Tedai's army: now shall we have an enemy to fight with.

Of the followers of Tedai were fifty who could fly.

And they fought hand to hand with Sampurei, as if chopping mango fruit.

They hurled their spears, as if pounding on the loud-sounding mortars.

And their strength was all spent.

In their mouth was the sensation of the poisonous *tuba*.

*Sampurei*—More deadly are these enemies, friend, than freshly-dug *tuba*.

More fatal than the parasite-covered *upas*.

Never did I fight with foes like these.

Forward came one of Tedai's men, Bigul by name:

Big was the end of his nose; a *chempak* fruit grew upon it.

By breathing against any one, he blew him to the distance of a hill:

At each inhalation a man was drawn under his chin.

But there was one of the followers of Klieng who could kill him.

Pantak Seragatak his name, who by burrowing could walk underground:

Out he came and smote Bigul, who died by his hand.

Then Sampurei came face to face with Tedai.

And was struck by Tedai from the shoulder even to the loins.

Forward rushed Laja, and met the like fate.

And many were slain by Tedai.

Then for the first time Tedai met Bungkok face to face.

*Klieng*—What is your title, cousin, when you strike the snake?

What is your title, cousin, when you smite the boa?

*Tedai*—My title, cousin is the Big Bambu, overshadowing the houses:

*Melanjan*, cousin, is another with a branch of red-ripe fruit.

*Klieng*—If you are Big Bambu, cousin, overshadowing the houses, I am Short Sword to cut the Bambu.

If you are *Melanjan*, cousin, I am Growling Bear, making my nest on the *Melanjan* tree, making it cease to bear red-ripe fruit.

And Tedai rushed forward and threw at him a spear, the beak of the white kingfisher:

And hurled at him a lance with double-barbed head.

And pierced was Bungkok in the apron of his waist-cloth,

Grazed were the ribs of his side:

When off dropped the disguise covering his body;

Away fell the sweat-preventing coat.

Then it was they recognised him to be Klieng, seeing he was handsomer than before.

And Klieng paid back: he aimed at him a spear newly hilted with horn.

And Tedai was struck and fell; and was seized by Tatau Ading.

He fell leaning against the palm tree of Bungai Nuying.

*Klieng*—Tedai's head do not strike off, Sampurei, lest we have no more enemies to fight with.

And the great army drew back to return.

Rushing and rustling they marched along the highway.

They filed through the gloomy jungles, sounding like an army of woodmen:

Through solitudes uninhabited, full of weird sounds.

Those in front arrived at the house of Manang Kedindang Arang.

There they stopped a night to inquire the way of grandmother Manang.

*I. Manang*—The road, grandsons, lies straight ahead from my house.

*Sampurei*—You are only teasing us, grandmother; we shall kill you.

*I. Manang*—Hold, grandsons; I am simply joking and laughing, talking fun with you. Then the Manang brought a tub three fathoms long.

*Army*—What is that for, grandmother?

*I. Manang*—This, my sons, is to lower you down to the earth.

*Sampurei*—How can that be large enough?

*I. Manang*—Large enough, my sons; settle into it all of you.

And the army rose up, and arranged themselves into it.

And the tub was not full till the army had all got in.

And they were lowered by grandmother Manang to the earth.

It was the country of Ngelai where the army found footing.

Klieng and his company returned to Tinting Panggan Dulang.

This is somewhat curtailed in length; but to give it *in extenso* would weary the reader. Dyaks have a strong tendency to prolixity and circumlocutions, both in their ordinary conversation and in their folk-lore; and delight to use a dozen similes where one would do; and to repeat over and over again the same thing in different words, apparently with the double object of showing the extent of their learning, and to fill up time. This song of Klieng's exploit, if given in full, would take nearly a whole night to sing, especially by a good Dyak rhymist, who would amplify it with extemporal additions of his own as he proceeded. Sufficient is here reproduced to show the main points of the story; and to unveil the region of ideas with which Dyaks will amuse themselves in the vacant hours of the night. The singer lies on a mat in the very

dim light of the verandah of the house, and rehearses the myth in a slow monotonous chant ; whilst his audience are sitting or lying around, listening to his periods, and commenting or laughing as the mood suits them.

These songs of native lore would be more interesting if they contained references throwing light on the former history and condition of the Dyaks ; but I have found little of this kind to reward a search through many pages of verbiage. This legend of Klieng's, putting aside the prodigies of it, describes the life and habits of the Dyaks as we now see them : and the only gleam into a different past which it gives is the reference to the sacrifice of human victims, which probably formed a not uncommon element of their religious rites in remoter ages.

I must add that the translation is as literal as I can make it ; but I am conscious of how much the peculiar characteristics of the original have been lost in the process. A perpetual play of alliteration and rhyme, and an easy rythmical flow of the lines are of the essence of all Dyak folk-lore : but I have not been able to reproduce these in the English.

**NOTE.**—I append a few quotations from the Dyak to illustrate the sound and measure of the original.

Duduk di tikai rotan anyam lemantan indu, di Entigelam tanam tunsang.  
 Duduk di tikai lelingkok anyam Lemok ti bejulok Lulong Bintang.  
 Empa pinang puda ti baru lega nelagu langkang.  
 Pakai pinang kunchit ulih ngerepit ruang tebawang.  
 Sirih sidok ti betumbok tujoh takang.  
 Pium tusot ti ngelumut takang kelingdang.

When Bulan Menyimbang faints through violent exertions, two guardian spirits come to his assistance :—

Angkat Bunsu Entanjing ari tengiching wong nunggang.  
 Angkat Bunsu Rembia ari puchok tapang undang.  
 Lalu di-tegu enggo jengku tunjok jari,  
 Di-tata enggo lala minyak angi ;  
 Nyau kekebut di inggut tapa kaki,  
 Nyau kekebak di luak tungkul ati  
 Lalu angkat Bulan Menyimbang.

The tempest striking the fruit trees and houses is thus put :—

Ribut muput angin kenchang,  
 Buah mangka uda betagang.  
 Nyau chundong di sukong lamba medang,  
 Nyau ngensiat di atap jaung jerenang.  
 Ribuh apa tu bangat nda badu,  
 Ujan apa tu lalu uda leju ?

Klieng curses his enemies in a few words half metaphorical half literal :—

Tebang nibong begantong surong,  
 Rebah ka tanah arong jalai ;  
 Kebok kerok enggo atau Tedai.  
 Tebang nibong begantong surong,  
 Rebah ka tanah puting jamban ;  
 Kebok kerok enggo atau Chendan.

(J. P.)

## A STORY OF KLIENG.

A FRAGMENT FROM MR. BROOKE LOW'S NOTES.

"A number of the inhabitants of the spirit world went out to plant their rice seed. (*Nugal.*) Says Klieng, 'What is the good of *nugal-ing*, you have no fish (*lauk*). Let us *nuba* the Sanggau River.'<sup>27</sup> Bunga Noieng, Klieng's champion (*manoh sabong*) brings five armfuls of tuba root as his contribution. At about 5 a.m. the whole expedition is ready to set out for the fishing, when two strangers of handsome and noble appearance arrive. Bunga Noieng, who is impatient to be off, is angry at the interruption which the arrival of strangers implies, and would like to kill them. They pass along the passage of the long house until they reach Klieng's department where they sit down. Bunga Noieng would now like to carry into execution his plan for murdering the strangers, but is prevented by Klieng. They chat with Klieng, and producing a thin rod they ask him to point out which is its end and which is its beginning, demanding in case of his failure to answer, that he should be deprived of his wife. Klieng is at a loss for an answer but is released from his difficulty by Laja, his brother, who falls asleep and in a dream is informed that the white is the end of the stick and the black is the beginning. This he whispers to Klieng, who announces the answer as his own. The visitors next ask Klieng to name the wood, but being unable to do so Laja again dreams and informs Klieng that the wood is a ficus (*kayu ara*). They next ask of Klieng their own names, and remind him that failure to answer will bring upon him the loss of his wife Kumang, whom they will carry away. Laja again dreams, and in his dream his father Sanghima tells him that the name of the one is Sinjar *bebaju guntur* (Sinjar with the robe of thunder) and the other is Nyang *bebaju rambur* (Nyang with the robe of the red glowing sunset sky).

"The night is then spent in story telling, &c. In the morning Klieng goes to *nuba* with all his people—men and boys, women and children, leaving the visitors in the house with his wife Kumang and his brother's wife Lulong. After the people have all left for the tuba fishing, Kumang and Lulong prepare the meal and call their visitors to partake of it. Afterwards the visitors urge the women to leave their husbands and return with them to their homes. (These visitors were inhabitants of that spirit world whence Klieng and Laja originally brought their wives.) But they refuse. Says Lulong, '*Enggai ninggal ka Laja aka dara lantan sakumbang*' (I will not leave Laja—*aka dara lantan sakumbang*—this latter part is a title added to Laja's name of which I cannot find the meaning). Kumang says, '*Enggai ninggal ka laki, ka Klieng aji ti biani tau serang*' (I will not leave my husband

<sup>27</sup> Rice is cultivated on swampy ground and on solid ground. In the swamp it is sown broad cast (*nuba*) but in the solid ground it is sown by dibbling small holes into which the seed is thrown and then a little earth scraped in with the foot. This is *nugal*. Anything eaten as a relish with rice, whether fish, flesh or fowl, fruit or vegetables, is known generally as *lauk*, or amongst some tribes as *engkayu*. But specifically *lauk* is fish. As *nugal-ing* demands a little extra physical exertion on the part of the Dyaks, it is usual to provide fish or flesh with the rice at meal times. Hence Klieng's proposal to *nuba* (tuba root fishing) before setting out to plant the farm.

Klieng the wonderful, the brave leader in battle). The two women are frightened and leaving the strangers sitting on the ruai they run into their room and fasten the door. The two men call to them and remonstrate with them, and ask them to bring them out some betel nut and sirih, but the women refuse to come out again, and the men finding persuasion vain break open the door and seizing the two women they carry them off. Descending from the house they pull up a jack-fruit tree, and enter the earth by the hole.

"Indai Karong Besi (Mother of the Iron Sheath) strikes the alarm bell (*gong sernogong*—a heavenly gong which being struck once continues to sound for ever unless it is given *asi pulut*—glutinous rice—when it stops). The people all hurry back from their tuba-fishing, and ask who is dead? She replies, 'No one is dead, but the strangers have run away with your wives.' 'There you are,' says Bunga Noieng (who is also named Simpurai), 'you would not kill them when I wanted you to.' Simpurai (or Bunga Noieng) then sets on foot to search up and down, but to no purpose. The whole country was aroused, every house turned out, and the whole district disturbed, but of course to no purpose. No trace could be found and no tracks were visible. All the people collect at Klieng's house, and ask where they had better search. Indai Karong Besi tells them to pull up the Nangka (jack-fruit tree) and descend by the hole. Bunga Noieng asks if it is possible their enemies can have used that way. He tries, and finds it the road used. Bujang Tuai, Klieng's uncle, prays them not to go—by no means to think of descending to Sabayan—the world of the dead. He says he has been once to Sabayan with Klieng's father, and advises them to separate and provide themselves with torches of dammar resin to light themselves on the way. They do so and are prepared for the journey. Bunga Noieng leads the way, and is followed by Sa Pungga, Sereganjang, Tutong of Gelong (Kumang's cousin) and Remuyan (Lulong's brother). Each one has his torch fastened upright on his head. They march along day after day until they come to a *temuda* (farm land uncultivated for two or three years) in Sabayan, where they see lights. Bujang Tuai (the old bachelor) calls a rest, but Bunga Noieng is impatient, and does not see the use of halting to look for the various kinds of fruit (*senggang, banjang, upa, buah miah merindang anak ampang*). Bunga Noieng does not heed the old man's counsel and goes on by himself. Presently he is captured by the Anak Ampang (bastard children—against whom the buah miah may have been a charm). These Anak Ampang are carrying the lights which illuminate the *temuda*. Then comes Bujang Tuai who recovers Bunga Noieng, and throws the fruit which they have gathered at the Anak Ampang, putting them to flight. Bujang Tuai then advises Bunga Noieng to listen to him and not to be so head-strong, as he is an old man and has been this way before. They go on, and come to a place where one side of the path is lined with those who have died virgins, and the other side with a row of widows.

"Bujang Tuai calls upon the party (*bala*) to halt. Bunga Noieng wants to go on and does so, and is seized upon by the widows (*balu*) who claim him, each one as her husband, just as before the *anak ampang* (bastard children) claimed him as their father. They seize him by the feet, the ears, the head,

and other parts. Bujang Tuai tells his force to make a number of bobbins as used in spinning, and coming up with Klieng and the rest of the force they toss these bobbins (*engkeluli mata gasing*) among the widows, who scramble for them and release Bunga Noieng. The widows then inform Bujang Tuai's company that they are on the road followed by Sinjar and Nyang, and urge them to press on if they would overtake them.

"They go on and come to the foot of a hill where they hear yells and shrieks. The ever-cautious Bujang Tuai calls a halt again, but impulsive Bunga Noieng objects as usual and stalks on by himself. He again finds himself a captive and has to undergo the infliction of being cut at with swords as he lies flat on a *bilian* (iron-wood) log. Many a stroke is made at him but he rises unwounded, and claims in his turn to deal in like manner with his captors. One after another they are hacked to pieces by him until the survivors call upon him to hold his hand, as they recognise his superiority. They then inform him that the path he has been following is that made use of by Sinjar and Nyang, and urge him to press on."

#### ENSERA LIMBANG. THE STORY OF LIMBANG, KLIENG'S YOUNGEST BROTHER.

FROM MR. BROOKE LOW'S NOTES.

"They went out to hunt with dogs and took plenty of rice, a *passu* a piece. Limbang, the youngest, did not know how to bind on his chawat, he was so young. There were five of them, Klieng, Pungga, Binga-Noeng, Laja and Limbang. Limbang carried only one *sintong* (*jantang*) of rice.

"They went to the foot of Panggau Libau, got there when the sun was in mid sky. The dogs began to bark, so Klieng says to Limbang, 'You stay here and take care of the rice, &c., while we go after the pigs.' So Limbang says, 'Yes,' and when they are gone he gets a rattan, ties all the rice together, carries it on his shoulders, arrives at a place where the dogs are baying and kills a pig before his brothers arrive. So Klieng on his return asks 'Where is the food?' Limbang says 'Here it is,' and Klieng is astonished at his strength and says if he had known he was so strong he would have made him carry all the food from the house, instead of them all carrying it themselves. So say all the others. They cut the pig open and cut out the entrails. Limbang carried the head and the others carried each a share. Limbang rejoiced at killing the pig, and at the five tusks. They went and reached the summit of Penggau Libau and made a *langkan*. They wanted to cook the pig. Klieng tried his flint, it would not catch fire; he wanted to singe the hair; he threw away flint. All the others tried with same result and flung away their flints. Klieng says, 'We have a pig and no fire to cook it with. I can see far, far away some lights like a fire-fly.' Asks his friends in turn if they will volunteer to get it; all refused on account of distance and fatigue. At last he begged Limbang. Limbang offered to do it, but he would not guarantee when he should return as he was a slow walker. So a bound or two brought him to the light; he cut down some wood and lit it and half-way

back he met an old man (giant). Gua asked him where he was going; he stated the fact, but Gua insisted on his stopping at his house and refreshing himself. Gua puts him in his ear. Limbang complains that his brothers had no fire and he had been sent to fetch it; but Gua would not hear of it. So he brought him to his house, which was larger than a Dyak house (of thirty doors); all the people had been eaten by Gua, and he promised to adopt Limbang as his grandson for ever and ever.

"Klieng and the rest waited long, and when Limbang did not return they went in search; they scoured Panggau Libau, did not find him. Siku Bungkan is a river of Panggau Libau. They descended to earth and searched the Nidi Kandis, a tributary of the Gelong on earth; the *ulu* of Nidi Kandis meets the *ulu* of Siku Bungkan. At length they gave up the search and returned home and placed an *ulit*. All the women are prohibited from wearing yellow ornaments and obliged to wear black (black rattans, &c.), all men to wear a network instead of a chawat, &c.; all cocks that crow to be killed, all old men that cough to be killed. Gua acknowledges Limbang as grandson and gives him all the chawats in the house. Then Gua cooks one large *qualli* of rice for himself and a small one for Limbang; one large *qualli* of vegetables for himself and a small one for Limbang; tells Limbang to go up to the Sadau and toss the three *bakars* of rice, &c., and the three bakars of vegetables, and the *irun* of water into his mouth; which is done, and the giant swallows all, and the sound of the water as it fell into his mouth was like the roar of a cataract. Limbang had before eaten his portion. After dinner they rest till dark. At bed time the giant gave a gold curtain and a gold mat to Limbang and one for himself, tells Limbang to wake him up in the morning by hitting him a blow on the head with an enormous sledge hammer which he shows him. He then disposes himself for sleep and rests his feet on the Sadau. At dawn Limbang waits for Gua, and finding the latter did not wake, he took the hammer and banged it against his head, but the giant remained unmoved; second time with like effect, and third time Limbang being angry smote him with all his might and the blow sounded like a crack of thunder; the giant merely turned round and asked Limbang what he wanted to say? The giant then got up and cooked for Limbang, he did not eat heavily—once a day enough for him. They thus lived day after day until Limbang grew up and became a *bujang*, when Gua gave him all sorts of finery to wear, *tumpah*, *rankis*, &c. When Limbang was rigged out he looked like the moon and shone upon everything. Limbang then put on a *gagong* and fastened on a *parang*, took up a *klurai engkeruran*, played it and at the same time danced. Gua was delighted and although he felt sleepy roused several times, feeling so interested. Gua praises up Limbang, says, 'in the wide, wide world there is none to be compared to his grandson, the worthy brother of Klieng.' Limbang says, 'this is all very fine, but it would go nice if there were a woman here to work for us, relieve you of the trouble.' Gua says, 'All-right, we will go out to-morrow in search of one.' Gua the next morning puts a spread mat in the hole of the lobe of his ear and places Limbang on it, descends

the ladder and one step brings him to his farm, puts Limbang in a *langkan* and tells him to wait while he weeds. Limbang then dances all the time and Gua tells him to desist or he will dirty himself with perspiration. Gua then falls asleep and wakes up, some animals biting him.

"There is a *manang* in Penggau Libau counting and examining the things out of a jar (*tajou tun*); looking down he sees Limbang dancing, and calls his granddaughter to look, as he thinks it will amuse and divert her. She asks who it is. Limbang: 'Brother to Klieng. Are you going to marry him?'

*Iaban panjai lengan.*

*Baka Beketau nyan sangkoh.*

*Likup panjai kukut kalaut nyeput sagu.*

Bunsu Mata-ari is the *manang's* granddaughter. She says if she is to marry him, who can help it? So Manang lets her down to earth with a rope, and places her in front of Gua. Gua wakes up and says, 'O, my granddaughter,' and puts her in his ear, goes to the *langkan* and tells Limbang he must go home, and puts him in his other ear. He does not know that there is a woman, and picks up all fragrant leaves. By and bye they come to the *tepiantai*. Gua takes Limbang down and washes him and dresses him. Limbang then leaps and with two bounds reaches the *tanju*. Gua then takes the woman down and bathes her, and reaching the ladder he sets her down and advises her to walk up herself. Limbang meets her at the top and is surprised at her beauty, invites her to come and sit down and chat. She is coy, but at last does so on earnest entreaty. Gua is still at the water-side, and looks on and is amused at the fun. He then goes up and enters his room to cook, and the same scene is gone through as before—a giant's feed. At bedtime Gua disposes the mats and curtains and turns in. Bunsu Mata-ari cannot sleep on account of the thunder snore of Gua. In the morning, Limbang says in fun he is going to kill Gua, and takes up the hammer. Bunsu Mata-ari remonstrates. But the same scene is repeated and Gua is awakened. Gua cooks for them, and then opens his treasure-box and takes out a pair of gold rings of great value and a cup, which he gives to Bunsu Mata-ari, and at same time tells her to take them off whenever she bathes and put them in cup as they are costly and must not be lost. Gua then goes off to sleep again, and Bunsu Mata-ari puts out to dry three *bidais* of paddy, and after that she pounds five *passu* of rice a day (ten *passus* paddy), and then goes down to bathe and observes the precautions to take off the rings. She places them on edge of water and bathes naked; bobbing up and down, the water splashed and washed away the cup, which floated down stream. She got out and filled the gourds and then found the cup gone. She cried, and Limbang saw her and heard the reason, and with one bound reached the wharf, then every bound he made brought him to a bend of the river. Meanwhile, the cup had floated down to wharf of Limbang Singanan, a Malay; his wife, Daiang idu, bathing, found the cup and the rings. Daiang idu took the rings to her husband, who admired their beauty and sent eight of his watchmen up the river in order to bring down the owner of the rings to be his wife, whether already married or no. So they went and fitted the rings on all women they came

across, but they would suit none; so tired with pulling and distance they proposed to return, thinking no one lived higher up. Then they saw a piece of bamboo floating down, by that sign they knew some one lived further up. Then they came to Limbang's and said they brought two rings. Limbang asked what rings, they were shown and identified. Their instructions were then stated, and Limbang referred them to his wife, who refused to leave him and become anyone else's wife. Limbang then advised them to go back and tell the Malay, if he came to take the woman by force, not to bring more than one hundred boats. The Malay then collected his *balla* (war expedition) and proceeded up the country, stayed at Limbang's wharf, and sent a messenger to inform him of his arrival and intentions, and advised him to make ready, as he would be attacked. Limbang woke up Gua and told him. Gua took down two swords and ordered Limbang to sharpen them, the small sword as long as the arm and broad as a finger-nail, the large sword long as a fathom and broad as four fingers. The small sword was sharpened, and Limbang cut the whetstone through with it and also a trunk of hard wood clean through without a sound, as if it had been a plantain leaf; the large sword also cut a whetstone and a pestle through. Limbang was then summoned to fight and warned to look out, but he took no notice and smoked away and chewed *pinang* quite unconcernedly. Then the *balla* ascended the ladder and called out for Limbang, but Limbang sat still. A spear was thrust at his body, but it did not enter. At last he asked whether they really meant to fight him. They said, 'Yes, that is the reason of our coming.' So he snatched up the small sword and made a cut to the right and all men on right of him fell dead; a stroke to left killed all on that side. The Malay and another alone survived. Limbang then went inside and woke up Gua and asked him to help him. Gua came out and laughed loudly and said, 'What's the use of me when I have such a capital warrior in my grandson?' Then he fell to and eat all the corpses and drank the blood. So the Malay ran away in great terror. On his return the Malay's wife asked him where was Limbang's head. She got angry when she heard the tale, and told the Malay to wear her *bidang* and let her wear the sword. He had lost all his men. So the Malay was ashamed and collected a gigantic *balla* of 1,000 boats, Kayans, Punans, Ukits, Malays and Dyaks, and the demigods of Penggau Libau, including Klieng and Laja, &c. They went up to Limbang's wharf. The Kayans led the vanguard; they tried to fire their guns, but they would not go off. They then swarmed up, and Limbang behaved as on former occasion and killed them off. Then he leaped down to the ground and engaged the Dyaks and killed them off. Then a single combat was proclaimed, and Klieng and the Malay were eager for it. The Malay engaged and was killed. Then Bunga Noweng requested permission to engage Limbang, but Klieng wanted to himself. So he ascended the *tanju* and the house shook. He made a slash at Limbang, but it did not wound. Limbang returned it on Klieng with like result. Then Klieng thrust his spear, but it glanced off, and the same with Limbang. Then Klieng asked Limbang who he was. Limbang replied he was no one, only the brother of Klieng and Binga Noieng and Laja and Pungga. He asked Klieng who he was, and Klieng said he was 'Klieng, of Pangau Libau ;

I can break rocks and prevent the rain.' So they did not believe each other, and engaged again till, wearied out, they demanded each other's story. Then Limbang related how he hunted that day and how he was carried away by Gua. A recognition took place. Binga Noieng went under the house and obtained a pig and fowls and killed them, and ordered the *balla* to desist fighting. Klieng then went home and removed the *ulit*, and proclaimed Limbang's existence. Limbang woke up Gua, who took two days to eat up all the dead—so gorged that he could not move for many a day. Gua then pulled out all his mats, &c., and spread them out and all his goods and trinkets, gave them to his grandchildren and told them to take care of them. He was old now and might die in a day or two; they must not bury him far away, but just at foot of ladder. In a day or two he gave up the ghost. Gua was buried, but his head was above ground; bye and bye it split and a shoot sprang, which afterwards swelled to a large *banang* tree. When the flowers fell they turned to beads; when the leaves, to cloth; the ripe fruit to jars, &c.; and the boughs to iron and steel."

#### ADVENTURES OF KLIENG.

FROM MR. BROOKE LOW'S NOTES.

"There is a long road from the heavens to the earth which has seventy branches or intersecting paths. Men and spirits are constantly travelling on this road, but in every instance the spirits overtake the men and pass them by.

"The following story relates how Klieng, an inhabitant of the spirit world, sought a wife from the earth, taking to himself in marriage Bunga Riman the daughter of the Tiju, Apai-Karong-besi (Tiju, father of the iron sheath).

"Apai Abang and Apai Semili hold a conversation in the heavens. Says one to the other, 'What is the use of our sitting idle here? There is nothing going on. Our men are not marrying, nor are our women; let us go down to earth and take heads.'

"In the meantime preparations are being made for Klieng's marriage with Bunga Riman. The rhyme sings of his wealth, and of the beauty of his mats, value of his jars, brassware, &c., and tells how the women set out on their journey down to the earth to fetch home the bride for Klieng. They set out from the top of the mountain known as Panggau Libau from whence they arrive at a mountain called Balai Chandai and having climbed the summit of this mountain they descry the road with the seventy branches which leads to earth. Punggas and Bunga Noieng, cousins of Klieng, go in advance of the party to reconnoitre for tracks of enemies. The whole party then advance together. They find growing in the middle of the forest a plant with red flowers like the *Punggil* (a species of *clerodendron*), and this they recognize as a sure token of success in their search of a wife for Klieng. Proceeding on their way they arrive at Manang Pakwak's house, but the sudden arrival of such a force surprises and alarms the women folk of the house, who begin to clamour and make a noise.

"The visitors then asked and obtained permission to enter the house, and were made comfortable. Bunga Noieng begins to look about him with an eye

to a good-looking woman, but having made his choice he is disappointed in finding that she is already promised in marriage to Gelaian, a human being. In the meantime Klieng leaves his friends and goes into the jungle. During his absence the company return to the heavens and leave him behind. Klieng had taken his blow-pipe with him into the jungle, and seeing a great number of birds he endeavoured to shoot some of them that were congregated in great numbers in a Ara tree (a species of ficus). But failing to obtain any birds, he became angry and vexed. Coming under the tree he sat down, and seeing the skin of some fruit lying on the ground he was reminded that he was hungry. Looking up into the tree he saw a *berkerang* that had thrown away the skin after eating the fruit, but though Klieng felt very hungry he was too faint to climb the tree to obtain any fruit for himself and so remained sitting under the tree, and the *berkerang* remained aloft. At last the *berkerang* began to move by leaping from tree to tree, and Klieng followed him till at last the *berkerang* descended and entered his shed. Klieng had been bemoaning his lot, crying out, 'Oh! mother! mother! I am so hungry, and here there is no one to cook anything for me or call me to eat.' Having seen the *berkerang* enter his shed, he followed, but upon entering the animal had disappeared. Klieng, however, found foot-marks, which he traced. After some time he heard a noise, and going to the place whence the sound proceeds he sees a lot of men fighting. These were not men but spirits and the apparition is a test to prove his courage. The spirits call upon him to come and be killed. So he laid himself down upon the log path that they might try their hands upon him and attempt to cut him in two. Several of them tried to do so, but their swords would not cut him, because he was invulnerable. Then Klieng in his turn invites the spirits to allow him to make the like attempt on them with his sword. As soon as he drew his sword he astonished them, for several of them were by the one stroke cut in two. The spirits then called upon him to forbear, for several of them had been killed, and they gave to him a talisman (*pengaroh*) to render him further invulnerable. He then left them and again followed in the footsteps of the *berkerang*. These next led him to a place where he found some spirits burning a man. The spirits seized upon Klieng and threw him also into the flames, but at once the fire was quenched. Then the tables were turned once more, and Klieng catching hold of some of them threw them into the fire, and they were killed. The rest then dismissed him and gave him another talisman, which like the first was to strengthen him and help him on his way to Raja Riman, who is very powerful. Klieng then went on his way and came to where spirits were throwing each other into the earth, some sinking up to their knees, some up to their waists, and others up to their armpits. The spirits tried to do the same to Klieng, but instead of sinking he bounded up again. Then Klieng threw some of them down, and they were buried, some one fathom, some two, some three fathoms deep. From the remainder of these spirits he obtained another talisman, and leaving them he proceeded on his journey over hill and valley. At last coming to the top of the hill he sees a long house opposite to him, with a valley intervening between it and him. This is the house of Raja Riman. At the foot of the hill, in the valley, he sees a woman bathing, whom

he approaches and makes advances towards friendship, and at last endeavours to embrace her. 'Do not come playing the fool with me,' she commands him, and leaves him. He seeks to follow her, which she advises him not to do, but he persists. Seeing this she then counsels him to take no notice of anyone whom they may meet, but to keep close to her until she reaches her room. Upon her turning in at the door of the room Klieng seats himself on the verandah. Her father sees him, but turns his back upon him. The woman having gone into the room and changed her clothes brings out the wet ones and hangs them up to dry. Then she brings out the betel box, and takes a leaf and rolls a cigarette, saying within herself, 'If this man takes this, I shall know him to be Klieng.' She watched and saw him take it. Next she goes into the room to prepare the meal for the family, and places seven gourds of water, seven plates, and seven cups, and while they are at their meal, Klieng is asked if he can point out which of the seven belongs to the woman. He calls a fly, which tells him 'Never fear, that which is smallest is her's.'

"After dinner the father says to Klieng, 'I hope you won't think too badly of me for my treatment of you, you are the finest fellow that ever set foot in my house.' Klieng said to the old man, 'I am in love with your daughter.' Klieng had not met Aji, her brother, who had some time before gone out to sea to get fish in preparation for the feast connected with the planting of the rice seed.

"At night Klieng tries to find his way to the woman's room, and calls to his assistance a fire-fly, who tells him to be of good cheer, and watch where he alights. Hearing somebody approach the woman asks, 'Who are you?' He replies, 'I am a poor man and a stranger in this land, without any father.' She says, 'Not you, your name is Klieng, I know you well. It is alright.' They then converse through the night, and at daybreak Klieng wishes to go, but she will not allow him, telling him that her brother Aji will be here soon, and that he must wait and see him. Presently Aji arrives and smells a stranger. He calls out to him to come down from his sister's room and he will kill him. Kumang (the woman) would not let Klieng go down, but he loosened her grasp and jumped down in front of where Aji was sharpening his sword. Aji looks up astonished. After regarding each other for some time, Aji challenges Klieng, and proposes to wrestle, but he found it impossible to move Klieng, who stands as firm as a rock. Klieng then laid hold of Aji, and intending only to give him a throw he lifted him, but his strength was such that Aji was thrown right out of the house and away into the middle of the river. But Aji came quickly to the fore again, and with one leap he landed on the tanju. They then went at it with all their power, for each felt the strength of his opponent. But Aji found it impossible to throw Klieng, while Klieng severely injured Aji, but cured him again with magic art. Aji then owns himself defeated and signifies his pleasure in receiving Klieng as a brother-in-law. None ever could overcome Klieng.

"Then the marriage between Klieng and Kumang the daughter of Riman took place, and together the pair go to work on the farm—to fell the jungle, to burn it, and to sow the seed. On one day they plant more than anyone else. The next day Klieng's father-in-law desires them to go and work on

the farm again, but Klieng replies, 'What is the use, we have done everything in one day.' However, on this day Klieng carried all the timber for, and erected and built a farm shed. The following day the father again requested Klieng to attend to the business of the farm, and would not believe that nothing remained to be done until he and all the people in the long house had been to see for themselves, and were astonished to see all the work completed and a path made of logs of trees extending all the way from the house to the farm shed. On the way home Klieng pulls up a tree by its roots and carrying it home sets to work cutting it up for firewood. Everybody is astonished at whatever he does.

"In course of time Kumang becomes pregnant.

"One day Aji sets out on the war path with his people. By paddling on during the day time, and only pulling up at night to rest and cook, after some days they reach the enemy's country. But it was not till the day that Aji had arrived there that Klieng and his father-in-law set out to join them overland. Kumang wished them to take with them three or four baskets of rice, but Klieng refuses to be so loaded, saying that seven grains are quite sufficient. At last Klieng's father-in-law complains of being tired, and Klieng takes him on his shoulders, and then flies to near where Aji has encamped. He asks Aji whether he has reconnoitred, and Aji tells him that he has, and that there are seven long houses of the enemy, whom he dare not attack as they are too many and too strong for him, being Kayans. Klieng offers to go, and is received by the men as a friend. He counted the men and found that there were 900 of them, Krilih being their chief. The Kayans present him with 900 swords. Klieng tells them that the army of Raja Riman is coming to attack them; he himself promises not to accompany them; he tells them to be prepared, if they are short of spears, sumpitans, &c., to make some, if their swords are blunt to sharpen them.

"Klieng then went to Aji, and told him that he had warned the Kayans to be ready for the attack. Aji is angry that Klieng has warned them, as he wished to take them by surprise. He says that this manner of warfare is quite new to him, as he had never heard of any of his ancestors sending to warn an enemy of an attack. Klieng replies that among his people it is customary to warn an enemy, then they know who is brave and who is not. In the morning some of the Kayans came down to the river side to examine their nets, and the men of Raja Riman killed them. The Kayans then came down in force to the attack, and the army fled. Klieng alone then advanced, and with seven strokes of his sword he slew the inhabitants of all the seven houses. His father-in-law would have run away, but Klieng prevented him, as he wished him to witness his prowess and strength. He placed in his *karong-jiring* (case for the poison for his darts) and carried away all the plunder, slaves, jars, heads, &c. He then took one of the boats which had belonged to the Kayans, and invoked every fair wind with magic spells. They blew him to where Aji was encamped faster than a bird can fly. Aji was astonished at the sight of all the plunder. They then returned to their home, paddling very hard, as the night was far advanced, and all their provision was finished, one grain of rice alone remaining. When they

come near their house, they shout and yell, and beat the gongs, and make their captives dance. Kumang comes on to the tanju, and recognises Klieng and her father. All the people in the house come down to the landing place, to carry up the spoil—a whole day's work. Then later on Aji turns up. Next day a great feast was made. The brother of Klieng's father-in-law becomes envious at Klieng's good fortune, and induces some others to join with him in an attempt on Klieng's life. They make a number of swords and spears for the attack. While the feast was going on, Kumang's uncle and eight men were shown in. As they were coming up the ladder they met Klieng going down, but they did not know him. They sit down, and ask Kumang where Klieng is. She tells them that he has just gone down. Klieng went to the top of the hill and cut a piece of wood for a fire-log, and brought it to the landing place, where he put it down while he bathed. Then he carried it up to the house. The length of the log was two fathoms, and some wood that he carried to make torches were six or seven fathoms long. His uncle saw him come in. Klieng placed the log down just in front of his uncle. They were all struck dumb, and their hearts were full of fear over attacking such a man, and getting up they hastily took their departure.

"Kumang gave birth to a female child, who was named 'Padi mati bejalai lemi pinggang,' and as she was so pretty they added the name of 'Benih lalu tugal sa taun mati nawang.' Years pass by, and this daughter, who was born a widow, becomes a maid. (This inversion of the order is allegorical—the ripe padi seed, after being planted, becoming young and giving life to new seed.)

"One day Kumang sent her daughter to call Klieng into the room, as she wants to clean his head, &c. Whilst talking to him she wept, and her tears dropped on to her husband's forehead. He said to her, 'Take care of our daughter—my time has run out, and I must become something else.' His wife and daughter set him on his road back to Panggau Libau. They take him to the hill from whence he first descried their house, and there they wish to turn back. He says that he does not know the road, and they point out to him the road leading past Pau's farm. Then they return. He went on, and coming to Pau's farm shed he finds the people there in mourning. They thought that Klieng was dead long ago and for this reason they were mourning. It is some time before Pau can recognize Klieng. They go together to Pau's house, but seeing two women having their bath at the river side, Klieng stops to talk to them as they call out to him. They were fairies, and they give him a bag to hang round his neck which changes him into an ugly ulcerous old man. When he takes the bag off he becomes himself again. Then with the charm working he rejoins Pau who is waiting at some distance. Pau seeing this ugly old man asks him whether he has seen a stranger, Klieng. No, he answers. In going into the house he can hardly manage to climb the ladder. Pau divines that it is Klieng under a spell. A *manang* (medicine man) seeing the diseased-looking old man tells him to be off. Everybody in the house carefully roll up their mats and put them aside, but Pau spreads his mat for Klieng to sit down. Klieng unbelts his sword and

asks, 'Father, where shall I hang this?' 'On the hook,' says Pau. But the sword is so heavy that the hook gives way, and the sword falling kills a dog. Then Klieng says, 'Where shall I put my spear?' 'Against the peg,' he is told, but the peg breaks off, and the spear falls and kills a pig. Pau places his box of betel-nut, &c., but Klieng, apparently in a fit of abstraction, picks up an axe near his hand, and begins to chew it instead of betel-nut, and the pieces flying out of his mouth kills a slave and break a rare jar. Pau's wife is angry and demands to be repaid for the damage. Pau endeavours to appease her. 'Where is the use of making a bother. We have numbers of slaves and plenty of jars.' A new name is given to Klieng—'Temuai rambok sapai Sengalang rambok bidang bebunjai.' He had for his coat an ordinary piece of rough bark cloth. After night set in, he went to visit one of the rooms, but before doing so, he took off the bag, and hung it up, not desiring to appear excepting at his best before the one he visited. Thus he became himself again, and Pau, in his absence cut the bag into pieces to prevent Klieng from again metamorphosing himself.

"When Klieng returned from his visit early next morning he was unable to find his bag. Not successful in his search he awoke Pau and asked for it. But Pau professed all ignorance. Pau was astonished at Klieng's fine appearance now, and admires him very much. The mourning is now removed from the house, and great rejoicing takes place."

#### TWO FRAGMENTS.

FROM MR. BROOKE LOW'S NOTES.

##### I.

"But there at dark Bunsu Mata-ari talked to herself inside the room. Limbang overheard her say: 'Limbang is brave and rich, no visitors: why does he live in this solitary spot, why not remove to the haunts of man?' So Limbang got up at midnight, uttered some magic words and said if all his fruit trees, his cocoanut and *pining* groves, *siban* and durian fruits, etc., would remove to Panggau Libau he would remove, if not, not. So he slept, and the rain came down and carried them all away and the house at dead of night. When Bunsu Mata-ari awoke in the morning, surprised to hear so many cocks crowing and to see a house near, she thought it was Malays and how pleasant it was they had come to live near them, for now they would get salt and iron, etc. She woke Limbang, but Limbang pretended laziness, for he knew his wife would be curious. Same happened with Klieng's wife: seeing a house spring up within one night near, Klieng went down to see. As Klieng did not return, all his brothers and household went in search and found him in Simbaji (? Limbang). The recognition took place and Limbang's friends carried back as much cloth, iron, etc., as they could; and Limbang's mother blessed him to the end."

##### II.

"Formerly a tree grew at N. Panggau. It bore on its branches every imaginable fruit, and formed the ground of the first great dispute. In consequence of this great dispute Ap Klieng moved to Panggau Libau, Ap Pau and Tutong to Batang Gelong, Sabit Bekait to Langit, and Ribai to the sea. Uat

Klieng is an *antu* and lives for ever, and Ribai is the progenitor of the whites. Indai Klieng bore Lulus, and Lulus drifted down to the sea. Uat Klieng and Ribai are always at war with variable success. They also state that the race of Klieng is the greatest of all races except the sons of Ribai, and that all enemies are vanquished by them and none can overcome them except the race of Ribai, the pirates of the sea. That the river of Gelong produces the most beautiful of Dyak mythology, the birthplace of Kumang, Klieng's wife, Lulong, etc. They say that all this is the tale of the old men, what they have dreamt in their dreams."

#### THE ADVENTURES OF NATING.

##### A FRAGMENT.

"Something, I forget what, led me in talking to an old Sakaran woman to repeat the first line of the Lament of Indai-Tutong whilst suspended in the iron cage as overheard by Nating. She at once took up my words and went on in a clear, loud, natural voice to the end of this passage from the Dyak Iliad, 'The adventures of Nating in his expedition to the sky,' which few can repeat except in a peculiar monotonous chant, in which forgotten words are slurred, and sometimes a word is prolonged for twenty seconds whilst the next is recovered." (Chambers, Miss. Field 1867, p. 460.)

#### THE STORY OF MANGING.

"One Manging, a Sennah Dyak, in ages past went to Java as a passenger in the prau of a friend. On his arrival at the country of Rajah Pyte of Solo, it was rumoured about that Manging was a rich man and very clever. On hearing this the Rajah sent for Manging and giving him a thick rotan cane, perfectly smooth, and evenly cut and finished at both ends, asked him if he could tell at which end had grown the boughs and which the roots. Taking the cane, Manging measured it exactly in half, and balancing it precisely in the middle, pointed out to the Rajah that one half was heavier than the other, and this he said was the end which had been the lower part and consequently where the roots had grown. The Rajah was much pleased with this decision, and tried Manging once more with some eggs. Manging was to say which egg would produce a cock and which a hen chicken at hatching. The Dyaks say that Manging weighed the eggs; be this as it may, Manging fixed upon two eggs, and telling the Rajah to mark them as he indicated, put them under a hen. On these eggs being hatched it was found that Manging had indicated correctly, for each egg produced what he had said it would. This last result satisfied the Rajah and impressed him so highly with Manging's talent and shrewdness that he bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, and on the Rajah's death Manging himself succeeded to the sovereignty. When Manging quitted his native country, he left behind him a wife and child, and when the child, whose name was Jawi, had reached man's estate, he asked his mother where his father was. The mother replied that his father had left Sennah for Java and never returned. 'If this be so,' said Jawi, 'I must go and seek him,' and he at once proceeded to Java, to commence the search for his missing

father. On arriving at Solo, he enquired whether Manging of Sarawak was known there, and then learnt that Manging was married to the daughter of Rajah Pyte. He now proceeded disguised as a poor man to his father's house, and succeeded in entering so far on the premises as to meet his father's wife, who not knowing who he was asked how he dared to enter a great man's house in such a guise. She was in a violent passion, and before he could explain, abused him soundly, and by aid of the servants attacked him with sticks and cudgels, beating and wounding him so severely that he ran away; returning, however, he cooked his frugal meal of ferns and leaves directly under his father's windows. Jawi when a child had had the misfortune to fall on the lantis of the verandah of the house, cutting open his forehead, and inflicting a wound, which left a scar for life. While Jawi was cooking, his father observed him and called out, 'Who are you cooking down there?' Jawi replied that he was from Simbo in Sarawak (the Sennah tribe were at Simbo near Pangkalan Ampat in those days) and was the son of one Manging of that country. Up to this time neither father nor son had recognized one another. Jawi was aware that his father lived in the house, but did not know him personally. On addressing his father he turned his face upwards to the house, when his father noticing the scar on his forehead asked him how he came to receive such a wound, and received for reply that as a child Jawi had fallen down on the verandah; the father then recognised and acknowledged him as his son. Manging was very angry when he heard how his son had been treated and seizing his kris would have stabbed his wife, who evading him, ran away. On her asking forgiveness, and saying she did not know who Jawi was, Manging forgave her but expressed his intention of returning to Sarawak with his son. On learning this his wife implored him to remain, while Jawi was to return loaded with presents. The upshot of the matter was that Manging who when he left Sarawak was only known as a good carver of Dyak ornaments, but who during his sojourn in Solo had learnt to read and write and had become an accomplished man decided to remain with his wife, while Jawi returned to Sennah, rich with money and valuable presents. Amongst the latter was a gold ornament which is still in the possession of the tribe, and is worn by the present Orang Kaya, who showed me this curious relic, which takes the form of a gold necklet, and is made of small links run together very much like the links of watch-chains made in Europe in imitation of snakes. The ends of the ornament are larger than the body and are narrower at the base than at the top, which may be a little more than half an inch in length. Some beads of great age have been strung together at the back of the necklet, which is lengthened by a piece of brass wire, evidently a modern addition. The beads are said to be extremely valuable, the gold work must have been made (if the necklet came from Java) before the country was converted to Islamism, as I have no recollection of seeing anything like it in present use in Java, and it has all the appearance of being of Hindu manufacture. The present Orang Kaya is thirteenth in descent from Manging, whose house, turned into stone, the Dyaks assert still stands in Solo." (Denison, ch. vi. p. 66.)

## THE HISTORY OF THE SIJU IDOL.

"A Dyak at Terbut mentioned to me that there was a pangga in the head village where was preserved an idol or charm called by the name of Siju, adding I should try and see it, though I might probably not be successful, as no one was allowed to enter the building in question except those of the chiefs in whose custody the idol remains. On enquiring from Pengara Garip whether it was true that such a jimat was preserved in the head-house I was met with an indignant denial, and was told there was no such a thing in existence. Finding the house in question, however, I entered it without informing any one of my intention, but, no sooner was it known that I had done so, than such of the inhabitants who were in the village congregated in front of their houses, and the greatest excitement prevailed. I found nothing worthy of remark in the building, which was clean, lofty and in thorough repair, and contained only gongs and some eighteen or twenty skulls. If the idol is in this building it must have been (as in fact I was afterwards told it was) placed in the roof, which is high and pointed. So jealous were the Serins of my obtaining any information about this idol of Siju, that when I proceeded to visit the neighbouring tribe of Brang, a Serin Dyak was sent to follow me, and on my making enquiries from the head-men in the Brang village, my Malay Abang distinctly heard the Serin Dyak caution the Brangs in the Land Dyak language against giving me any information, and thus my efforts to collect anything authentic regarding Siju from this people met with no success. The following is all I can learn regarding this curious story. The idol is said to be of copper in the shape of a frog, or as some will have it a man seated cross-legged about the size of a frog, and the Dyaks know it under the name of Siju. The tradition handed down by the Serins is that in ages past, four brothers, ancestors of the Serin, went to Java to a place called Teluk Siap near Samarang, where Siju, the eldest of the brothers, having partaken too freely of the fish called buntal (which is said to have the effect if not properly cooked of making the eater sick and drunk) died. The brothers buried the body in Java, and then took prau to return to their native country. The vessel, however, refused to move. 'Depend upon it,' said the youngest of the brothers, 'this is Siju's spirit who is detaining us.' On this they returned, disinterred the body and took it on board, when the vessel gave them no further trouble and they arrived safe at Serin. Here the youngest brother had a dream in which Sibu appeared to him, and said that the tribe had better be collected, and a great feast given, when he would come to life again and be present. This was done and Siju attended the gathering. He told the people never to be afraid of their enemies, for as long as they venerated and respected his memory, so long would he be with the tribe, his spirit would lead them and their warriors and when they attacked he would always be in advance and lead them to victory. If they cared for and tended him, he would protect them and theirs from sickness and evil, and would be, in fact, the guardian spirit of the tribe. After this feast Siju died again, and from this time he always appears on the scene in the shape of a copper frog. Serin has never been conquered or the country taken by the Sea Dyaks, as is

the case with nearly all the other Land Dyak tribes. This good fortune is attributed to Siju's protection and assistance, and the Serins assert that when their country was invaded, the assailants always died before they could accomplish their purpose. The Serins were twice attacked by the Dyaks of Senankan Tumma from Sadong, and twice were these enemies repulsed, losing over 400 men. Not being able to obtain possession of the idol by force, the Senankans stole it by stratagem, and wished to carry it off to their country, but before the thieves had accomplished half of their homeward journey, the majority were dead men. In fact, whosoever laid hands on the idol died. In despair therefore they threw it away in the jungle, having first broken off one of the legs. The idol formerly wore a berowan or necklet made of gold; this was stolen by the Senankans, but, say the Serins, when the thief reached his own country, he and the berowan were both turned into stone, and there they are to the present day. At Senankan Tumma the berowan is a charm for the tribe, and the man in stone is above ground under the verandah of the head-house. The idol Siju, having been deprived by the Senankans of one of his legs, could only limp with the greatest difficulty; he was therefore more than a month in the jungle, when he encountered a clump of yellow bamboo, touching which with his broken leg they all died. Finally he reached Serin, and crawled under the head-house, which was erected on the same site where now stands the building in which Siju is still preserved. At the time of Siju's arrival under the panggá, a Dyak was sharpening his parang on a stone, over which he occasionally poured water. As the water dripped down below through the lantis of the floor, the drops fell on a large leaf called trap by the Dyaks, making at the same time a loud and peculiar sound, not liking which the Dyak removed to another corner of the building, and resumed his occupation. The leaf, however, continued to follow him, and wherever he settled himself in the head-house there was the leaf below him. This continued till the man growing angry went under the panggá, and called out, 'Why is this leaf always following me.' When, on examination, Siju was found concealed beneath it, he told the Dyak to take him up to the head-house, collect the people, and make a feast. Siju then appeared, and told the assembled Dyaks to tend and preserve him: if this was faithfully and carefully done he would continue his protection and defend them against their enemies. The Dyaks say that whenever they went on the war-path a noise, as if 1000 warriors arming and preparing for the strife, was heard in the head-house. Once in every four years a great feast is held at Serin in honour of Siju. This year the feast had been conducted on a large scale, and no less than 24 pigs were sacrificed. Unfortunately I arrived too late to be present, but I was told that on these occasions Siju, or the idol, is taken down from the roof of the panggá where it is kept, and divested of the bark of the pisang tree which covers the box in which the idol is preserved. The idol is then taken out of the box, and, at the place of worship, the white cloth, in which it is wrapped, is unrolled, a cup full of cocoa-nut water, mixed with the leaves of the sekadip and piningat plants, being placed at a little distance off. Siju, say the Dyaks, jumps into the cup and proceeds to bathe, being aided by the elders, who brush him with fowl's feathers, and, when his ablutions are

finished, the water in which he has bathed is sprinkled over the heads of the assembled people. No one but the three head-men is permitted to see Siju in his bath, or in fact, see him at all, they alone may enter the pangga where Siju is preserved, and there kept in their charge. Rimo, who lives at Krian, is the chief of these keepers, the two others, being younger, have less influence. I am myself inclined to think that the idol or frog called Siju by the Serin Dyaks, is but a figure of one of the Hindu gods, seated cross-legged with folded arms, such as are often met with in Java sculptured on ancient ruins, or are occasionally dug up in the form of copper, bronze or stone idols. The jimat has probably been in the possession of the tribe from a remote period, and may in some way throw a light on the earlier history of this people. It would be most interesting to know exactly what this idol, charm or relic really is, and I can only hope that those who follow in my footsteps among the Land Dyaks, will be successful in elucidating the true history of Siju and dispelling the mystery with which it is now surrounded." (Denison ch. vii. p. 78.)

#### OF THE PLANDOK AND KIKURA SEEKING FOR BAMBOO SHOOTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPOKEN NARRATIVE BY THE REV. W. CROSSLAND.

(N.B.)—The Plandok is the smallest of the deer species, and does not stand above a foot high. The Kikura, or Kikoora, is the smallest of the turtle species, about the size of the palm of a man's hand. The Kra is a long-tailed monkey, and the Bruang is our old friend Bruin, the bear.

"Hallo, Cousin Kikoora! where are you going?" cried the Plandok, as he spied his old friend dragging himself along.

"Well, cousin," he replied, "I am going to get some bamboo shoots to boil for breakfast."

"All-right," said the Plandok, "We will go together." So away the two went till they came to a clump of bamboos.

"Cousin Plandok," said Kikoora, "You go round that way and I will go round this."

"All-right," said the Plandok. So off they went singly. Presently the Kikoora saw a snare hanging about a foot above the ground, so he stopped to look at it. "Ah!" said he, "that's a beautiful cornelian necklace; never saw anything like it. It's too high for me to reach it, and, even if I could, it would be too big for my neck. I wish Cousin Plandok were here. I am sure he could reach it, and it would fit him exactly. He would look quite handsome with it round his neck. I'll go and tell him." So off set Kikoora in search of the Plandok, and found him amongst the bamboos. "O, Cousin Plandok!" said Kikoora, "come along; I have found such a splendid necklace of cornelian, but I could not bring it as it was too high for me to reach it."

"Nonsense!" said the Plandok, "you are only making fun."

"Fun! nothing of the kind," said Kikoora. "Come yourself and see it."

"Well, I don't mind," said Plandok. So off they set, the Kikoora leading the way at a snail's pace.

When they got to the place the Plandok looked about, but could see no beautiful necklace, so he asked the Kikoora where it was.

"Why," said the Kikoorā, "Cousin Plandok, are you blind? Can't you see it?" pointing with his snout to the snare.

"Call that a necklace," said the Plandok.

"Yes," said Kikoorā; "only go close up to it, and then you will see. Your eyes are not so sharp as mine." So the Plandok went close up, and putting his foot on the bit of wood holding the snare down, he sent the snare on to his neck, and the next moment was suspended high.

"Ah! ah!" said the Kikoorā; and off he crawled into the thicket.

Presently a man came along, and the Plandok hearing him, made believe to be dead, turned up the whites of his eyes, stretched out his limbs, and hung his jaw.

"Ah!" cried the man, "the snare's up, and there hangs a Plandok, but it's as dead as a carcase." So he cut the string and threw, as he thought, the dead Plandok on the ground, and went on to look for more game. Up jumped the Plandok, and bounded off in search of treacherous Cousin Kikoorā. While on his way he came upon a pitfall carefully covered over with sticks, and then leaves and grass on the top. Over it he lightly jumped. Not long after he met the Kikoorā.

"Hallo, Cousin Kikoorā!" said the Plandok, "come along, and I will show you the most comfortable bedplace you ever slept upon. I would have slept there myself, only it was not quite big enough for me, and perhaps not quite strong enough."

"Well, I don't mind," said Kikoorā, "if I do go and take a look at it."

Away the two went, and the Plandok soon pointed out the covered pitfall. "See, Cousin Kikoorā," said the Plandok, "how neatly all the grass is laid; you have only to crawl on those small sticks and then you can go to sleep there for as long as you like."

"Yes, Cousin Plandok," said Kikoorā, "but don't you see the deep hole there?" shoving out his snout to point below.

"Where?" said the Plandok, coming up behind him; and then giving him a kick with his foot, sent poor Cousin Kikoorā to the bottom.

"Now, are you not quite comfortable, Cousin Kikoorā?" cried Plandok.

"O yes!" he replied; "but how am I to get out?"

"I'm going," cried the Plandok.

Kikoorā, finding it was no use to try and climb up the sides, drew in his head and got into a corner and went to sleep. Not long after, a man came to examine the pitfall. "Ah!" said he, "here's profit; what is it?" He looked about and could see nothing, till at last he caught sight of the Kikoorā in the corner. "Oh, by my father and mother, as I'm alive, if it is not a Kikoorā!" So he knelt down, put in his hand, and took the Kikoorā out. Then he tied the Kikoorā to a stick with a piece of split cane, and left it there, whilst he went to see after his fishing baskets.

"Krà, krà, krà," cried the Kra. "Why, Cousin Kikoorā, what are you doing there, hugging a stick, as if you were warming yourself by a fire?"

"Warming myself!" said the Kikoorā, indignantly; "if you only knew how nice it is to be tied to this stick, you would only too gladly change places."

Down dropped the Kra from a branch, and came jumping up to the Kikoora. "Well," said he, you do look happy."

"Happy!" replied the Kikoora, "I should think I am; just as if I was going to be married. Now let me alone, and don't trouble me."

"But," said the inquisitive Kra, "don't the cane hurt you?"

"Not a bit," said Kikoora (and how could it when he had such a shell on?)

"Is it really so nice?"

"Yes," said Kikoora.

"But you look so queer," said the Kra, "cuddling a stick."

"It is not the looks, but the feelings," replied Kikoora.

"There is something in that," replied Kra.

"Would you like to try for a minute?" ask Kikoora of the Kra.

"Well, if it really is so comfortable, I don't mind exchanging places just for a minute or so," said the Kra.

"Then," said Kikoora, "just unloose this bit of cane."

The Kra unloosed the cane, and then lay down on the stick, to which the Kikoora bound him tightly, so that he began to cry out: "Don't tie it so hard, Cousin Kikoora; it hurts."

"Yes, I dare say it does; but it is only at first, and if you were not tied fast you might wriggle yourself off, and never know how nice it really is," replied Kikoora.

As soon as the Kikoora had tied the Kra tight, he shambled away.

When the man came back he was amazed at the change. "By my father and mother," said he, "as I'm alive, the Kikoora has become a Kra."

The Kra finding himself in a fix made believe to be dead. The man tied his hands and legs together, slung him on a stick, and carried him home on his shoulder. When he got to the foot of the ladder, a man in the house cried out, "What have you brought home a dead Kra for?"

"Dead," said the man; "he was alive just now." So when he got into the house he looked at the Kra, and thinking it really was dead, he threw it on to the floor of the verandah, and went into his room. The Kra immediately bit the thongs from his hands and legs, jumped into the outer verandah, and from there on to the betel-nut trees, then on into the jungle, crying all the time, "Krà, krà, krà."

Out came the man and heard him, "Oh, by my father and mother, the dead Kra has come to life!"

On went the Kra skipping from tree to tree, and when they were far apart, swinging himself on to another by holding on by his tail, and, when he had got swing enough on, letting go, and falling amongst the young branches of the next. At last he caught sight of the Plandok and Kikoora. "Halloo, Cousin Plandok, Cousin Kikoora! where are you off to?"

"Is that you, Cousin Kra?" said the Kikoora; "why we are going to look after uncle's fishing baskets. Will you come with us?"

"Oh, yes!" said the Kra, "we'll all three go together." So on they went—the Plandok, pit-a-pat, pit-a-pat, with his little hoofs; the Kikoora dragging himself along; and the Kra skipping about from branch to branch—

till they came to the river. In jumped the Plandok and swam across, keeping his head well above water; in walked the Kikoora, and went to the bottom, and so walked across in his own fashion.

"Oh, wait for me, Cousin Plandok!" cried the Kra; "however shall I get across? There are no trees here."

"Jump upon that log of wood," said the Plandok, "and you can steer with your tail." So the Kra did, but all his efforts to steer across were useless.

The stream was strong, and he was fast being carried away, when he spied Gamílang (a large fish) sunning himself. "O Cousin Gamílang!" cried the Kra, "do come and take me across. I'm no weight to speak of."

"Oh, yes! I dare say," answered the Gamílang; "you want to play me some trick."

"No; I only want to get across to Cousins Plandok and Kikoora."

"Are you speaking the truth?" asked the Gamílang.

"Truth," replied the Kra. So the good-natured Gamílang came close to the log, and the Kra jumped upon his back.

Half-way across, the Kra spied a stout stick floating down close at hand. "Cousin Gamílang, wait just a moment till I get hold of this stick that's coming down."

"What do you want with a stick?" asked the Gamílang, suspiciously.

"Oh! only to help me up that slippery bank."

Having got the stick, they went on, and just as they got to the bank, the Kra fetched the Gamílang such a knock on the head that it killed him. The Kra immediately called to his friends, and the three dragged the Gamílang on to the bank. They were not long in rubbing off his scales and cleaning him, and then they set to work to boil him. The fire was burning up well, and the iron basin was on it, and the fish inside just beginning to give off a delightful savour to the three hungry ones, when they heard a noise—"Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!"—and out came Bruang from the thicket.

"Hallo, Cousin Plandok! what are you doing here?" ask Bruang.

"Oh! we three are just going to get breakfast ready."

"Ugh! Ugh!" said Bruang, "it smells well."

The three debated what they were to do; for if Bruang breakfasted with them there would be very short shares, as his paw was large and his mouth larger. Bruang being deaf could not hear what they whispered. At last Plandok cried out, "Here Bruang, make yourself useful. Take this dirty iron pan to the river, and scrub it with sand till it is quite clean."

Off went Bruang with the pan, and scrubbed and scrubbed till he thought the pan was clean enough, then he went back.

"Call that pan clean!" said the Plandok; "why, let's have a look at your paws, Cousin Bruang." So the Bruang put up his paws, and they were as black as soot, as they always were.

"There," said the Plandok, "look how black your paws are; you have not half cleaned the pan."

Off shambled Bruang again, and scrubbed away, and then came back again. Again they asked to look at his paws, and they were still black, so he

was sent off again. In the meantime the three set to work and ate up the fish and vegetables, and when Bruang came back, he found the fire out, the pan empty, and all his friends gone.

#### STORY OF THE DEER, PIG, AND PLANDOK.

MR. BROOKE LOW'S PAPERS.

"They lived up in Tilian and used to go out to fish, but somehow or other their fish used to disappear in their absence, so they resolved that one should remain behind to find out the thief. The deer offered to stay at home and the other two went out to fish. Presently came a giant and sniffed up the smell of the fish. He came to the house and called out, 'Who's there?' 'I am here,' says the deer. 'Oh, are you. I don't care for you. I am hungry. I must have some of that fish.' 'Oh, but it isn't mine," said the deer; 'it belongs to the pig and plandok, and they would never forgive me if I gave it away or allowed you to take it.' 'That's all very well,' says the giant, 'but I am hungry, the fish smells nice and I must have some, so you had better give it to me or I will have to eat you too.' So the deer was shakey and had to let the giant have his own way after all, and the fish disappeared jar after jar, and when the fish was all finished the giant went away. When the other two came home and found the fish all gone they were vexed with the deer for his softness and resolved that the pig should take charge this time. So next morning after salting the fish and putting them in jars the deer and plandok went out to fish and the pig stayed at home. Soon came the giant and bellowed out, 'Hullo, who's there?' 'I am,' says the pig. 'I say, you have got some nice fish here and I am mortal hungry, so you had better let me have some.' 'Oh, but I can't,' says the pig; 'the fish, you know, does not belong to me.' 'That will never do,' says the giant; 'I am hungry, do you hear, and I must have it, so you had better make no bones about the matter or I shall eat you too.' So the giant ransacked the jars and the pig was fain to look on. When he had finished, and not before, the giant bade him good bye and went off. Presently the other two came home and the plandok was vexed and said, 'You are muffs. I see I must do it myself.' So the next morning after salting the fish and putting it in jars the pig and the deer went out and left the plandok at home. As soon as they were gone the plandok put a bandage round his forehead and lay down. Soon came the giant and said, 'Hullo, who's there?' 'Only me,' says the plandok; 'come up, whoever you are.' 'What is the matter with you?' says the giant. 'Oh, I have a headache,' says the plandok. 'To what do you ascribe it,' says the giant. 'Why, can't you think?' says the plandok. 'No, I can't, says the giant. 'Why, it's owing to the smell of the fish; it's nearly overpowering, and now doesn't it strike you that you have got one too?' 'Well I think I have,' says the giant. 'Can you give me any medicine for it?' 'Well, I have no drugs, but I can bandage you up like this, and it may do you good, do you know, if you were to try.' 'Well, do try,' says the giant, and so he was ordered to lie down on his back at full length, and the plandok bandaged his head and drove the pegs so as to fasten him to the ground. 'Now don't you feel any pains in your ankles too?' 'Well, I think I do; suppose you

bandage them too.' So the plandok bandaged his ankles and made them fast to the floor. 'Now don't you feel the pain shooting up your legs?' 'Well, do you know, I think I do.' So the plandok bandaged his legs and secured the ends to the floor. By this time the giant began to feel uneasy, and finding he was unable to move he said it was painful, but the plandok said it was all right and began pegging away to make him more secure, and the giant continued to roar with pain until the plandok threatened to drive a peg through his temple. When the pig and deer came home and found the giant their prisoner they shouted for joy, and then they fell upon him and killed him."

MILANAU STORY OF A PLANDOK, A DEER, AND A PIG.

MR. BROOKE LOW'S PAPERS.

"A plandok went out for a stroll and fell into a pit. He could find no way to get out. Presently came a pig to the mouth of the pit and looked in and asked him what he was up to. 'Oh, don't you know,' says the plandok, 'the sky is going to fall in and every one will be smashed unless he has a hole to hide in.' So the pig leaps in. The plandok gets on his back, but finds he is not yet high enough to bound out. Next comes a deer and looks in and asks the pig and the plandok what they are doing. 'Oh, don't you know,' says the latter, 'the sky is going to fall in and every living thing will be crushed to atoms unless it has a hole to hide in.' So in leaps the deer. The plandok then makes the deer get on the back of the pig, and he clambers on the back of the deer and bounds out of the pit and leaves the other two to starve in the pit. The deer and the pig, wroth at being tricked, scratch the earth on all sides of the pit and raise a mound in the centre of it the level with the mouth, and then spring out of it. They follow the trail of the plandok, vowing vengeance, and soon overtake him; but the plandok climbs a tree, from the boughs of which a bees' nest is suspended. 'Come down,' say the pig and the deer, 'for we mean to kill you.' 'Oh, no,' says the plandok, 'at all events not to-day. Why do you want to kill me?' 'Because you deceived us and left us in the lurch with your lies. Didn't you say that if we had no hole to hide ourselves in we should be crushed by the falling of the sky?' 'Oh, yes,' says the plandok, 'but I got the king to put off the day.' 'That won't do,' says the pig; 'you must come down for we mean to have your blood.' 'I can't,' says the plandok, 'because the king has got me to watch his gong' (pointing to the bees' nest). 'Is that the king's gong?' says the deer: 'how I should like to ring it!' 'So you may if you let me come down and get at a distance before you strike—the noise would deafen me.' So the plandok sprang down and ran away to a distance. The deer took up a stick and struck the nest, and was instantly stung to death by the bees. The plandok then bounded away and the pig after it in hot pursuit, and crowded him so that he had to take refuge in a tree, round the stem of which a cobra was curled. 'Come down,' says the pig, 'that I may kill you, you false caitiff.' 'Well, not to-day,' says the plandok; 'put it off till to-morrow. I am set here to watch the king's girdle' (pointing to the cobra); 'now, isn't it pretty? I never saw a more handsome waist-belt in my life.' 'That is true,' says the

pig, and how I should like to wear it but for one day !' 'Well, so you may,' says the plandok, 'but be careful, or you may spoil it.' So the pig got into the folds of the snake, and was, of course, crushed to death ; and the plandok got off, having outwitted his enemies."

#### THE ALLIGATOR-BIRD.

"The Alligator-Bird has the richest note of any I ever heard. It is beautiful to hear him in the early morning, by the river side, singing to his old friend the alligator (so goes the tradition), who has come to demand payment for an alleged debt, when the bird answers, 'You know I have nothing wherewithal to pay you—there are my feathers, take them if you will, take them,—it is all I have to pay you with.' This bird in appearance is something like the thrush." (Grant, p. 154.)

#### THE REASON WHY ALLIGATORS ARE AFRAID TO EAT DYAKS.<sup>36</sup>

##### A STORY OF MOUNT PENINJAUH.

"Once upon a time, a Dyak belonging to the Peninjauh village was returning home after his day's labours, and, as he wended his way up the steep ascent which leads to the houses, what was his astonishment to find himself preceded by a large and comfortable-looking male alligator. 'Where are you off to ?' said the Dyak to the *buai* (alligator)—he was not at all afraid, for in case the *buai* made himself disagreeable, he had his sword, and had, moreover, an advantage in the steep, rocky ascent, to which the beast's legs were plainly unaccustomed. 'I am merely taking a walk for my amusement.' 'Why not pay our village a visit ?' asked the Dyak ; 'we shall be glad to see you.' (He thought it best to be civil at all events.) 'Most happy,' answered *buai*, so on they jogged together, bathed together at the spout, at the entrance to the village, and *buai* became the Dyak's guest. He made himself so agreeable to the family, and related so many wonderful stories about himself, what he had done, and especially what he could do, that the credulous Dyak thought it would be no bad 'spec' to offer him his daughter in marriage. He did so, and *buai* became his son-in-law. (Be it here observed, that it is customary among the Dyaks, when a youth marries a girl, for him to enter his father-in-law's family, who, after supplying necessities, enjoys the profit of his son-in-law's labours.) The Dyak, however, soon had cause to repent of his bargain. Not one stroke of work, not even in the way of fishing, would *buai* do, and when remonstrated with, he merely opened his mouth, showed his teeth, and grinned in a threatening manner. All day long did he lie basking in the sun, and at meal-times (O ye store-boxes of paddy !) how he did eat ! The Dyak's treasured hoards of corn, laid up against a rainy day, were soon devoured utterly, and then *buai* began to run in debt for rice with the neighbours, exacting forced loans by significant displays of his saw-like

<sup>36</sup> This story is supposed by the Collector (Wm. Chalmers) to be the genuine off-spring of Dyak imagination. It is a rare thing, even for a person living among them, to hear a story that is worth recording ; in the largest tribes, there are never more than two or three of the elders who have any acquaintance with history, and different tribes have different versions of the same events.

grinders, to the shame and disgrace of his father-in-law and all the family. (It is one of the greatest of shames among the Dyaks to be in debt.) At last matters grew so desperate, that one day they all laid wait for *buai*, caught him unawares, and hacked him to pieces. The news of their brother's shameful conduct and merited punishment soon reached the ears of alligator 'society,' and so deep a feeling of ignominy was felt thereat, that to this day an alligator will never stay to look a Dyak in the face—much less will he presume to eat him."

"A rival historian of the same tribe, however, affirms that the following is the correct account of the matter :—

"In the olden times, a certain Peninjauh Dyak was walking by the side of the Sarāwak river, when he saw an alligator lying on a mud-bank, apparently in great distress, and evidently not shedding 'crocodile tears.' 'What news? What is the matter with you?' asked the Dyak. 'O my poor brother! boo-oo-oo-oo.' 'What is the matter with your brother?'

"'He is lying at the point of death, and no medicine that we alligators have is of any use to save him. Oh, my friend, do you know medicine?'

"'A little,' replied the Dyak.

"'O do come and cure him.'

"'You alligators live in the water, and how am I brave enough to venture down to your house—I, who cannot swim a stroke?'

"'O I will manage that.'

"'But then consider the trouble,' it was objected.

"'Only come and see the treasures of our house, gold and silver, gongs and jars, mats and weapons; and, if you doctor my brother successfully, you shall have your pick—we will make you the richest man in Peninjauh—only come.'

"Vanquished by these lavish promises, down went the Dyak, on the alligator's back, to the alligator's house, which was built in a hole of the rock on which Belidah Fort now stands. The house was decent and comfortable enough, there was no lack of necessaries, but there was, at the same time, no appearance of wealth. 'The valuables are no doubt stowed away in the garret,' thought the Dyak. The sick beast was stretched on his back in the midst of the floor—almost at his last gasp. The Dyak bade him open his mouth; he did so; down went the Dyak's hand into his gulf of a gullet, and up he brought a leg of a Malay, still covered with portions of a very dirty pair of trousers, half-strangling the sick alligator in his determined efforts to effect a clearance. The cure was complete; the thanks of the alligator-family were profuse, but no mention was made of a tangible reward to the expectant and impatient doctor; at length he ventured to mention that he would like to see the riches of which he had heard so promising an account, and was gruffly told that they did not exist, and that, instead of asking for anything, he ought to be thankful that he was not eaten for supper. He was then bidden mount the back of his deceiving guide, who set him ashore, angry, wet, frightened, and dirty, then laughed in his face, and finally dived off. From that time to this, however, alligators always run away when they see a Dyak, lest the debt then incurred should be demanded, and a very dirty

action of their progenitors be thus unpleasantly forced upon their recollection.

#### STORIES ABOUT THE ORANG OUTAN.

"A stranger or visitor might, however, load a diary with anecdotes of Dyaks, who going to the woods, becoming orang-utans,"<sup>27</sup> and after several years, having borne many children, have returned and reverted to their former condition. Or he might hear that females have become pregnant by them, and borne twins, one as a human being, and another taking the form of its jungle parent. There are many other fables of a like kind; but there is no truth in them, and they themselves are very far from believing them. They would be indescribably horrified if such an experiment were seriously proposed to them. To prove that such accounts are entirely fabulous, they have similar ones about alligators, with whom they recount stories of intimacy, and the probability of the one or the other is about equal." (Brooke i. p. 64.)

"The Banting people say the orang outans once helped them against their enemies, and hence they do not injure these animals." (St. John i. 72.)

#### THE TURTLE WITH A PEARL.

"The take [at Serai] was considerable, including fish of all sorts and sizes; but there have been regrets expressed that the monster turtle, which is said by natives at times to appear upon our coasts, and to have a priceless pearl imbedded in his skull, was not among the catch." (S.G. No. 174, p. 28.)

#### HOW RATS CAME TO BE EATEN.

"I asked Kurow how long the Dusun had eaten rats. His reply was that, 'Once upon a time, a horde of rats,' far more than ever followed the 'Pied Piper,' I should judge by his adjectives, 'came and ate up all the rice and kaladi.' A conference was held by the then reigning chief in the head house, and his advice was of stern, practical kind. 'Talking is of no use,' said he, 'the rats have eaten all our rice: we have no other food left to us; ergo, we must eat up the rats!' 'And so it was, and is to this day,' said Kurow; but I fancied I could see a sly twinkle in his bright eyes—just the same merry twinkle one expects to see in anyone's face after having related a palpably incredible story with all due solemnity!" (Burbidge, p. 87.)

#### WHY A SNAKE HAS A STUMP TAIL.

##### A FABLE OF THE LAND DYAKS OF LUNDU AND SIKALAU.

"They say that in former times one of their female ancestors was pregnant for seven years, and ultimately brought forth twins, one a human being, and the other a cobra de capella. They lived together for some time, the snake always keeping his head well out of the way for fear of hurting his brother with his venomous teeth, but allowing him to amuse himself with his tail.

<sup>27</sup> Beeckman at Banjarmassin says (p. 37): "The natives do really believe that these [the Oran-ootans] were formerly men, but metamorphised into beasts for their blasphemy;" but whether he refers to the Malays or Biajous is not clear.

When they grew up the cobra left the house to dwell in the forest, but before leaving he told his mother to warn her children, that should, unfortunately, one of them be bitten by the hooded snake, not to run away, but remain a whole day at the spot where the injury was received, and the venom would have no poisonous effect. Not long after, he was met in the forest by his brother, who, under the effect of surprise, drew his sword and smote off his tail, which accounts for the blunted appearance observable in all his brethren. The superstition of the snake curing the bite is believed; the wounded person being still allowed to remain twenty-four hours in the jungle." (St. John i. 72.)

#### MEN WITH TAILS.

"Men with tails are spoken of by some of the people, but this is clearly a myth, and no source can be traced for the legend. It cannot apply to the tail-end of the waistcloth, which is worn by all Dayaks alike, but it may have come from the Malays, who may have applied it to the Dayaks—the Malays themselves wearing trowsers." (Leggatt.)

A reference to Mr. Bock's investigations as to the existence in Borneo of men with tails and the comic character of the explanation will suffice here.

#### SPOOKS.

"In Bintulu there are several places of legendary interest scattered within the limits of the Residency. Between Pandan and Labang is an islet without a name, which is washing away. Conspicuous at the head of this island is a red-leaved durian tree, and tradition has it that if this tree ever shed its leaves, there will be famine and pestilence (*lapar* and *penyakit*) throughout the land. The island is a favourite resort of pigs and deer, and was, during his life-time, the favoured haunt and farmstead of the late Orang Kaya Tumanggong Gunong. Some distance up the Binyoh, a feeder of the Pandan, there is supposed to exist a lake called the Penyilam, difficult of access. Its waters are said to be salt and sea-green, and to teem with sea-fish. A regular aquarium in fact of snakes and sharks. The sky is here dark with tempest—thunder and lightning never cease—and furious gusts of wind for ever ruffle the surface of the lake. From a rocky isle in the centre of this inland sea, wizards and sorcerers screech out their diabolical staves at the howling storm, to the furious accompaniment of drums and cymbals. No genuine Bintulu dare approach the place, and when I proposed an expedition to visit it, I met with a point-blank refusal on all sides, a circumstance which led me to conjecture that the whole thing was a myth, and existed only in the minds of the credulous.

"At the junction of the Long Koyan with the Blaga, there is a pool of water, from the centre of which rises the stump of a camphor tree of enormous girth, and the legend is that it is guarded by an ogre, and contains a mine of wealth, which cannot be worked without the propitiatory sacrifice of a human being. On one of the hills in the Koyan, where tobacco grows wild, there are said to be the bones of a dragon, crushed to death by the falling of a tree. On the sea shore at Kadurong Bay are the remains of a gigantic house some centuries old, as is evident from its present situation, for

the place on which it stands and which is now the sea beach, must have been at the date of its erection the bank of the river Sabatang. Its origin and association are lost in the mist of the past. Not even the oldest inhabitant can bestow the slightest information concerning its history, save that in general terms, it was the abode of a tribe of spirits, abandoned to man-eating propensities. There is absolutely no one that can throw the faintest light on the subject." (S.G. No. 134, p. 60.)

"At about a day's journey from the Tatau village, up the river Buan, is a mountain called the Ga Buan. Near the top of this mountain is a large cave, which is said to be the abode of a ferocious tiger, who has the power of making himself invisible when he feels an inclination to make a meal off a human being. Several people have been taken by him whilst working in the jungle. Their companions declared that they heard a noise like thunder proceed from the direction of the cave, and that very shortly after one of their number disappeared in a mysterious manner, and was never seen again. No one has disappeared since the time that the *orang putih* first came to Bintulu. I rather hurt the feelings of the men by suggesting that the noise might possibly be thunder, and that there were a great many ways of accounting for the disappearance of a man in the jungle, besides that of being taken by invisible tigers." (E. P. Gueritz, S.G. No. 122, p. 6.)

#### THE BULI-DUPIE'S STORY OF THE KINABATANGAN CAVE.

"There was once a powerful Panjeran in the Kinabatangan who had seven sons (about thirty generations ago). This chief was famous for his fighting powers and for his bravery. One day he said to his eldest son, 'Go and conquer some islands near Sulu,' where a powerful chief, the enemy of the Kinabatangan people, lived. Accordingly, therefore, the brothers started on their expedition with seven large prahus. After a severe fight they proved victorious, and with a large booty they returned to their country. Night found them pulling up against the strong current near Malapi, and as darkness set in they were just opposite a cave in the limestone cliff on the banks of the river. 'Let us,' said the eldest brother, 'sleep in that cave; it is easier, and we shall enjoy more comfort than in the prahu.' 'Oh, go not there,' said the youngest brother; 'I fear, if you do, some harm will come to us.' 'Do not be stupid,' replied the elder, and his voice ruled the others; so they went into the large cave by a big opening. Having slept the night, the youngest brother got up with the morn, and rousing his brothers, said, 'Oh, brothers, let us go out. I fear the cave is closing upon us; see, oh! see, the opening is very small.' And, indeed, this was the fact; but the eldest brother, who was sleepy, said, 'You speak that which is not,' and his speech again ruled the rest. In vain the youngest son reiterated his warning, and when the hole was getting smaller and smaller, and there was only just time for escape, he got out, leaving his six brothers in the cave. The hole was still closing, and as the youngest looked in again, he saw his brothers each in the arms of a fairy-like damsel, who led them away into the cave. The hole shut with a bang on the brothers and their fairy ladies for ever, and to this

day ladders are kept hanging outside, and rice is thrown in by the passing Sulumen to feed the long-lost brethren." (Hatton, p. 257.)

#### WATER AND ROCK SPIRITS.

"On the Bukar branch of the Samarahan river there is a warm spring of which the aborigines say it is the work of spirits and they therefore will not approach it alone." (St. John i. 227.) So we have the statement of His Highness the Rajah: "Our party all slept within a small compass, as the stream was supposed to be infested with *Antus* (Spirits), and was named Latong Antu." (ii. 184.) Mr. Chalmers relates: "One fall which we came upon in descending Simpok hill particularly struck me. The Dyaks asked us if the roar was occasioned by an 'Antu' who lived in the fall." (Occ. Pap. p. 6.)

The Moving Stone is thus described by Bishop Chambers but he does not state where it is situated: "When I confessed my ignorance they told me I should soon come to it, that their people had recently feasted it, and called it *Klapong sirat Bunga Nuiang* (the tail end of Bunga Nuiang's waistcloth). They took me to the stone; on either side of it was the framework of a hut, and the whole was inclosed by a palisade. The stone is about five feet high, six long, and two broad. It is the same red sandstone as the adjoining hill. On it was tobacco, sirih, and betel-nut, recently placed there by some Undop Dyaks. . . In Manok's house, and from Manang Bana, I heard more about this stone. Five months ago it suddenly appeared in its present place. As there was no track in the grass nor mark of trees injured in its course, we made sure that it could not have fallen from the hill. For some time we were in doubt about it; some said it had fallen from the sky, others that it was given by Batara. At last Manok dreamed that it had happened thus, 'Bunga Nuiang, commonly called in our traditions Simpurai, was racing with Pungga; they leapt together from Mount Rabong, in Bugow-land, and alighted on Mount Sadok, in the Sarebas country; whilst Simpurai was in mid-air the end of his waistcloth dropped, and this is it.' After Manok had declared his dream some still doubted, so we killed a pig, having first uttered over it this incantation, 'If this stone be truly a moving stone, and the waistcloth of Simpurai, let the heart of this pig be good; if otherwise, let the heart be bad!' The heart proved good, the enemy's part of it alone being bad. This decided the matter, and two months ago we held a ceremonial feast for three days over the stone." (Miss. Field, 1867, p. 464.)

"There is a pond at Aäp on the Rejang river which the natives do not care to approach, there being something uncanny about it." (Brooke Low.)

"The Kinahs have a great reverence for the rocks of the river on which they live, and if they affirm with a *Bato* (River) *Baloi* or *Bato Bulan*, or *Bato* whatever it may be, you may be sure they are stating the truth." (*ibid.*)

"If you are travelling in the jungle and desire to quench your thirst at a brook, your Brunai follower will first lay his *parang*, or cutlass, in the bed of the stream, with its point towards the source, so that the Spirit of the brook shall be powerless to harm you." (Treacher, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc. No. 20, p. 64.) In this case, however, we have to do with a Malay belief.

"There are two spots on this river which are accounted sacred by them, one, some twenty-five miles above their village, called Nini Sit, and the other, some six miles down the river, called Temelan; to both these places offerings of rice and cakes are yearly made at seed-time and harvest. The first of these places has been held in reverence by the *old* Lundu Dyaks, and the Sabuyows in living here only follow them in this custom.

"Nini Sit is a collective name given to three rocks—two large and one small—near the bank of the river, but as these rocks are only visible at very low water the offerings are placed on a hillock close to them. The story which accounts for the origin of the custom is as follows:—Nini Sit, or as we should say, grandpapa and grandmamma Sit, were two Lundu Dyaks, who, with their only child, led for some years a life of extreme poverty, being for days sometimes without a morsel of food. One morning they were missing; and parties of friends and relatives went all over the forest to look for them, but their search proved ineffectual. After a time the head of the tribe had a dream, in which Nini Sit appeared, and told him, that finding life unsupportable, they had wandered from their home, and were turned into rocks, the smaller one being their child; and that in future the whole tribe was to watch them and see they were properly fed. To neglect this duty was to bring famine in the land; to attend to it was to ensure plenty and prosperity. Any person touching or treading on these rocks was sure to vomit blood, and die in a few hours. The fear of acting against these injunctions is so great that no Dyak will touch a single stick or tree for several yards about the place. There are to this day many fine palm-trees overshadowing the eddying current in this part of the river, and timber of good quality grows about the forest here unmolested.

"Not only are the Dyaks afraid of intruding on this sacred spot, but the Malays also, who, one would suppose from their professing to worship the *only true God*, would be above such silly belief. I was once passing this place, when the conversation amongst the crew turned upon Nini Sit. As usual, some wonderful story was related, but in this instance by our steersman—Assan—a staunch Mahomedan. Some months ago he, with two other Malays, went up the river in search of the Mengkabang fruit, and, landing near Nini Sit, he cut down a Nebong, to obtain the edible portion of the palm. Tukang Kadio, one of the crew, reproved him for his imprudence, as no one could touch a tree near the spot without some harm happening to him. They anchored for the night some fifteen miles from it, *higher up the river*, having secured their boat *strongly* to a tree. They all slept soundly without awaking once during the night. To their surprise they found themselves early next morning at Nyambah, some ten miles from Nini Sit *down the river*, their boat still *firmly secured* to the bank. They had to retrace their way back, and pull *up the river* again, having lost a day by their imprudence in interfering with Nini Sit, and disturbing their abode. The Malay concluded his story with the remark:—'Perhaps because I erred ignorantly this slight punishment was inflicted, and I was thus reminded of my duty. We were lucky to have escaped without sickness.' 'Who, after such an authenticated story,' said a Dyak in my boat, 'can doubt what has been told us by our ancestors about

these rocks? I, for one, often wish to test for myself the truth of some of our prohibitions and customs (*mali dangan adat*), but am deterred by facts like what you have just related.'

"Our catechist, Bulang, a converted Dyak, who is strenuous in opposing such traditions and customs, not long ago, when he had occasion to go up the river, and these rocks were visible as he passed, actually trod on Nini Sit, and struck the largest of them, in spite of the protestations of his companions, who expected to see him drop down dead. No evil consequences accrued, and the faith of the rest of the crew in the sacredness of these rocks was, in this instance, somewhat shaken.

"Temelan is a small hill some six miles from the Dyak village *down* the river, believed to be the abode of three antus or spirits—Datu Juang, Petingi Metang, and Temanggong Marang. The aid of these spirits is sought by both Malays and Dyaks. This custom is peculiar to the Sabuyows and Malays who live on this river, and is of comparatively recent date. Some time after the Sabuyows left their own river, and removed to Lundu, one of them, named Merajan, had felled a tree at Temelan, and was converting it into a boat. Before his work was quite done, the three above-mentioned spirits appeared to him in a dream, gave their names, and upbraided him for presuming to use their property. They had the appearance of very old men, with long white beards, and represented themselves as the guardians of the Lundu river. Merajan was ordered to make seven *penteks* or human figures with the log of wood he had already cut down, and place them on Temelan hill, to which both he and his countrymen were in future to make their offerings. But as these spirits are Mahommedans the cakes offered must not be prepared with pork fat, but cocoa-nut or some vegetable oil. In the case of Nini Sit there is not this injunction, and the sweet cakes there offered are cooked generally with pork fat. There are now only five of these figures left, two having been cut down by the Serabus Dyaks, in one of their head-taking expeditions. It is generally believed that upon the approach on an enemy the spirits upon this hill fire a gun to give timely warning to the people up the river; and some of the older Dyaks have solemnly assured me that they have themselves heard these supernatural sounds, and been able to arm themselves in time to resist the enemy.

"At this place the Malays, who are all Mahommedans, often make and pay vows; and sometimes both Malays and Dyaks pass seven days and nights in solitude here, in hopes of meeting with these spirits either in a dream or vision, from whom they expect to receive some communication by which they might better themselves in life, or gain riches and earthly grandeur. This custom is by the Dyaks called 'betapa,' and the Malays 'betarak.' . . .

"During the yearly offerings by the Dyaks there is no bowing down to or worshipping either the figures at Temelan or the rocks at Nini Sit; and the whole custom evidently springs from ignorance and fear. It is a gay sight to see the boats start upon this excursion, decorated with flags and streamers from stem to stern, with trays of food covered with cloths of various colours, and the gongs and drums beating in unison to the strokes of the paddles." (Rev. W. H. Gomez, *Gosp. Miss.*: 1st July, 1865, pp. 105-11.)

"On the Upper Sarawak," writes Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell, "I passed a curious rock in the river opposite which were a row of huts on the bank; this rock bore somewhat a resemblance to a pig, and the Dyaks said the legend was that a pig had once run down the mountain side through a group of Dyaks farming and plunging into the river was turned into stone. This is now regarded as a sacred place, and the Dyaks come here and make offerings to it for good luck in any important undertaking or in time of sickness. I went near to examine it but was begged by the Dyaks not to touch it or it would bring disaster to the tribe." (S. G., 1894, p. 103.)

#### MOUNTAIN SPIRITS.

It is a difficult matter, as Sir Hugh Low remarks, to engage Land Dyaks "to assist the adventurous traveller in the ascent of mountains, from the superstitious dread they have of the spirits with which the summits of the higher hills are supposed to be peopled: everything upon them is sacred to the spirit of the place, and having got them to the top, it was difficult to teach them to be of any service. They would by no means be instrumental in destroying a stick, or shrub, to make us a tent or fire, until they had seen that no harm occurred to the Malays, who had no scruples of the kind." (p. 245.)

When Sir Spencer St. John with Sir Hugh Low ascended Kina Balu the guide Lemaing carried an enormous bundle of charms which he used to solicit the spirits of the mountain to favour the travellers. (St. John i. 268.) Among the detached rocks and in the crevices grew a kind of moss, on which the Ida'an guides declared the spirits of their ancestors fed. A grass also was pointed out that served for the support of the ghostly buffaloes which always followed their masters to the other world. As a proof, the print of a foot was shown me as that of a young buffalo; but it was not very distinct, but appeared more like the impression left by a goat or deer (i. 273), and later on on the same day the same guides feared to spend one night in this abode of spirits. (*ibid.*)

Mr. Whitehead had a similar experience on the same mountain. Kuro his guide said a dragon lived in a certain hole. The dragon, said the guide, "has been heard to roar once to-day by himself and Kabong—Mr. Low, he says, also heard it; but unfortunately one of my men fired off a gun, which the dragon objected to, so he did not roar again. . . . Kuro stands upright, with a miserable cockerel under his left arm, the bird's tail to the front. He now commenced another prayer to the spirits of the Dusun valhalla: part of his prayer is about myself, 'Tuhan Burong' (my Malay name) and 'tembilang' (the Dusun word for bird) being frequently heard; he is also telling these invisible ghosts by which we are surrounded that we do not wish to do any harm; at intervals of perhaps half a minute he jerks out a long feather from the chicken's tail, and by the time he has finished his incantations the bird's tail-feathers are planted upright in a row in a small crevice in the rock at his feet." (p. 174.)

This may have something to do with the Dusun tradition related by Mr. De Crespigny: "They have not, so far as I could discover, any religion, but they revere the name of Kina, their first leader, who having brought them to

this land from another, ascended the mountain Kinibalu, and was no more seen of men. They also kept in remembrance the name of Hung-sum-ping, the brother of the Emperor of China, and Male-Kbata, from the same country, whose names are connected with a curious legend." (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. ii., 1858, p. 347.)

On one occasion Mr. Hatton's party camped at the foot of Mount Mentapom, and he fired his gun "several times as a signal to a prahu which had not yet come up. Some Dusuns who were fishing asked him not to fire, as it 'made the spirits on Mentapom angry, and we should sure to get rain. I cannot tell how they got hold of this curious superstition, but sure enough half an hour afterwards the rain came down in torrents.'" (Diary, 20 Mar.)

"On the Samarahan River, among the aborigines, there is a superstition that they must not laugh at a dog or snake crossing their path. Should they do so, they would become stones. These Dyaks always refer with respect and awe to some rocks scattered over the summit of a hill in Sadong, saying that they were originally men. The place was a very likely one to be haunted—noble old forest, but seldom visited. They tell the following story:—Many years ago a great chief gave a feast there, in the midst of which his lovely daughter came in: she was a spoilt child, who did nothing but annoy the guests. They at first tried to get rid of her by mixing dirt with her food; finding she still teased them for more, they gave her poison. Her father, in his anger, went back to his house, shaved his dog, and painted him with alternate streaks of black and white. Then giving him some intoxicating drink, he carried him in his arms into the midst of the assembly, and placed him on the ground. The dog began to caper about in the most ludicrous manner, which set all off laughing, the host as well as the guests, and they were immediately turned into stone." (St. John i. 229.)

#### CURIOUS MOUNDS.

Bishop Chambers relates, but does not state where: "On the road we passed a heap of sticks and grass, to which Iambai called my attention, saying, *Tugong pamula Minggi*, i.e., the heap of the lie of Minggi. He explained that Minggi, either in jest or malice, had reported the death of Sali's son, and thus according to Dyak custom, caused the whole house to rest from farm labour. To mark their displeasure they had made this heap, to which every passer-by is bound to add. This is not a custom of our Balow Dyaks, but I heard of its existence among the Undups. Minggi had apparently set fire to this, but it was growing again. I am told a heap sometimes accumulates until it reaches an immense height." (Miss. Field, 1867, p. 90.)

"There is a custom existing among the Sea Dyaks of the Batang Lupar which I have not heard of elsewhere. Beside one of the paths in the Undup district there are several heaps of sticks; and in other places, of stones, called *tambun bula*, or lying heaps. Each heap is in remembrance of some man who has told a stupendous lie, or disgracefully failed in carrying out an engagement; and every passer-by takes a stick or a stone to add to the accumulation, saying, at the time he does it, 'For So-and-so's lying heap.' It goes on for

generations, until they sometimes forget who it was that told the lie; but, notwithstanding that, they continue throwing the stone.

"At another place, near many cross roads, there is a tree on which are hung innumerable pieces of rag; each person passing tears a little bit of cloth from his costume and sticks it there. They have forgotten the origin of this practice, but fear for their health if they neglect it. One Dyak observed, 'It is like that custom of some European nations giving passports to those who enter or leave their country.' If this be a true explanation, it is, perhaps, to give the spirits of the woods notice who have passed that way, and the Dayak's observation shows how quick they are, and how well they remember what they have heard." (St. John i. 76.)

Sir Chas. Brooke also writes: "The extraordinary custom of hanging rags on trees by the roadside, by every passer-by, and the practice of heaping stones in recollection of some past event, are found here [among Sea Dyaks] also. But I have only heard of one instance of the former" (i. 63); but later on he says: "In our walk to-day [? among the Undups] we passed two great heaps (*timbun buli*) of stones and bits of wood; each of my followers cast a piece on to the mounds, otherwise they said sickness would befall them. This is a similar (and universal) custom to the sticking of bits of rag on trees." (*ibid.*, ii. 86.)

"The custom of raising a cairn or heap of stones over the grave or about the place where a person has been murdered is also superstitiously observed by the Kayans. In the vicinity of the paths on which we travelled through the jungle of the interior I observed several cairns, none of which my Kayan companions would pass without severally adding to the stone heap." (Burns, *Jour. Ind. Arch.* iii. 148.)

## CHAPTER XIII.

### DAILY LIFE, FIRE, FOOD, AND NARCOTICS.

DAILY LIFE: Villages in picturesque spots—Land Dyak daily life—An unquiet night—Sleep—Meals—*Panchurs*—Hard-worked women—Influence of women—Female etiquette—Women's opinions—Women Sea Dyaks' daily life—Sociability—No idlers—Another scene—Kiau woman's standard—Men's occupation—Dusun evening amusements—Cleanliness—Dusuns' daily life—Muruts' daily life—Young men's games—Trials of strength—Natural concerts—Jumping—Other games—Whittling—Football—Swings—Greased poles—Slapping—*Pantuns*, riddles, proverbs, &c. FIRE: Mr. Skertchly's paper—Fire-syringe—Fire-drill—Fire-saw—Bamboo and pottery percussion—Steel and flint—Torches. FOOD: General foods—Large variety—Roasting birds—Cooking fish—*Prioks*—Bambu boiling—Manner of eating—Reptilia—Malanau grubs—Murut foods—Dusun foods—Curious pig-killing—Undisturbed meals—Earth-eating—Cakes—Treacle—Vinegar—Food preservation, salting and drying—Famines—High food—SALT—How prepared—Taming savages by withholding salt—WATER-DRINKING—TABUED FOODS—Deer genus—Other animals—Reasons for the *tabu*—Killing animals *tabu*—New rice—POTTERY—Out of use—How made. NARCOTICS: RICE DRINKS—Female incentives—Boastfulness—Not drunkards—PALM WINE—How obtained—Sherry cobbler—SIRI—Its universal use—TOBACCO—Cigars—Quids—Hubble-bubbles—Wild tobacco—*Caladium* as tobacco.

### DAILY LIFE.

MR. GRANT gives a pretty sketch of Land Dyak life. "Dyaks, without perhaps possessing much taste for the beautiful, are generally, however, guided by habit and necessity (hill and water) to the most picturesque spots whereon to build their villages. This is illustrated by the position of Semban. Situated on a pleasant elevation, its approach was through a grove of *gamuti* palm-trees. This palm-tree produces a sort of sugar, arrack, and a material used for making ropes. A bamboo *panchur*, or aqueduct, perched on high supports, brought down water from a neighbouring hill. As we approached, a group of children were playing at the foot of the hill, while at the end of the aqueduct stood several women bathing themselves or washing their babies. Cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees, duriens, bananas, with their large leaves, and other fruit-trees, encompassed the whole. I left *Becharas* till the morning, as I was more inclined to rest and let the people go on that night with their feast, a pig having just been beheaded. Before retiring for the night I watched the men dancing on the *jungkar*, in the bright moonlight, the people being seated around, and the musicians, gongs, &c., located under a shed in the centre of the platform." (p. 51.) And he continues: "If you are entering the village, you may see the 'goodwife' and her daughter pounding away at the paddy, and it is evident the former knows, if it is not done, she and her family will have to starve on the morrow. And there comes her husband from a hunting expedition, or from some distant jungle exploration, during which he

has been choosing a place for his next year's farm; and that little boy with him, he is hardly old enough to help his father on the farm. So think you, my civilized friend, but just look at his little hands and see whether they have not been blistered and hardened by the use of sword and axe, and observe the

young imp sit down and prepare his betel and *sirih* mixture and put it in his little mouth as knowingly as his elders. Peeping into the room you may see some old woman, who, from her wizened appearance, rough skin, and red-stained mouth, you take for a centenarian at least. But no, she has seen but fifty or sixty harvests, and, poor old woman, she has laboured very, very hard to bring them about; she has carried great heavy loads of water from the well, down the hill yonder, to the house, and she has borne great weights of firewood, which would have bent your back double long ago, for these forty years past. Yet she has been happy in her work, and she is the mother of the matron in the verandah, and the grandmother of those little urchins rolling and kicking about on the floor there, and laughing and crying in the very same way that all children play and laugh and cry all the world over." (p. 56.)



#### SKARAN BASKET.

The faint transverse lines right to left downwards indicate red coloured plaits, the intermediate dark lines indicate black plaits. The four sides of the basket are double, the outside being worked on to inside, which is plain cross (herringbone) plaiting. The bottom is not double. Height, 10 in.

Below enlarged drawing to show internal attachment of the matting to the wooden rim

(Leggatt Coll.)

On one occasion Mr. Grant and his friend Mr. Chalmers had an unpleasant night, but one which does not appear to be anything out of the ordinary in a Dyak village. "We soon retired to our mosquito curtains; but about ten o'clock I was aroused from my first sleep by a strange screeching sound; presently, I was still further startled by a tremendous gruff 'Get away' from my friend C—. I shouted too, but the fear inspired by our shouts was

of short duration. The dog (for dog it was) which excited our wrath seemed to be sympathising with an unfortunate puppy that had tumbled down through the open lath flooring of the houses, and was venting its grief in a fearfully shrill howl. Our ejaculations of anger were now of no avail, for the whole tribe of aboriginal dogs set up a grand canine concert, which lasted for some time. At last they stopped. Our peace, however, was of short duration; for,

before long, a pig, having discovered something to eat under the house, grunted forth his satisfaction ; so all the pigs grunted too, and, when they found that the treasure was only enough for one, they squeaked at each other until I was heartily tired of it, and till at last they got tired too. For the second time I now turned over for a regular set-to, intending to sleep soundly for the rest of the night ; but no—disturbance number three must commence. Aboriginal cocks, unlike all other cocks, who wait for dawn, must needs set up a ‘cock-a-roolla-loo’ periodically all through the night : eleven o’clock p.m. and three a.m. are favourite times. First one, and then the whole of the other cocks take up the tune and crow also. We will pass over sundry feline combats ; and now the first grey streak of dawn is showing itself above the eastern horizon, and some hundred aboriginal mothers, with their respective hundred babies, are beginning to open their eyelids—the opening of which is immediately followed by that of their infantine lips, producing an effect on the mind anything but sublime. The morning nap, after this night of disturbed dreams, was indeed luxurious.” (p. 85.)

As Sir James Brooke says : “ Their sleep is short and interrupted ; they constantly rise, blow up the fire, and look out on the night : it is rarely that some or other of them are not on the move.” (Keppel ii. 134.)

“ The Land Dyaks make three chief meals a day, at seven or eight in the morning, at twelve, and at five or six in the evening. This they do when they are at home during their rest-time. When they work hard in their farms they often dispense with one or two of these meals, also when travelling.” (Houghton, M.A.S., iii. p. 198.)

Regarding the *panchurs* or aqueducts above referred to, and which seem to be common to all hilly settled parts of the country, Mr. Wallace writes : “ Water is brought to the houses by little aqueducts formed of large bamboos split in half and supported on crossed sticks of various heights so as to give it a regular fall.” (i. 126.) “ Pipes of bamboo are laid by the Dusuns at the crossings of most of the numerous streamlets, and also lead to the fields, forming neat little fountains (native aqueduct).” (Witti’s Diary, 26 Nov.)

Mr. Burbidge mentions near Brunei such an aqueduct in which water was brought from nearly a mile off (p. 167) and later on (p. 263) he speaks of

one amongst the Dusuns “ so that one has only to stoop very slightly to drink and water vessels are readily replenished.” But water is not always so handy. “ The water which supplies the upper tompok is a great distance from the village, the hill having to be descended some 300 steps before the *panchur* is arrived at ; it necessitates a long descent and ascent for the



MAT BOTTLE.  
 1/2 real size W. Borneo  
 (Leiden Mus.)

GOURD,  
 Handled for carrying water  
 which enters and comes out of  
 the handle holes. Height, gin.  
 Sarebas.  
 (Leggatt Coll.)

unfortunate women and girls, who, as in all Dyak villages, are the carriers of wood and water. The supply of water too at the *panchur* is not great and I fancy in dry weather would soon run short. I felt for these unfortunate Dyak women and girls as they toiled up the steep ascent from the *panchur*, groaning under the weight of the lengths of bamboo filled with water which they were carrying to the village, and I was not surprised to learn that the Dyak women are short-lived, and the Jaguis particularly so. Many of the women I am told run away, and seek husbands amongst the Malay, Chinese and Boyans in the neighbourhood. At Jagui one of the relations of the Orang Kaya had run off with a Boyan from Tegora, and though brought back had again eloped." (Denison, ch. iii. p. 33.) Both men and women and the children, when old enough, work at the farms; in the domestic economy the women "are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water; and the men look for relishes to their rice, in the shape of pigs, deer, snakes, monkeys, and esculent roots, in the jungle, and occasionally make ends meet by doing a little fishing." (Chalmer's O.P., p. 2.)

"The gentler sex are even more important really than the men. They occupy positions, and are capable of exerting surprising influence. . . . The most trying house-work is beating out, or husking the padi, which is placed in a wooden trough, and pounded by a long heavy pole held in upright attitudes. Sometimes as many as four and five women work together, keeping exact time, accompanied with far more noise than thrashing out wheat in England. Their time is occupied from the time of youth, first in water-carrying, feeding poultry and pigs, learning, and then making cloths, and mats; then again in farming and padi husking, and last, though not least, in watching their bairns, which come into the world without much ado or attention from nurses. . . .

There is a strict etiquette among the Dyaks, more particularly among the females; the inmates of two

houses, within twenty yards of one another, may be strangers, and never go into one another's houses; meeting or passing, they merely make the casual observations of distant acquaintances. The Dyaks are particular in this respect, and any person infringing the customary modes, would be treated as a fool or an idiot. . . . I gradually made many friends among the people, particularly

DYAK *Slabbit* BASKET.  
For carrying loads on the back.  
(Leggall Coll.)

the female part of the community. I soon learnt that great power and influence attached to their opinions on matters in general, and that to stand well with them was more than half any Dyak battle. . . . At Briaun small parties of Dyak women are frequently to be seen wandering over these hills, and never without carrying a knife, which they use for various purposes, particularly for cutting vegetables or other edibles. On meeting any of them the never-failing questions pass—Where are you going? or, From whence have you come? It is desirable to answer politely.” (Brooke i. 66, 68, 129, 130, 207.)

“As we shall see further on, the Sea Dyak women have no reason to murmur at their condition. Their wants are few and easily satisfied. They are eminently stay-at-home people, and rarely visit, being fond of home and of domestic life. They have perhaps rather more than a fair share of labour, but this is always the case where the men spend so much time on the war-path, and as the women keep the men up to the mark in this respect, they are scarcely to be pitied if extra work fall to their lot.

“They are earlier risers than the men, and retire to bed earlier. They rise in fact with the earliest peep of dawn to light the fires and open the windows. They then bathe in the river, scrubbing themselves with rough pebbles and cleansing the pores of the skin with the powder of the *langir* fruit, which lathers well and effectually removes all impurities. They do not clean the teeth, but they rub the gums with the fingers and rinse the mouth and throat. The children are washed at the same time. The men do not bathe early in the morning on account of the chill, but always do so when perspiring from exertion, as while walking, &c., and dry themselves for a few minutes in the sun before putting on their *chawats* (loin-cloths).

“The women’s next duty is to prepare the morning meal. They eat with the men or not as they please, but they generally prefer to feed with the children after the men have finished. When breakfast is all over they clean up the crockery and brush the floor. The pigs and poultry are fed with the refuse, as are also the dogs.

“They are now ready to accompany the men to the farm, or if not required they pursue their own occupations, which are various and manifold. As it is necessary to provide vegetables for the next meal, they visit their gardens for this purpose and bring home with them whatever they may be able to find in them, viz.:—cucumbers, pumpkins, melons, capsicums, &c. Tapioca leaves, cucumber leaves, and sweet potato leaves are used by them as much as anything else, and they are fond of them when boiled in water.

“Sometimes when they have the time to spare, or are desirous of a change of diet, they go out fishing with scoop nets. It is the business of the men to provide pork, venison, and fresh fish, but the preserving is done by the women, who smoke or pickle according to fancy. There is never a want of firewood in a Dyak house; one of the first duties of a husband is to provide this, or he gets into bad odour with his wife or mother-in-law. The wood is smoked until every particle of moisture is evaporated out, and it becomes brittle and hard. If the women go out in the forenoon upon expeditions of the above kind, they have to be back again by the middle of the day to cook the mid-

day meal. If they are busy on the farm, and mean to make a day of it with the family, they take what rice they require with them early in the morning and cook it on the spot to avoid the journey to and fro.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon they pound a measure of paddy with heavy wooden pestles to free it from the husk; each woman is provided with a heavy mortar which is placed either in the *tempuan* or thoroughfare, or inside the *bilich* or room, and two women pound away at each. At 4 p.m. they bathe, and at 5 p.m. they are busy cooking for the third and last meal of the day. After the things are cleared away they hang up the mosquito curtains, and put the children to bed, while they sit up for an hour or two to converse with the men, and retire to rest when tired.

SAREBAS DYAK  
POINTED  
SEED BASKET.  
Patterns in red,  
black and white  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

"In addition to the above routine of daily labour, they have a variety of things to do, and are never idle. They have to fetch drinking water and to nurse the babies, and when they are tired of carrying them about in their arms, they strap them on to their back with a cloth. It is also their duty to put the paddy out to dry on the *tanju* (open air platform) and to watch it from the *ruai* (covered verandah) to keep the fowls away from it. They have besides to prepare the cotton, and to spin the yarn, to prepare the dyes, and to weave clothing for themselves and their families. After the harvest, they brew the toddy, which is preserved in jars and produced upon special occasions as a great treat. So that altogether they have generally as much work as they can well get through." (Brooke Low.)

"The Sea Dayaks are a very sociable people, and love to have their families around them; grandfathers spoil their grandchildren; and during the heavy work of the harvest, the very old ones stay at home surrounded by merry groups of young ones. . . . The work of the family is divided, though perhaps the female has most continued labour. The man builds and repairs the houses and boats, fells all the heavy timber at the farm, brings home the firewood, and very often nurses the baby. . . . A wife is also expected to be polite to visitors, to bring out her finest mats, and offer the interminable areca nut to her guests." (St. John i. 49, 56.)

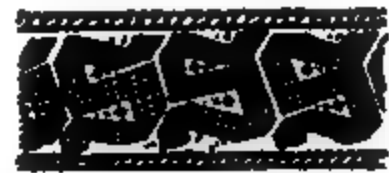
KANOWIT OPEN BASKET  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

Of the Undups Mr. Crossland writes: "Agriculture is their business, though they turn their hands to almost everything,—house building, boat building, blacksmith's work. You rarely see a Dyak idle." (Miss. Life, 1867, p. 71.) And Bishop McDougall: "The Dyak is not lazy. He will not work, it is true, in the way we want, but he has always something to do—cutting implements or making domestic articles. The women, too, work very hard." (T.E.S. ii. 28.)

The following picture is by Mr. Hornaday (p. 356): "From the numerous posts which ran up through the house there hung a great many deer antlers,

lower jaws of wild boar, parangs, back-baskets (*juahs*), fish-traps, paddles and spears. Naked children scudded hither and thither over the floor, chasing the fowls, teasing the dogs, and playing with the little gibbon, all of which rightfully belonged to the population of the village. As we entered, we found a young woman with a five-foot bamboo pail on her shoulder just starting to the river for water; one man was sitting on the floor making a fish-trap, and another was hewing out a new door with his *biliang*, or adze-axe."

Mr. Burbidge, showing the Kiau people some photographs, found they "were particularly interested in that of one lady, and examined it very attentively; not a bead or button escaped their quick eyes; but they soon began asking questions. Was she married? How many children had she? Was she a good wife? I asked what they meant by the last question. 'Well,'



PATTERNS ON KANOWIT BASKETS IN THE BROOKE LOW COLL

they answered, 'did she bring plenty of firewood and kaladi in? And could she clean padi (rice) well?' Thus a woman among these thrifty villagers earns her good name as a wife by her capacity for physical labour." (p. 111.)

"The Kiau men during their leisure make numbers of neat round sun-hats, baskets, rattan mats, bark ropes, and other articles which they sell at tamels (markets). The bamboo sun-hat I never saw being made in Melangkap. The Kiaus must derive a good deal of wealth from this article of commerce." (Whitehead, p. 157.)

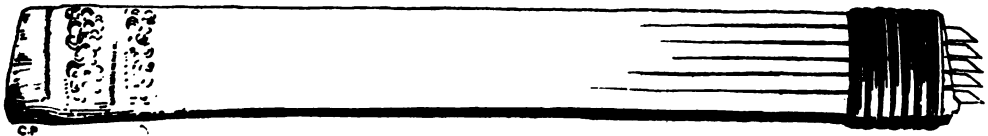
Of the home life of the Dusuns, generally, Lieut. de Crespigny thus writes: "The Dusuns commenced their evening amusements; the men mending their river nets, carving handles for their swords, tops for their spear heads, the women busy at their basket work." He went to sleep about midnight, and from time to time drowsily opened his eyes as a burst of louder

laughter struck his ear. "At what time they retired I know not, but on my awakening on the following morning at early dawn, I found my savage friends all up and busy pounding rice for the morning meal. . . . Near me were two children playing at cat's-cradle, exactly as I remembered to have played it in my own childhood." (Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. ii. 1858, p. 344.)

"In their social institutions the Dusuns, or Idään, are cleanly in their habits, and their dwellings are neat and tidy in the interior." (*ibid*, p. 349.)

With regard to such cleanliness, however, Mr. Whitehead's experience appears to have been very different: "A mother seldom washes herself or her children, some of the latter being besmeared from head to foot with mud and filth, in which state they remain for months. A child of Kuro's had a mark on the centre of its chest as though some lump of mud had been thrown at it; the pattern of this dirt was there during the whole time we remained in Kiau—nearly three months." (Whitehead, p. 115.)

Nevertheless, their home life is apparently happy; "disputes, considering that often several families occupy the same house, are rare. The Dusun is an early riser. . . . His bed is a broad plank, his pillow a small block of wood the size of a brick, which . . . is placed under the neck. Those



KNIFE.

Made of five small brass blades fitted to a bambu handle; used for splitting pandanus leaves for making mats. Cagayan-sulu. Length, 9in.

(Edinbro' Mus.)

that have them wear sarongs at night, but many have nothing but their thin cotton clothes to sleep in. . . . They sleep in the private apartment, the family huddling together for warmth; a fire is kept up until nearly daylight, when their puffing attempts amongst the dead embers may often be heard. Before daylight has fairly established itself . . . the Dusun girls rise to pound the rice—to separate it from the husk—for the family's daily wants. After a slight repast most of the household leave their homes for their outdoor avocations, until four o'clock in the afternoon, when they return loaded with provisions—from their gardens—and firewood. The men then busy themselves with the various manufactures, already mentioned. About dusk the evening meal is partaken of." (*ibid*, pp. 108-9.)

"Among the Dusuns the men till and hunt, the women carrying wood and water and attending principally to household duties, seldom going afield except when all hands are wanted." (Denison, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 184.)

"Among the Muruts the women till the soil and reap the padi, roam the forest in search of edible leaves and fungi, while the men hunt, fish, and make war, and when not employed in any of these occupations remain idle, as they never help the women in the fields." (*ibid*, p. 184.)

" . . . . About twenty boys [Hill Dyaks] were playing at a game something like what we call prisoners' base." (Wallace, i. 103.) "The Hill Dyak young men first had a trial of strength, two boys sitting opposite each other, foot being placed against foot, and a stout stick grasped by both their hands. Each then tried to throw himself back, so as to raise his adversary up from the ground, either by main strength or by a sudden effort. Then one of the men would try his strength against two or three of the boys; and afterwards they each grasped their own ankle with a hand, and while one stood as firm as he could, the other swung himself round on one leg, so as to strike the other's free leg, and try to overthrow him. When these games had been played all round with varying success, we had a novel kind of concert. Some placed a leg across the knee and struck the fingers sharply on the ankle, others beat their arms against their sides like a cock when he is going to crow, thus making a great variety of clapping sounds, while another with his hand under his arm-pit produced a deep trumpet note; and as they all kept time very well, the effect was by no means unpleasing. This seemed quite a favourite amusement with them, and they kept it up with much spirit." (*ibid*, i. 105.)

Sir Chas. Brooke once found his men, during an expedition, trying their skill in jumping. "The natives do not, as a rule, excel in this exercise, and few can compete with a moderate white jumper." (ii. 264.)

"The Undups are good wrestlers, and a favourite amusement is to wrestle in the water." (Crossland.) "Another game is to put two fingers of one opponent against two fingers of another, the elbows being placed on a table or log, each party trying to force the others fingers backward. Then they have spill catching, the spills are placed on the palm of the hand, thrown up, and have to be caught on the back of the hand, and *vice-versa*." (Crossland.)

We have already seen that tops are played with by children. Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell writes me of the Sea Dyaks:—"The boys play games, but, with the exception of the top, the young men look upon games as beneath them. They spend their evenings and spare time principally in whittling with a knife, carving a parang handle, making a parang sheath, or a paddle, fishing-net, and things of that kind."

Mr. Burbidge describes "watching the young Kadyans playing at football on the beach. The players stand in a circle, three or four yards in diameter, and the ball is kicked in the air by the player to whom it falls nearest. To do this properly requires great dexterity, as the ball is struck with the sole of the foot; and a party of good players will thus keep a ball in the air for several minutes, by each kicking it upwards just as it is about to fall. The ball itself is a light hollow one, of rattan open-work, about the size of an ordinary cricket ball; and the game closely resembles shuttle-cock, as played in China." (Burbidge, p. 243.)

At Mukah as "we were passing down we saw many swings erected, and large numbers congregated around them, who were swinging and yelling with every demonstration of lightheartedness and freedom. These swings consist of a stout single rattan attached to a high derrick, having guys to keep it from swaying to and fro; the end of the rattan has a loop within a few feet

of the ground; a ladder is erected at the distance at which the end of the rattan describes its circle. A man then takes the loop up the steps, places his foot in it, and swings off from the top of the ladder, holding by his hands to the rattan. On its returning, another man jumps from the ladder on the swing, sometimes two at a time; and this goes on time after time, until there are as many as ten or twelve swinging together, clinging on by each other's arms or legs. While in this position they strike up a monotonous dirge, beseeching the spirits for a plentiful harvest of sagu and fruit and a successful fishing season. They often get bad falls during this amusement." (Brooke ii. 226.) Sir Sp. St. John says of these Malanau swings: "One about forty feet in height was fastened to strong poles arranged as a triangle, and kept firm in its position by ropes like the shrouds of a ship. From the top hung a strong cane rope, with a large ring or hoop at the end. About thirty feet on one side was erected a sloping stage as a starting-point. . . . For the younger children smaller ones were erected, as it required courage and skill to play on the larger." (i. 37.)

Games are also practised at the Sea Dyak feasts, particularly that of climbing up a large greased pole, "the being able to do which is also a necessary qualification of a *pānglimà*, or fighting chief." A piece of pork is attached at the top, and this meat "is the reward of the person whose agility renders him the first to attain this eminence, and the frequent failures in the attempts call forth from the gazing crowd bursts of laughter, as loud and long continued as from those who gaze at the similar spectacle at an English country fair." (Low, p. 208.) The Bishop also refers to this amusement, but amongst the Land Dyaks: "they had public games, a greased pole to climb, surmounted by a brass ball, and with two arms of wood, from which depended the prizes of fowls, which belonged to whoever could reach them. On the pole, were carved images of lizards, and crocodiles, to measure how high each man could ascend. This tribe, living on the Quop river, is very prosperous." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 75.)

Madame Pfeiffer describes the following game: "A man lay on the ground stretched out motionless and half-a-dozen youths let fly at his body alternately with the flat of the hand. I thought the man was dead and was astonished at the extraordinary ceremony which was being carried out on his body. But after a little while the supposed dead suddenly jumped up amidst the resounding laughter of the youths and the game was at an end." (p. 99.)

"The evening amusements are story telling, enigmas for solution, *pantuns* (riddles), proverbial and popular sayings, rhymes, incantations, doggerel nursery rhymes, verse charms, &c." (Brooke Low.)

The following are some of the above taken from Mr. Brooke Low's notes, but the answer or explanations are not always clear:—

PROVERB: *Nyamai ari renyuan ulih mubok*  
*Nyamai ari engkelulut ulih merok.*

Sweeter than the *renyuan* honey obtained by digging the comb out of the hollow tree. Sweeter than the *engkelulut* honey which is pressed from the comb.

The *renyuan* and *engkelulut* are two varieties of bees.

SAYING : *Ngaga baka Bakatan, ngaga baka Kayan ;  
Enda mri priok, enda mri genok.*

He makes himself like a Bakatan, he makes himself like a Kayan—he will not give a cooking pot, he will not give a water gourd.

Spoken in contempt of a man who is inhospitable and will not give his visitors food and drink.

SAYING : *Sajalai turun, sajalai mantun,  
Sajalai makai, sajalai pinggai.*

Together they farm, together they weed, together they eat, together they eat from one plate.

Said of people who are closely attached to each other and agree well together.

RIDDLE : *Indai Uik pesandik enggau batik labong Betawi  
Indai Ua bema enggau pua rebor api.*

What is it which the mother of Uik carries in a fine Batavia head-handkerchief, and the mother of Ua in a flame-coloured red blanket ?

Answer : *Rumput teka-meda ia lekat ka baju, &c.*—Love grass, which sticks in one's clothes.

RIDDLE : *Laja Apai Sali enda alah tesa s'ari.*

The darts of the father of Sali cannot be counted in a whole day.

Answer : *Ujan* = The rain drops.

SAYING : *Dini aku idup ? inggap mati, trebai mati.*

How can I live ? if I alight I die, if I fly away I die also.

Expressive of finding oneself in a dilemma. The metaphor is of a bird at which a gun or blow-pipe is being aimed.

SAYING : *Ngiga asi pemakai,  
Ngiga tanah endor bumai,  
Ngiga ai endor mansai.*

Seeking for rice to eat.

Seeking for land to farm.

Seeking for water to fish in (drag with basket).

This is in answer to a question asked and is probably equivalent to the English 'Mind your own business' ! as none of the things mentioned are things that a Dyak is without.

SAYING : *Ngagai bintang, ngagai tarang,  
Ngagai bulan, ngagai awan.*

I am going to the stars and to the light, I am going to the moon, and to the sky.

PROVERB : *Laia mesai tunjok, mesai tempok  
Mati di manok, mati di besi.*

A quarrel as large as your finger, as large as can be grasped in the closed fist, dies in a fowl and in a piece of iron—i.e. a quarrel, even of small dimension, is not settled until a fowl and a chopping sword has been paid over.

Moral : Don't quarrel.

PROVERB: *Besai lengau, besai enteran.*

A big arm (and) a large spear halt—*i.e.* a strong arm carries a large spear—(or does great deeds).

RIDDLE: *Ai nyalin nyanggau sa rantau mudik ka ulu.*

*Batang Mengkuang nyadau munyi sangkut gendang ayu.*

The water pours out from under the overhanging arch and runs a whole reach up river. The upright stem like Mengkuang tree sounds like the buzzing and beating of a drum.

Answer: A paddle steamer—the funnel is likened to the straight stem of the Mengkuang tree.

RIDDLE: *Embit betikai burit kulit jelu rasong,*

*Sumang-umang mungga batang enda kepong.*

*Embit* wears a stern-mat of the skin of the proboscis monkey. *Sumang-umang* cuts at the wood but never gets through it.

Answer: *Entekong* = a scare-crow.

The scare-crow is a piece of palm leaf matting suspended from a stick on the farm, and being blown about by the wind strikes a bambu. The shape of this palm leaf sail is supposed to resemble a *tikai burit* (stern mat).

RIDDLE: *Ulu Kumpang duduk di selong panjai klingkang manjong Akai! Akai!*

*Ulu Balau duduk di kubau betarangan ngumbai diri parai.*

The Kumpang slaves sit in the wire circle shouting oh dear! oh dear! The Balau slaves sit in the house shouting altogether that they are dying.

Answer: *Entelit* = Love birds (in captivity).

RIDDLE: *Aki Ungkok datai ari ai nyurok, nemu batu pesok, dia iya betemu enggau aki Simpang-impang, enggau Aki antu raga; beguai-guai ka ngagai bukit tuchong Sadok ka ngalah ka Rentap, di bukit tuchong Sadok. Nyepi diri enda talah ka Rentap di tuchong bukit Sadok beguai guai pulai ari nya ngagai pasir Sabulok ari ili telok nanga Simanggang. Dia iya bebuai katapai kalambi baju bok, beguai guai betapok di batu pesok ngagai rabong ringgang ringgang.*

The man in the moon came through the water tunnel and found a stone with a hole through it. There he met with the grandfather of Simpang and grandfather of Antu raga. He then hastened to the top of Mount Sadok to fight there against Rentap, but feeling that he could not conquer Rentap he made haste back to the sands of Sabulok below Simanggang. There he hurriedly threw away the fringe of his war-jacket, and in secret made his way through the pierced stone to the summit of the two-horned mountain.

Answer: *Padi.*

RIDDLE: *Brang enggi Balang numbang ka manoa*

*Iku sirat enggi Unggat tepat nyadi raja*

*Lengan enggi Kanyan ngentam ngaloh ka bala*

*Dan baroh enggi Igoh bebunoh laban Blanda.*

Balang's arms vanquish the country,

The tail of Unggat's waistcloth seeks to heap up riches,

Kanyan's forearm is stretched out to conquer the army,

The lower branch of Igoh seeks to slay the Dutchmen.

Answer : *Orang nabur brau kuning* = One sowing yellow rice.

The scattering of yellow rice in a man's path signifies paying the highest honours possible to a man.

RIDDLE : *Di-entam bala Kayan ngasoh iya ngetan duga duga.*

*Di-tempoh bala Maloh, ngasoh iya kiroh begaga dampa.*

What is that which if attacked by an army of Kayans is only made to sit tighter, and being surprised by an army of Malohs is more concerned in the making of his house ?

Answer : *Tanghang* = An oyster.

RIDDLE : *Sudu puntul iko di-tegu enda nganu kitai ; naga printik mata ngelala senyata leman utai.*

The *sudu* (snake) with the blunt tail does not hurt us when we touch him ; the *naga* (dragon serpent) with the spotted eyes recognizes the implements of various uses.

Answer : *Datchin* = The steel-yard (for weighing).

RIDDLE : *Laja timpang pah enti iya ngagai enda nyunghak kijang lari ; Gelayan buta mata enti iya ngukir enda nyinkir abi besi.*

Halting Laja, when hunting, does not suffer the antelope to escape ; blind Gelayan, when carving does not fail to leave the mark of his knife.

Answer : *Peti* = A spring trap.

*Timpang Pah* means having one's leg cut off at the thigh.

## FIRE.

THE various methods of procuring fire have been so exhaustively treated by Mr. S. B. J. Skertchly that little has been left of the subject untouched. I have therefore thought it best to reproduce his paper, with such additional notes as may be necessary. In tracing references to the mention of the fire-producing methods in Borneo by others I am indebted to assistance from Mr. Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, where are to be found the implements used for the fire-making sent home by Mr. Skertchly ; the blocks for the illustrations of these articles have been kindly lent me by the Anthropological Institute, which, in the absence of the author, has also given me permission to reproduce the article.

### ON FIRE-MAKING IN NORTH BORNEO.

By SYDNEY B. J. SKERTCHLY, F.G.S., M.A.I.

(From the Jour. Anthr. Institute, Vol. xix.)

THE following notes do not describe any new method of obtaining fire, but they are offered as exact accounts of the processes now in use, and I believe such accounts are as rare as they are useful. Moreover, the rapid spread of matches is steadily replacing the aboriginal methods even among the tribes in the interior of Borneo, who get them from Chinese and Malay traders.

The apparatus sent was all made by my own Dyaks or Cagayan-sulus. I have seen each specimen used successfully by my men, and more or less

unsuccessfully by myself. In the forest I have more than once been reduced, about dinner-time, to the fire-drill.

The orthography of the Dyak words is phonetic. The information was conveyed to me in the Malay language, and I have no Dyak vocabulary.

I may here note a curious expression showing the Malays still class fire as an imponderable. A man will say:—

*Kayu ini jahat, tá bulli kluah api.*

Wood this bad, not will exude fire.

The verb *kluah* is noticeable as showing they believe the fire to reside in the wood. As a Malay elegantly expressed it—

*Ini kayu ada api didalam, seperti bisul nanah.*

The wood has fire inside, just as a boil [has] matter.

### 1.—THE FIRE-SYRINGE.

*i*

FIRE-SYRINGE, or *besi api*, complete with appendages.  
a. Cylinder with piston; b. Piston, removed from cylinder.  
c. Tinder-box; d. Cleaning stick.

HALF OF THE  
BAMBOO-MOULD,  
in which the  
cylinder of the  
fire-syringe is  
cast.

The Dyak name is *Besi api bangka*; the Malay *Besi api timah*.

The literal translation is iron-fire-tin. *Besi* (pr. *biissi*) is "iron," and *api* "fire," in both languages. *Bangka* is "an ingot of tin" in Malay and "tin" in Dyak. *Timah* is "tin" in both languages.

Why the word *besi* is used seems difficult to explain, as no iron enters into its construction. I can only suggest it may be an abbreviation of *tukol besi*, "a hammer," literally "an iron-striker," in which case the name would signify "tin-fire-hammer." In common discourse the machine is simply called *besi api*. I do not think the apparatus was ever made of iron, as the Dyaks do not cast hollow things in iron, nor do I think *besi* can be a Dyak word with a meaning unknown to me.

The fire-syringe is by no means commonly known, and I asked many Dyaks<sup>1</sup> before I found any who could make, or even describe, one. Finally some Kalakas helped me and made the specimens described. The Kalakas

<sup>1</sup> There are no true Dyaks indigenous to North-east Borneo. Those we have are gutta hunters from Sarawak and Brunei. (S. B. J. S.)

come from the west of Sarawak, the tribes in order going west from Sarawak being the Batang Lupa, Seribas, Kalaka, Batang Rejang, [Sir Chas. Brooke mentions this instrument as existing among the Sakarang and Saribus tribes—they likewise call it *besi api*. (i. 50-51.) H. L. R.]

The parts of a fire-syringe are named as follows:—

English.	Dyak.	Malay.
Cylinder.	Bangka.	Timah.
Piston.	Tāras.	Melayang or Alu.
Tinder.	Umbut.	Lulup.
Tinder box.	Sarong-besi-api.	Tempat-besi-api.
Cleaning stick.	Rotan.	Rotan.

*Bangka*, "tin," is probably from Banea.

*Tāras* is the name of the wood used.

*Melayang* is anything used to pound with; thus the pestle used for pounding padi is called *melayang*.

*Alu* is a "pestle" or "pounding stick."

*Umbut* is simply "tinder."

*Lulup*, or *lulut*, also signifies "tinder," and appears to be connected with *luluh*, "in atoms."

*Sarong* signifies literally a "sheath" or "covering." Thus the typical Malay dress, the *sarong*, is really *sarong kain*, "cloth sarong," stockings are *sarong kaki*, "foot sarongs," a knife sheath is *sarong parong*, or *sarong kris*, and so on. It is both Dyak and Malay.

*Tempat* means literally "a place where anything is done or kept." Thus a bed is *tempat tidur*, "sleeping-place," a water-cask is *tempat ayer*, "water-place," and they called my butterfly-net *tempat koupu koupu*, "butterfly-place."

*Rotan* is, of course, what we call "rattan," schoolmaster's cane and botanist's *calamus*.

The *Cylinder* is made of a mixture of two parts of lead to one of tin. [Lead is *timah hitam*, literally "tin-black," showing that lead is a newer metal than tin to Malays and Dyaks.]

It is cast in a bamboo mould, somewhat as lead pipes are, I believe, cast. The mould is a thin piece of bamboo, split lengthwise, on the interior of which the ornamental bands, &c., are incised.

A piece of flat wood, plank by preference, has a hole made in it the size of the bore. Through this hole a rotan is pushed, which also passes through a lump of clay tempered with sand stuck on the upper surface of the plank. The rotan projects beyond the clay to a distance somewhat greater than the length of the cylinder.

The mould, bound together with split rotan, is placed centrally and vertically over the projecting rotan, thus forming a box closed below with clay, open at the top, and having a rotan in the centre. Into this the molten metal is poured. When cool the rotan is withdrawn, the mould opened, and the cylinder is complete. A good mould will make three or four castings, but, as a rule, the first destroys it.

The measurements of the cylinder are :—

Length,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; width,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch ; bore,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

This is an average size ; larger ones do not work well, smaller ones are of no use.

The ornamentation consists essentially of a double raised moulding about a quarter of an inch from the top and bottom, with sometimes a chevron moulding beneath the upper pair of mouldings. Of course the details vary with the taste and skill of the maker, but I can only describe what I have seen.

The upper mouldings are useful as well as ornamental, the groove between them keeping the cord from slipping which attaches the other pieces of apparatus.

*The Piston* is made of any hard wood, cylindrical, has a knob at the top, and is packed at the bottom for an inch with cloth to render the apparatus air-tight. The end is slightly hollowed for the reception of the tinder.

*The Tinder* that answers best is made from the external covering of the stem of a low palm, called by the Dyaks *apiang*. The basis *api* shows the name is due to the use made of the fluffy material which forms the tinder. I have only found this palm growing on the banks of mountain streams far in the interior. It grows about 30 feet high with the habit of a sago palm—clumpy. The leaves are about 15 feet long, the leaflets of a rough triangular shape with the apex towards the leaf-stalk, and very wrinkled. This puckering is highly characteristic, and

PIECE OF APIANG  
WOOD,  
from which the tinder  
is made.

gives the palm the appearance of having been damaged. The stem is covered with a brown flocculent mass, quite soft. This is scraped off and forms the best tinder.

The *Tinder-box* is a joint of bamboo about an inch thick and two to three inches long. It is ornamented according to the taste and skill of the owner in leisure moments.

The *Cleaning-stick* is simply a piece of rotan, and this and the tinder-box are attached to the syringe by threads.

To use the syringe a small piece of tinder is placed in the hollowed end of the piston, which is inserted in the mouth of the cylinder. Holding the

#### SAREBAS FIRE PISTON.

Body and piston of brass, piston handle of wood ; clearing stick of cane, a brass rod, nut for tinder.

(Brit. Mus.)

cylinder in the left hand the knob of the piston is smartly struck with the open right hand, with sufficient force to drive the piston home. The piston is instantly and quickly withdrawn, and the tinder is seen to be alight.<sup>2</sup> Gently breathing on the spark it spreads, fresh tinder is applied, which catches fire immediately; more blowing increases the fire, and first scraped wood and then small sticks catch alight, and a fire is produced. [Mr. Crocker (J. A. I. xv. 426) says: "The natives rarely fail in obtaining a light, and many of them still stick to their tube and tinder in spite of Bryant and May's matches, which are now found all over the country." H.L.R.]

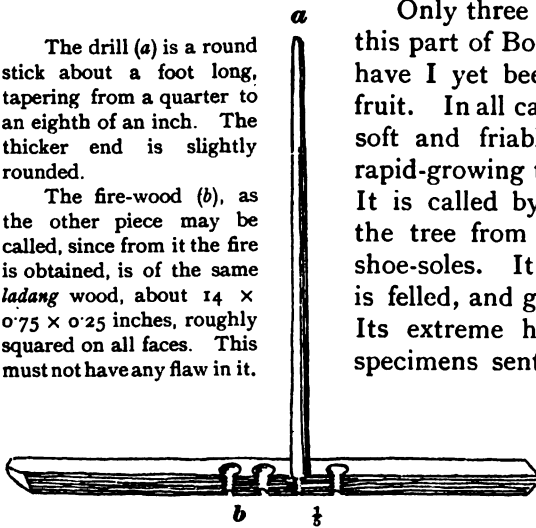
It looks very easy, but I never succeeded, though my son, Mr. E. F. Skertchly, did. The piston soon gets out of order if the packing is not attended to.

## 2.—FIRE DRILL.

This well-known method of fire-making is common to all the natives in this part of Borneo, Malays, Dyaks, Dusuns, Bajows, Cagayans, Sulus, Muruts, Cagayan-sulus, Bugis, &c., but it is getting rare to find a *young* man who knows how to work it, though they soon learn.

The drill (a) is a round stick about a foot long, tapering from a quarter to an eighth of an inch. The thicker end is slightly rounded.

The fire-wood (b), as the other piece may be called, since from it the fire is obtained, is of the same *ladang* wood, about 14 × 0.75 × 0.25 inches, roughly squared on all faces. This must not have any flaw in it.



Only three kinds of wood are used as drills in this part of Borneo, none of which, unfortunately, have I yet been able to identify by flowers or fruit. In all cases the wood is light, even-grained, soft and friable. The commonest is a small rapid-growing tree with huge rhubarb-like leaves. It is called by the Cagayan-sulus *ladang*,<sup>3</sup> as is the tree from whose wood the Japanese make shoe-soles. It starts up anywhere after the forest is felled, and grows twenty feet in the first year. Its extreme height is about thirty feet. The specimens sent home are of this wood. It is a short-lived tree, and it is from the dead trees the wood is taken for fire-making, though that from living trees does as well if thoroughly dried.

The description of fire-making in Australia by Captain Cook, as quoted by Tylor,<sup>4</sup> is very exact, but there are one or two points either omitted or not applicable to the Australian method.

The first operation is to cut a notch or groove down the side, for the dust to fall through. This is not mentioned by Captain Cook, but is always done, and indeed is necessary, as the dust which falls on a little heap on the ground below the hot drill, would otherwise accumulate round the drill on the top of the fire-wood, and be scarcely heated.

<sup>2</sup> I have never seen tinder "burst into flame," as we sometimes read about. No tinder known to me could perform such a feat. It can only smoulder. (S. B. J. S.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ladang* means quick-growing. The tree is also called *penembang*. (S. B. J. S.)

<sup>4</sup> "Early Hist. Mank.," p. 238.

The operator sits on the ground and holds the fire-wood steady with both feet. Then taking the thin end of the drill between the palms of his outstretched hands he plants the rounded thick end a little on one side of the centre of the fire-wood towards the groove, applying considerable pressure.

He then works his hands backwards and forwards, keeping up the pressure, and moving the hands steadily downwards. Arrived at the bottom the hands are slid up again and the process repeated. During the upward motion of the hands the drill is still. At first the motion is slow, about one remove per second. The friction begins to wear a hollow in the fire-wood, and the dust falls down the groove in a little heap.

If the wood be in good condition, the dust, which is the tinder, begins to smoke in about twelve strokes (*i.e.*, twelve removes of the hand upwards). The motion then becomes gradually quicker and quicker till it is very fast, and I have often seen fire got in a hundred strokes within a minute. The usual time is about two minutes, but it may be five or ten if the wood be damp, of bad quality, or the operator unskilful.

As soon as fire is got the spark is gently blown, and the glowing tinder fed with shaved wood till a flame is obtained, blowing being continued all the time.

The drill wears but little, and becomes hard and charred at the end. The fire-wood is usually bored about half-way through before fire is got. The same hole can sometimes be used twice. The holes are charred in the process.

[Prof. A. C. Haddon pointed out that the slot cut in the drill-hole, referred to by Mr. Skertchly, was not made by the Torres Straits Islanders nor by the natives of Queensland, and is therefore not essential to the process. In North Queensland a short sheath is made of bark, covered with bees-wax and ornamented with red seeds and the yellow skin of an orchid, in order to protect the ends of the fire-sticks from damp. In the case of two fire-sticks being made of the same kind of wood, a difference in hardness would be

obtained by the grain of the wood in the one piece being at right-angles to that of the other. (J. A. I., xix. 451.)

Mr. Hose (J. A. I., xxii. 161.), in the Baram district, would seem to think the groove is considered an essential, for he says: "The fire-drill consists of a piece of soft dry wood in which a small groove is cut; into this is inserted the point of a piece of hard wood, and the friction caused by this being turned very rapidly by a movement of the hands results in the smouldering of the small head of dust in the groove, from which a spark is soon obtained." Mr. Marryat, who does not describe the process, gives (p. 89) the accompanying illustration of it. In this sketch the groove

appears to be on the under-side. The Borneo fire-drill is also mentioned in Latham's *Descrip. Ethn.*, i. 89. H. L. R.\*

### 3.—THE FIRE-SAW.

This was a favourite method of fire-making by Pandeka, a Cagayan-sulu, and is quick and effective. There are two varieties of fire-saw, but in both the apparatus is alike and simple.

(a). In the first method two pieces of dry bamboo are taken, one of which may be called the saw, the other the horse.

The saw is a piece split from a large bamboo about nine inches long and one and a half inches wide. In the centre of the outside a fine notch is cut across the saw deep enough to just cut through the central part. The outside is then scraped into fine shavings which are put over the hole for tinder. A few larger shreds are roughly torn up from the inside, but not disconnected from the bamboo, and are bent over the tinder to hold it in place.

The horse is a similar piece of bamboo, somewhat longer than the saw, and having one edge sharpened.

#### THE FIRE-SAW.

To use it the operator sits on the ground, fixes the horse firmly in front of and sloping from him, and takes the saw in both hands, curved side down, tinder uppermost, one hand at each side.

Applying strong pressure he places the notch on the sharp edge of the horse, and steadily works the saw to and from him. In about ten strokes the tinder begins to smoke, the sawing becomes more and more rapid and finally very fast, and the tinder is aglow. Lifting the saw he blows through the hole from the curved side on to the tinder, which is soon all smouldering, and fire is got in the usual way. The usual time is under a minute. I have seen the operation completed in sixty strokes.

This is the common method in Cagayan-sulu.

(b). The second method, in use in Sulu and the native states, Perak, Selangore, &c., is simply a reversal of the process. The sharp-edged bamboo becomes the saw, the tinder-bearing bamboo the horse. The tinder-laden bamboo is fixed curved side uppermost, and the sharp-edged bamboo worked in the notch with a saw-like motion. It is equally effective with the other method, but, I think, not quite so rapid, as a greater pressure can be got with both hands than by one.

\* Mr Taylor, in his book on New Zealand (*Te Ika a Maui*, p. 368), states: "The Dyaks, of Borneo, use a bow and string to cause a pointed stick to revolve on a piece of wood" for the purpose of obtaining fire, but he gives no authority for his statement.

Both saw and horse become charred. The sharp-edged bamboo is worn down into a curve, and the notch in the other deepened in both methods. [I have not elsewhere met in print a mention of the fire-saw as in use in Borneo, but on writing to Sir Hugh Low for an explanation of one of the methods of obtaining fire referred to in his book (p. 203), he replies under date of 5th Jan., 1895: "The Land Dyaks also used in those days (50 years ago) more frequently to obtain it by striking a piece of flint with a wad of tinder, on the under-side of it rapidly against a dry bamboo, drawing it along the cane downwards, one end of the cane resting on a stone or some hard substance, the other they hold in the hand so that the tube presented an angle of about 75 degrees. They often used the sheath of a weapon, or a bamboo in which they carried small articles for this purpose. But these methods are now rarely resorted to, the use of Swedish or Japanese matches being universal in all parts accessible to Malay or Chinese traders." He also writes under same date: "Forests are said to get on fire sometimes by the wind rubbing dry bamboo stems against each other. I saw the charred remains of a forest of bamboos, on a hillside in Upper Sarawak, which the native Land Dyaks told me had been burned in this manner."]

#### 4.—PERCUSSION FROM BAMBU AND POTTERY.

Pandeka, who is most skilful as a fire-maker, often amused me by striking fire with a bit of broken crookery on a bamboo. He holds a long bamboo nearly upright, and taking a little of the scraped inside of bamboo in the hollow of his hand, and the crock between finger and thumb, he strikes a spark from the siliceous coating of the bamboo by one free stroke of the arm. It requires a good, hard, seasonable bamboo to work well.

[In one of his diaries (26 Nov.) Mr. Wittl writes: "The Dusuns have a way of their own in striking fire, steel and flint is replaced by a fragment of china and a small bamboo cane. Their tinder is sure to burn on the first stroke." He reverts to the question later on (Diary, 17 Mar.): "The Kijau Dusuns' manner of making fire is the 'same method as mentioned in a former diary as being in use with the Dusuns further north. No tedious drilling; a fragment of hard pottery, or a mineral with a rough surface is struck on a reed, or old bamboo cane. The tinder principally consists of the epidermis of an orbiscent grass with amplexicaul lanceolate leaves. The cabbages of this plant, called *Badok*, are, by the way, the best of all food resources in a jungle of not strictly primary growth. Our Dusuns prepare that scraped-off epidermis by washing and mixing it with wood, ashes, and the roasted pericarps of the Durian fruit, and that mixture is held for an instant, in a pan over fire. The result is a most sensitive tinder. If no Durian be available, there are substitutes for it." H.L.R.]

So far then we are indebted for our knowledge to Mr. Skertchly's very careful descriptions. To Mr. Skertchly's four methods must be added a fifth, viz:

#### 5.—STEEL AND FLINT.

This method is reported by Sir Hugh Low as in use by the Sea Dyaks (p. 203), and presumably it is in use by the Dusuns occasionally, as may be

inferred from Mr. Witt's remarks above quoted. On the Baram, Mr. Hose says: "Since matches have become an article of commerce, one seldom sees the natives using anything else, but occasionally a flint and steel is produced, and when neither flint and steel nor matches are forthcoming, a fire-drill is made." (J. A. I., xxiii. 160.)<sup>6</sup>

#### TORCHES.

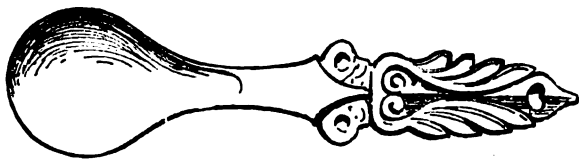
The Land Dyaks have "a little torch made from the gum of a tree put into bamboos and used as oil." (Houghton, M.A.S. iii. 199.) The Rev. Mr. Holland was present at a feast when the "whole place was dimly lighted for the occasion with torches made of bamboo filled with resin and small fires made of resin." (Miss. Field, 1878, p. 540.) Sir Hugh Low says both Dyaks and Malays form torches of the inflammable substance *dammar* "by filling the interior of small bamboo canes with it, which have been previously dried for the purpose." (p. 54.) "These torches are called *suloe*, and burn brightly." (Hornaday, p. 437.) On his way to Mount Dulit, and before entering the caves, Mr. Hose's guides "prepared torches made from the bark of the *maranti* tree, into pieces of which a kind of gum is inserted, which burns brightly." (Geogr. Jour., i. 202.) The Dusun method of making torches is "by pounding the resin and filling up the bamboo joints with the powder, first inserting a wick of dried leaves." (Whitehead, p. 121.) Mr. Witt, when among the Dusuns, writes on one occasion: "In places the ground is strewn with the nuts of the *kamiri* tree, here called *minchangil*, which yields an oil used by the Dyaks as an illuminant; they ascribe to it, however, certain intoxicating properties." (Diary, 24 March.) "In the caves the Land Dyaks are amply provided with torches, each consisting of a number of strips of resinous wood, held together in conical bundles by means of thongs made of bark. The burning ends of these torches are the wide ones, and the Dyaks regulate the amount of light by these strings of bark, so as to economise the torches when detained in the caves. When but little light is required, they slip the rings of bark towards the wide burning ends of the torches, and by thus pressing the strips of wood together, they lessen the supply of air and of light accordingly. When the amount of light requires to be increased, they slip the rings back, the burning ends open up from one another, the torches are rapidly swung round the head two or three times through the air, and forthwith begin to burn brightly." (Dr. Macgregor, p. 11.)

Mr. Burbidge (p. 88) states that at Kalawat the wax of the domestic bees is occasionally used for making a rude sort of wax candle.

#### FOOD.

AMONG the Sarawak Dyaks "the prevailing food is rice boiled in bamboos, with vegetables, *cribung*, yams, cucumbers, &c.; they are fond of pork and fowls. . . . They also catch fish now and then, but in general eat salt fish, as the cheapest, and most easily procurable condiments with their rice. Their cooking utensils are bamboos, which they find in abundance in the jungle, use two or three times and then throw away. Besides these, they use

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Bock, speaking of the Bukkits, mentions their use of flint and steel (p. 244).



KAYAN ORNAMENTED SPOON.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

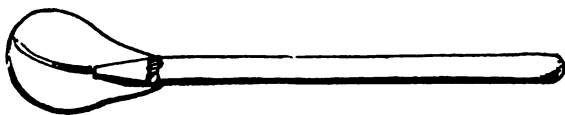
iron saucepans and pots to cook rice, vegetables, meat, &c. . . . Other articles of food are snails, prawns, birds (if any can be got), and certain kinds of monkey. It is said some of the natives

also eat snakes, but this is a matter I will not vouch for." (Houghton, M.A.S. iii., p. 197.) Sir Hugh Low writes: "As all kinds of monkeys are destructive to the rice-fields, the Dyak is equally their enemy, and as these people esteem their flesh as an article of food no opportunity of destroying them is lost." (p. 81.)

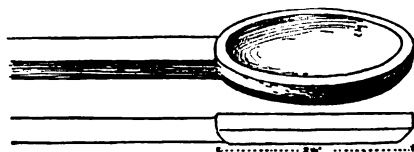


DUSUN HOUSE SPOON.  
Made of joint of bambu. Length, 12in.  
(Brit. Mus.)

Madame Pfeiffer saw a pigeon roasted as follows: "A man wrung its neck, pulled out a few of the longest wing feathers, and threw it on to the fire. Hardly were the other feathers burned, when he took it off, pulled off the head and the extreme wing ends and gave them to an expectant child close by. He then put the pigeon on the fire a second time, but only for a few moments, took it off again, and tore it into six portions, which he divided amongst a similar number of children." (p. 101.)



DUSUN HOUSE SPOON.  
Bowl of coconut with rotan binding. Length, 12in.  
(Brit. Mus.)



PUNAN WOODEN SPOON.  
(Hose Coll.)

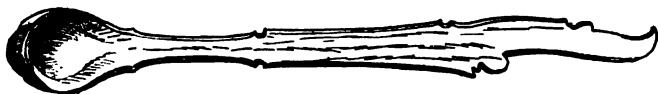
Among the Linga Dyaks Mrs. McDougall "saw some fowls killed, after which they grilled them, feathers, entrails, and all over a fire." (Gosp. Miss. 1857, 1st Aug., p. 119.)

Another writer in the same journal (1 Nov., 1858, p. 165) speaking of the Lundu says: "They do not pluck their poultry, as we do, but scald off the



PUNAN SPATULA.  
Carved out of one piece of wood. 12in. long.  
(Hose Coll.)

feathers, which takes but very little time. The fowl was then cut open, and a piece of bamboo-cane was thrust through it, and inclined over the fire, one end of the stick being secured between two stones."



BAMBU SPOON.  $\frac{1}{2}$  real size. Koti R.  
(Leiden Mus.)

Fish is cooked as follows: "The fish, having

been washed in some creek, is wrapped in a plantain-leaf, and laid upon some thick pieces of wood, which are placed over a clear fire. In a few minutes the fish is beautifully done, and being placed in another leaf, the former one serves as a dish; this, with the addition of the never-failing rice and salt, makes an excellent meal." (Miss Coomes, Gosp. Miss., 1st Nov., 1858, pp. 165-167.)

"Though the Sea Dyaks have numbers of fowls, pigs, and goats, about their houses, they seldom kill them excepting on occasions of general festivity. When they can afford to purchase salt fish from the Malays, they much prefer it to animal food." (Low, 199.)

To cook their food in the open "they drive three pegs into the ground and place the *priok* (jar) on top, fill quarter with rice and fill up with water and when it simmers cover it with leaves. Before the arrival of Europeans the Dyaks used earthen *prioks* made by themselves." (Brooke Low.) They cook their food in bambus "having previously cut the whole animal into small pieces." (Low, 202.) "The proper quantity of rice, fish, or vegetables, are placed with sufficient water in a newly-cut bamboo. The mouth is then stopped up with grass or leaves—preferably leaves which will give a desirable flavour to the food. The bamboo is then placed over the fire, the mouth resting on a stone at an angle of 30° to 45°. By the time that the bamboo is thoroughly charred and is showing signs on the outside of splitting or falling to pieces, the contents are sufficiently cooked. The bamboo is then taken from the fire and the contents shaken out into a plate, or in the case of rice the bamboo is split and torn off in strips when the rice is formed inside a stiff sticky mass moulded to the form of the bamboo." (F. W. Leggatt.)

#### SPOON.

Formed by cutting away one side of a gourd. The end bound with black fibre. Length, 9 in. Longwai (Brit. Mus.)

#### OVIFORM BOWL-SHAPED DISH OF IRONWOOD.

With a kind of spout at one end, and at the other a projecting flat plate grotesquely carved in open work. Length, 15½ in. Longwai (Brit. Mus.)

"The Sea Dyaks eat with their fingers." (Brooke i. 51.) "When eating they squat upon a mat in the centre of the room around the vessels containing the food and all eat with their fingers." (Hornaday, 467.)

"The Dyaks eat their food from the ground for a table; each having taken a portion of rice which he considers sufficient for him, this, if he be not provided with a plate, which many



PESTLE.  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  real size. ~ Koti R.  
 (Leiden Mus.)

CAPSICUM PESTLE AND MORTAR.  
 S E Borneo.  $\frac{1}{2}$  real size  
 (Leiden Mus.)

of them are, is placed upon a clean leaf of the *Dillenia speciosa*, and he dips his hand into the common stock of salt which is placed in the centre of the group. If they have flesh to their repast it is partaken of in a similar manner to the salt. . . . Though they eat from the ground or floor of their houses, they rarely sit cross-legged upon it like the Malays, but have each a small block of wood about three inches in thickness, which they use as a seat by day and a pillow by night. . . . Plates of English manufacture have recently become very general among them. They eat from the plates with their right hand, compressing the rice (which is not cooked dry as that of the Malays) into a ball of convenient size." (Low, pp. 172, 202.)

Mr. Hornaday (p. 388) describes the killing of a snake, adding, "where-upon the Dyak immediately proceeded to roast the serpent on the fire and

strip off the skin, preparatory to making a snake curry." He was told that this people eat large lizards also. "A small *biawak*, a sort of iguana, is much valued by them as a delicate article of food." (Low, p. 84.) "Nearly all the beasts of the forest are eaten by these people, even monkeys, alligators (if small), snakes and other reptiles are esteemed. Like



KAYAN *Uit* OR WOODEN RICE BOWL,  
 with Side Dishes for condiments.  
 (Brooke Low Coll.)

KAYAN DISH.  
 (Brooke Low Coll.)

the French, they regard frogs as a delicate dish, and bestow considerable pains in procuring them." (*ibid*, p. 202.)

The Malanaus cut their fish "very fine and eat raw. This they call *Omi*, and the only food they take with them on their fishing excursions is the top, or cabbage, of the nipa palm. Besides raw fish, they are extremely fond of several kinds of grubs. A fleshy, dingy-coloured grub is gathered from the jungle trees in the month of June by the bushel, the large white grub which is produced in decayed sago palm from the egg of some insect is, however,

preferred, but the 'bonne bouche' consists of a long white, almost transparent, wood-worm, which is obtained by immersing a soft wood named *Taha tangan* under water for about a month, when it is found to be pregnant with this delicious morsel. Whole rafts of this wood are constructed and laid down about October. Monkeys are also reckoned amongst their luxuries." (Crocker, S. G., No. 122.)

Of the main Muruts, Sir Sp. St. John writes, "they plant rice twice a year, one kind called *Assas* being ready in three months, the other in five months. They trust to hunting for most of their flesh; they, however, keep pigs and a few fowls. Tapioca is a mere weed; dressed as a potato it is excessively indigestible; I have observed some sweet potatoes, and also some yams and Indian corn. They have no fruit trees, contenting themselves with a few bananas." (i. 128.)

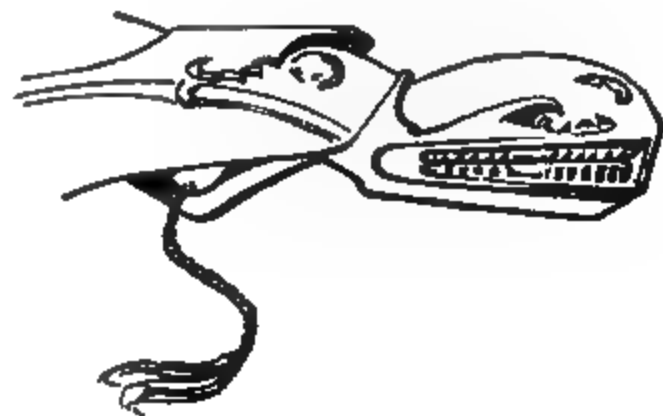
"They are not very particular about the cleanliness of their persons, and think nothing of eating meat which is so putrid that a rotten egg is absolutely fresh compared to it; snakes, toads, and large grubs are also eaten by many; when a buffalo is killed on the occasion of a feast nothing of it is thrown away except the bones and the horns. The consequence of this filthy feeding is that they get affected with all kinds of horrible diseases which are aggravated by constantly drinking quantities of arrack, and very few live over the middle age." (F. O. Ricketts, S. G., No. 348, p. 17.)

Sir Hugh Low had a troublesome Dusun guide who on one occasion "made a fire and commenced to cook his wild cat by roasting it, hair, skin, and all, without the slightest preparation."<sup>7</sup> (p. 271.)

"The mountain-rat seems a favourite article of food among the Kiaus, though they do not eat those which frequent the houses." (St. John i. 333.)

"The Dusun's principal fruits are jackfruit, *tarripe*, and *pisangs*; of vegetables, cucumbers, gourds, sweet potatoes, and *kaladi*." (Whitehead, p. 107.) "His food consists chiefly of rice, rats, mice, fish, frogs, tadpoles, beetles, grubs, chrysalides, all of which are stewed down and eaten as a relish with the rice." (*ibid*, p. 108.) A Dusun woman once brought

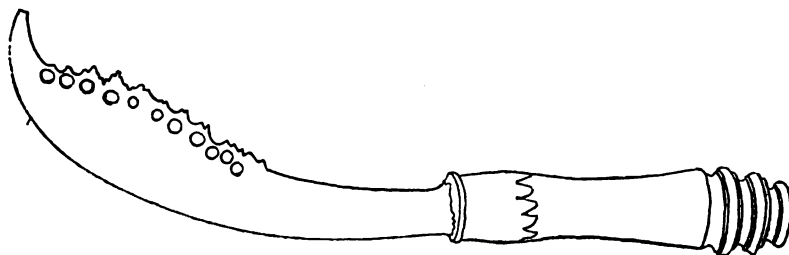
ORNAMENTAL PROJECTING  
HEAD OF OVIFORM BOWL OR DISH  
From Longwai.  
(Brit. Mus.)



ORNAMENTAL PROJECTING  
HEAD OF OVIFORM BOWL OR DISH  
Longwai  
(Brit. Mus.)

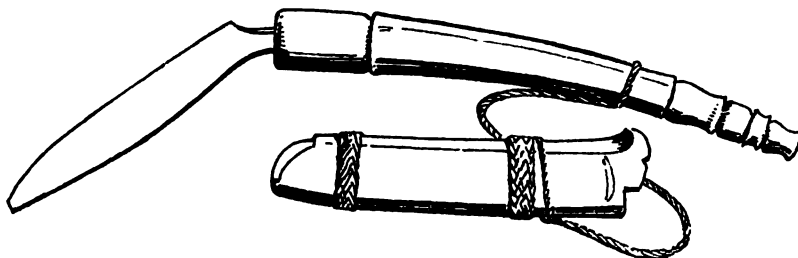
<sup>7</sup> "With the Punans the meat was simply roasted over the fire, suspended from sticks stuck in the ground; and the only cooking utensils to be seen were bamboo cylinders used for boiling rice. There was not even a clay pot. I once saw the chief use the shoulder-blade of the monkey as a spoon." (Bock, p. 71.)

Mr. Whitehead a *cetonia* which was not perfect, and on his "refusing it she nipped off the beetle's head, and tied the body up in a piece of cloth for the children, who will eat it as they eat chrysalides and grubs." (*ibid*, p. 183.)



UKIT KNIFE.

$\frac{1}{2}$  real size. Brass has been melted into the three first holes  
(Hose Coll.)



SEA DYAK KNIFE.

The cutting edge is held away from the person and the article to be cut is drawn towards the knife. Handle of staghorn, sheath of wood.  $\frac{1}{2}$  real size.  
(Brit. Mus.)



SKARAN KNIFE.

The blade is inserted in a piece of horn.  
(Leggatt Coll.)

On the Baram "fish forms one of the staple articles of diet. . . . The men usually feed alone, attended on by the women, and always wash their mouths out when they have finished eating. They are very particular about being called away from their meals, and it takes a great deal to make a man set about doing anything before he has concluded his repast; to such an extent is this practice observed, that it is considered wrong to attack even an enemy whilst he is eating, but the moment he has finished it is legitimate and proper to fall upon him. To the lot of the women falls the cooking and the fetching of water." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 160.)

"In their boat expeditions they always take a supply of red ochre to eat, in case of becoming short of other provisions; and we once found in some deserted Seribas' prahus many packets of a white oleaginous clay used for the same purpose." (St. John i. 70.)

So Bishop McDougall states: "There is a certain slimy clay which the Sakarran Dyaks always provide themselves with when they make their excursions in their boats, and which they suck when their stock of rice is exhausted: they say it is very nutritious." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 74.)

Mr. Crossland informs me that the Undup occasionally eat a clay much resembling fuller's earth; they did not like it, but thought it a healthy thing to do—they seemed to think it acted as a purifier.

"The Sea Dyak cakes are made of very fine rice flour." (Mrs. Chambers, Gosp. Miss., 1 June, 1859, p. 81.)

Madame Pfeiffer gives an amusing account of how she was deceived in these cakes: "On the floor lay spread out several eatables, especially a lot of small flat cakes of all sorts of colours, white, yellow, brown, and black. They looked so tasty that I bit into them with true gusto. But how I regretted my rashness! The white cakes were made of rice, and the yellow ones out of maize-flour. The flour was very coarsely ground and prepared with nothing more than a very ample quantity of rancid fat obtained from the *kawan* fruit. The brown and black cakes received their colour from the greater or lesser admixture of a black syrup prepared from sugar-cane or from the juice of various palms." (p. 106.)

Mr. Horsburgh says the Ballaus make a sort of sugar or rather treacle which is manufactured from the nipa palm, and which is very palatable. (p. 44.)<sup>8</sup>

"Vinegar is procured from another palm by collecting its juice and allowing it to undergo the acetous fermentation." (*ibid.*)

The natives have various methods of preserving their food. Dr. Houghton (M.A.S. iii. 198) says the Sarawak Dyaks "salt and pot wild pig and deer in jars." When the Undup "catch a pig they rub it with salt and put it away in a jar. When fresh done it is very good, when old it is smelly." (Crossland, Miss. Life, 1870, p. 217.) Among the Dusun, Mr. Whitehead refers to the potting and salting of buffalo, the odour of which was most disgusting. (p. 179.) Mr. Wallace, speaking of the use of the bambu, says, "salted fish, sugar, vinegar, and honey are preserved in them instead of in jars or in bottles." (i. 125.)

The Sea Dyak "women cure fish. They either dry it in the smoke of a wood fire, or cut it up and boil it in brine, and so preserve and pickle it, making *makasam ikan*." (Brooke Low.) [See Fishing—*Umbai*.]

"The Ida'an preserve their rice in old bamboos two fathoms long, which are placed on one side of the doorway. It is said that these bamboos are preserved for generations, and, in fact, they looked exceedingly ancient." (St. John i. 265.) These people, also known as Dusun, have a method of dry preservation of animal food: "Rats are often split and fixed on bamboo

<sup>8</sup> "By boiling the juice [of a palm] which I watched them [Saratok Dyaks, Dutch Borneo] doing in several Dyak houses, a kind of coarse treacly sugar was made, which I also tasted." (S.G., 95.)

frames, then smoked and stuck over the fireplaces in the houses until required." (Whitehead, p. 183.) But, as the same traveller tells us, the preservation of food does not keep off famines. "They have to get on as best they can with kaladi and sweet potatoes until the next harvest . . . living on roots and anything they can find in the forests." (*ibid*, 187.)

Regarding the high "state of food, the Land Dyaks are very partial to the flesh of fish, which the Malays bring to them in an almost putrid state, particularly the large *ikan-pari*, or skate. I have seen them also carefully gather up the body of a pig which had been overlooked in their traps until it was falling to pieces." (Low, p. 310.)

Mr. Burbidge mentions a Dusun "who had two rats—rather high they were too—which he roasted entire, and ate with great gusto." (p. 271.)

#### SALT.

We have seen that Land Dyaks, Sea Dyaks and Dusuns salt their food as a means of preservation for future use. "The chief condiment of the [Balau] Dyaks is salt, which they procure from the nipa palm, and which they much prefer to that obtained by evaporation from sea water. The boughs of the nipa are cut, dried, and burnt, and their ashes washed in water, so as to dissolve the salt contained in them. This water being then allowed to run off clear is evaporated in pans, the salt remaining at the bottom of the vessel. It is a dirty grey and often black-looking substance, possessing a slightly bitter taste, which is grateful to the palate of the Dyaks; and as it is generally produced in masses of considerable size and as hard as a stone, it has much the appearance of a mineral that has been dug out of the earth." (Horsburgh, p. 44.)

Mrs. McDougall, writing of the Sibu Dyaks' salt-making, says "that when asked why they prefer this 'nasty black-looking stuff' they reply 'It is fat salt.'" (p. 137.) "They [the Badjoos] gather sea weeds, burn them, make a lye of ashes, filter it and form a bitter kind of salt in square pieces by boiling it in pans made of the bark of the aneebong. . . ." (Forrest, p. 369.) At the foot of Kina Balu, Sir Sp. St. John describes its manufacture, by these people, which is similar to that of the Balaus. (i. 233.) Later on he says: "They burnt the roots of the mangrove with those of the nipa palm, as well as wood collected on the sea-beach, and therefore impregnated with salt. In one place, I noticed a heap, perhaps fifteen feet in height, sheltered by a rough covering of palm-leaves, and several men were about checking all attempts of the flames to burst through by throwing salt-water over the pile. This, doubtless, renders the process much more productive. In one very large shed, they had a kind of rough furnace, where they burnt the wood; and suspended around were many baskets in which the rough remains of the fire are placed, and the whole then soaked in water and stirred about till the salt is supposed to have been extracted from the charcoal and ashes. The liquid is then boiled, as at Abai, in large iron pans purchased from the Chinese." (i. 288.)

Another process, that of the Kadyans, is mentioned by Mr. Burbidge (p. 126). "The ashes of driftwood are placed in a tub and sea water poured

over them. To evaporate the water, receptacles are neatly made from the sheaths of the Nebong palm, fastened into shape by slender wooden skewers. Two logs are then laid parallel to each other, and a foot or fifteen inches apart, and over these the pans are placed close together, so as to form a rude kind of flue, in the which a fire of light brushwood is lighted, and very soon afterwards the salt may be observed falling to the bottom of the evaporators."

Referring to the Dusun salt-making, Mr. Hatton mentions (p. 148): "Their boiling-pans made of the bark of a palm tree."

Mr. Whitehead says: "The Bajows extract the salt from roots of the mangrove as well as from the nipa palm, it is moulded into large flat cakes and bartered at the weekly *taniel*." (p. 67.) He adds: "The natives prefer it to the imported article." In the Sogonzon country, however, Mr. Witt (Diary, 20th Nov.) refers to the indifference of the Dusuns to the use of salt. "A brine spring" in the vicinity of Palin is scarcely ever resorted to, and they never give anything for salt brought to them from the coast"; but elsewhere he says "that on the road to Nutuo there is a small spring of weak brine, which supplies the people with salt for many miles around; in fact, we found a number of Dusuns on the spot carrying off salt water in their bamboo receptacles. They mix the brine as it is with their dishes, without resorting to evaporation." On the Bangawan river, he says: "The chief article of barter is salt, which here fetches one and one-tenth its weight in gutta-percha. . . . This proportion increases rapidly. Only one day's journey further inland salt is bartered for one-half its weight of gutta-percha, at three days, for an equal weight of gutta-percha, and in the Labao country, through which the Melias branch of the Kinabatangan flows, the inhabitants crave so for salt, that they give three times its weight in the best gutta-percha for it. One can buy salt at Labuan for 70 cents per picul, and sell medium gutta-percha for 70 dols." (Witt Diary, 16th March.)

"In the Bah Valley, Trusan R., 3,200 feet above the sea level, there are two salt springs, from which the Muruts make salt by evaporation, and the salt forms a staple of trade." (Reckitts S.G., No. 347, p. 214.)

Five and twenty years ago, during the troublous times with the disaffected populations on the Katibas river, Sir Chas. Brooke wrote: "A Dyak once having eaten salt can *never* do without it; this article tames a savage more than ought else, human or divine." (S.G., No. 20.)<sup>10</sup>

#### WATER DRINKING.

The *panchurs* (aqueducts) are described in Chap. XVI. "Thin, long-jointed bamboos form the Dyak's only water-vessels, and a dozen of them stand in the corner of every house. They are clean, light, and easily carried, and are in many ways superior to earthen vessels for the same purpose." (Wallace, i.) Mr. Hornaday writes similarly, and adds: "After eating, the Dyak takes a

<sup>9</sup> "A species of monkey *Semnopithecus Hosei* frequents the salt springs which are common in the interior, churning up the mud. This monkey produces the Bezoar stone." (Hose, Mammalia.)

<sup>10</sup> Speaking of the interior tribes, and of the oppression of the natives by the Malays, Mr. S. Müller remarks: "But their incessant necessity to procure salt forces them to submit to the wishes and demands of their oppressors." (ii. 385.)

drink, rinses his mouth." (p. 467.) "They never drink during their meal, but on rising wash their hands and mouths, and afterwards take a draught of water from the bamboos." (Low, p. 172.) "The Undups seldom drink whilst eating." (Crossland, *Miss. Life*, 1870, 7. 218.) "On the Baram, at meals, they usually drink only after they have finished eating, as they contend that by abstaining from taking liquid with their food they prevent indigestion." (Hose, *J. A. I.*, xxiii. 161.)

#### TABUED FOOD.

"In certain Land Dyak families it is *porich* (forbidden) to eat some kinds of vegetables, or for certain individuals to do some kinds of work. A lad whom I know may not attend to the family fowls, on pain of being smitten with a bad cough! In some tribes the young men may not eat deer's-flesh, lest they become *deer-hearted* (cowardly); in others they may not eat eggs. But these prohibitions, I expect, were invented by 'the elders,' that a larger allowance of such good things might fall to their share." (Chalmers, in Grant's Tour.) Sir Sp. St. John writes similarly. (i. 177.) Mr. Grant, however, says: "Mr. Chalmers heard it stated amongst the Land Dyaks that pigs were the ghosts of Malays, and that is the reason why the latter refuse to eat pork; and that goats are the ghosts of Dyaks, for which reason they will not eat goat's flesh; for 'who dares devour his own ancestor.'"<sup>11</sup> (Grant, p. 70.)

"The Dyaks of the Quop district do not refuse to eat deer. . . . The Silakau and Lara Dayaks who have emigrated from Sambas into Lundu, do not eat the flesh of the deer, from the opinion that they descended from Dayak ancestors." (St. John i. 195.)

"The ox, the buffalo, the deer, the goat, fowls, and some kinds of vegetables, are forbidden food to some or other of the Singé, Sow, and western Sarawak river tribes. Of these animals, those which are held most sacred are the bull and the cow, and nothing would induce a Dyak of any of the tribes of Sarawak to eat anything into the composition or cooking of which either the flesh of the animal, or any part of its productions has entered; so that, if offered any of the food which has been prepared for an European, they immediately ask if it has been cooked with butter or ghee; in which case they will not partake of it. So strongly is this superstitious prejudice rooted in their minds, that Dyaks who have become Mahomedans at the age of five to seven years, and who since that period had resided among Malays, still adhered to the practice; and at the feasts of these latter people, and when on other occasions they have opportunities, never partake of such food. The prohibition against the flesh of deer is much less strictly practised, and in many tribes totally disregarded. . . . In the large tribe of Singhie, it is observed in its fullest extent, and is even carried so far, that they will not allow a stranger to bring a deer into their houses,<sup>12</sup> or to be cooked by their

<sup>11</sup> "The Sibuyaus in general hold the idea that Malays, after death, are converted into pigs, while Malays say that Dyaks are to be turned into firewood. (*ibid.*)

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Denison says the same of this tribe, the Serambo, and the Bukars (ch. ii., pp. 14 and 18), and Sir Sp. St. John confirms it of the Bukars. (i. 213.)

fires. The men of the tribe will not touch the animals, and none but the women or boys,<sup>13</sup> who have not been on a war expedition, which admits them to the privileges of manhood, are allowed to assist the European sportsman in bringing home his bag.

"It is amongst this, the Sow, and other tribes of the same branch of the river, that goats, fowls, and the fine kind of fern (*paku*), which forms an excellent vegetable, are also forbidden food to the men, though the women and boys are allowed to partake of them, as they are also of the deer's flesh amongst the Singhie Dyaks. The tribe of Sow, whose villages are not far from the houses of Singhie, does not so rigorously observe the practice. Old men, women, and boys may eat of its flesh; the middle-aged and unmarried young men only being prohibited from partaking of it. I think, however, that the practice of using the flesh of the animal in question is one of recent introduction." (Low, p. 266.)

"The taboo which prevents certain families from consuming the flesh of snakes and other kinds of reptiles, most probably arose from some incident in the life of one of their ancestors in which the rejected beast played a prominent part." (St. John i. 177.) "Many people eat snakes; some, however, refuse, considering them foul-feeding." (*ibid* i. 195.)

Some Sea Dyaks gave the Rajah as their reason for dreading to eat the flesh of certain animals that "These animals bear a proximity to some of their forefathers who were begotten by them or begot them." (ii. 62.) "Several Sea Dayaks have an objection to eating the flesh of pigs, deer, and other animals; but it is because they are afraid of getting certain complaints, as skin diseases, and the custom becomes hereditary, as many families are subject to them; or it arises from the fear of going mad; or as some married women tremble to touch deer's flesh previously to the birth of their firstborn; or because they have received warning in dreams not to touch a particular kind of food. Their religious opinions do not forbid them to eat any kind of animals." (St. John i. 72.)

On the Mukah, wrote Mr. De Crespigny (S.G., No. 188, p. 43), "a goat to the Penans is forbidden flesh and the Labangs were so unaccustomed to such food that they could not manage it." "Bears, *Ursus Malayanus*, are not eaten by the natives of Borneo as a rule, as people who eat bears' flesh are supposed to go mad. The skins are often used for war coats." (Hose's Mammalia, p. 28.)

"On the Baram River the natives kill numbers of wild pigs and deer, and I believe that every race in Borneo, except such as are Mahomedan, will eat wild pig, but the Kayans will not eat deer or wild cattle. Kenniahs again will not eat the large lizards, but Kayans will kill the deer when they get an opportunity and the Kenniahs will kill the lizards. So also the Kayans will not kill the Borneo tiger-cat (*Felis nebulosa*) or even touch the animal, but they will buy its canine teeth for large sums from the Kenniahs and use them to put through their ears, and though the Kenniahs may kill it,

<sup>13</sup> Sir Jas. Brooke confirms the fact that women and children may eat the flesh of deer. (Keppel i. 213.) And so does Mr. Denison. (ch. ii., p. 14.)

I doubt if they dare to treat its flesh as an article of diet." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 159.)<sup>14</sup>

The killing of some animals is tabued quite as much as the eating. The chief Rentap did not allow snakes to be killed. "Snakes were supposed to possess some mysterious connection with Rentap's fore-fathers, or the souls of the latter resided in these loathsome creatures." (Brooke ii. 161.)

"The Sea Dayaks, however, would not intentionally kill a cobra, one species of the lizard, or owls, or any of their birds of omen. . . . As a reason for not destroying the cobra, they say, 'It has always been forbidden, those who dream of them are lucky, and often do the great spirits put on the forms of snakes, . . . The Sibuyau Dyaks, of Lundu, kill the cobra and other reptiles, but the Land Dayaks, of Lundu, as well as the Silakaus, consider it wrong to destroy it.'" (St. John i. 72 & 171.)

"No Land Dyak can, under any circumstances, eat of new rice, until his own be ripe; and this is so strictly observed amongst the Sow and Singhie tribes that, when their own supply fails, they must go without rather than partake of any other new rice, such as the earlier grown Sea Dyak's." (Low, p. 302.) A similar superstition was met with by Mr. Hatton at the base of Mount Montapon. The natives laughed at his party's wants, and said "they could not let us have any rice, as it was not yet time," although harvesting was going on. (Diary, 21 Mar.) "On the Baram many fruits are forbidden, and some articles of diet which may be eaten singly, may not be taken together, as for instance the young leaves in the heart of the bealb nut tree (*Arica* palm) known as the cabbage, which may be made into salad, or eaten when cooked, but if mixed with a small fish known as *Saluang*, it causes violent convulsions. The fish, which is a particularly good one, may, however, be eaten alone." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. p. 170.)

#### POTTERY.

There appears to be little or no pottery made by the natives now. Mr. Brooke Low, as shown above (p. 381), says the Sea Dyaks at one time used earthenware jars, and Sir Hugh Low also refers to the cooking pots (p. 381.) The Rev. Mr. Leggatt, however, furnishes me with the following note from the Skarang river: "They tell me here that they do not make pots now for two reasons—firstly, because the proper sort of clay is found only a long distance off; secondly, because Chinese earthen pots are to be bought so cheaply that it is not worth while making pots for themselves. As far as I have been able to learn, the

<sup>14</sup> "In reference to the most active and successful Dyak at the nearest village, the following is related: To him the eating of canine flesh was *piri* (*pantang* of the Malay), and he sought release from the oppressive restriction in the mode following, and with the chances certainly about equal. Time after time, have two bundles, the one containing charcoal, the other a portion of the coveted meat, been placed upon the surface of a rice-pan (*daku*), and ceremoniously turned about for a given time by a friend desirous to see him free. During the operation he of the longing lips is seated, gazing submissively downward, while the twirling goes on above his head; at length, all is ready, and still looking downward for fairness sake, he raises his hand slowly, for it is a moment big with consequence, and the parcel that first meets his hand determines his liberty or bondage. Poor man, he has always encountered the charcoal." (At Karagan, W. Coast of B., Jour. Ind., Arch. ii., p. 51.)

process of manufacture was as follows:—The clay was kneaded to requisite stiffness on a stone, and had mixed with it some of the fine bran obtained in pounding their paddy, *i.e.*, the fine skin which covers the rice. Then a round smooth stone was taken to serve as mould and anvil. Some of the clay was placed on this stone, which was held in one hand, while in the other was held a light flat mallet with a pattern cut on the face of it. The clay is then beaten round the stone, and the stone kept moving about with the left hand until the desired size and shape is obtained. The stone is then removed and the neck formed with the fingers. The pot which I have before me contains about four quarts. The neck is not true to the centre, and is rather roughly moulded. The pattern is diagonal, the cross lines being in relief and the enclosed spaces depressed. Each diamond, *i.e.* the depressed figure with its bordering lines, would measure one-third of an inch square. It is not difficult to see where one piece of clay has overlapped another in the process of beating into shape on the stone. Gores can be traced from two to three inches wide, running from the neck downwards. The mallet had nothing more than a number of grooves cut, crossing each other diagonally. After the moulding had been completed, the pots were rubbed over with the water in which a certain plant had been boiled, which the Dyaks call *samak*. This was merely to make them burn red. They were burnt in wood fires. An old woman who used to make them in her younger days says they used to have a dozen or more always in stock, for they were so brittle that they never could be sure of a pot wearing for very long."

CLAY POT. Skaran River.  
(Leggatt Coll.)

In the catalogue of the Brooke Low collection at Sarawak are twenty-six pieces of "Milano pottery," two of Tanjong pottery, and one of Kayan pottery.

## NARCOTICS.

### DRINK MADE OF RICE.

"The Ballau's Tuak is a sort of unbittered beer made from rice,<sup>15</sup> of greenish tinge, and very capable of producing intoxication. It is prepared in great quantities previous to every feast, but it is not a general drink. It is dispensed with great liberality at many of their rejoicings, where it is considered a point of honour to send away the guests intoxicated, insomuch that if any of them seems to resist its influence, the prettiest damsels of the

<sup>15</sup> "The *dosak-katan*, prepared principally with *katan* (a sort of rice), of which the decoction is mixed with several bitter plants, called *pawak dosak*. This mixture keeps for two, three, or four weeks, in large jars, where it ferments. At the end of this time it furnishes a thick and whitish liquor, with a very disagreeable taste for an European who is not accustomed to it, and which, like fermenting wine, possesses intoxicating qualities." (S. Müller ii. p. 365.) Bock (p. 164) says, "tuak is made from honey and rice."

house fasten upon him, and ply him with cups till he yields to the power of the liquor." (Horsburgh, p. 27.)



CAST BRONZE POT WITH LID.

From Borneo. With two small eyes on each handle. Pattern in slight relief. Height, 6½ in.; largest dia., 6¼ in. (Brit. Mus.)

Sir Sp. St. John gives an amusing account of the manner in which two young women made two of his Sibuyau followers intoxicated, on the Samarahan river: "The young girls opened a regular battery of blandishments, put their arms round them and besought them to drink, not to give them the shame of having to take the liquor back to their houses to be laughed at by all the other girls; they wound up by saying, 'What! are the Sibuyaues so weak-headed as to fear to drink Bukar tuak?' This was the *coup de grace*; the youths, already half overcome, raised the bowls to their lips, and were not allowed to set them down till they had drained the last drop. The girls then ran away laughing, knowing the effect that must soon follow the draught.

"The Dayak women seldom, if ever, drink, but some of them appear delighted to see their husbands and brothers in a wretched state of intoxication. Mr. Crookshank told me that once at Sadong, when the men were too drunk to be able to raise the bowl to their lips, the women poured the liquor down the drunkards' throats. It must not be supposed, however, that the Dayaks are habitual drinkers; on the contrary, except at their feasts, they are a very sober people." (i. 219.)

Among the Sibuyau the same traveller relates: "In front of their village was erected one of their climbing poles, at the raising of which the Orang Kaya proudly declared one hundred and fifty jars of tuak were consumed; and he added, with an appearance of the greatest satisfaction, that his tribe and all their visitors were intoxicated for six days. At their convivial meetings some strong-headed fellow will sit down before a jar holding, perhaps, a dozen gallons, and help those around; for every one he serves out he should drink one himself, and it is his pride if he can manage to keep his seat until all have lost their senses around him. To take glass for glass with each man until the jar was emptied being a manifest impossibility, there must be some sleight of hand practised to deceive the others. On inquiring whether they never felt headaches the next day, they said no; but their Lingga visitors at the last great feast had cried from the pains they suffered; it was ludicrous to notice the boastful look with which they said, 'The Sibuyaues get no headaches.'" (i. 209.)

Bishop Chambers says of the Lingga Dyaks: "In their heathen state they are rather proud than ashamed of being in such a condition, and have a proverb, 'Brave at the tuak (*i.e.*, drugged rice beer), brave against the foe.'" (Miss. Field, 1863, p. 272.)

"It is only during their periodical feasts that they are apt to transgress the rules of moderation, and on these occasions those who do so are invariably good-humoured in their cups. A Dyak once said to me—'Oh, I was so tipsy

when I left you last night, I couldn't walk straight, and had to be helped to the boat.' He was mightily pleased with himself, and laughed heartily." (Grant, p. 19.) Mr. Denison likewise states that they only drink at their feasts. (ch. v. p. 45.)

Mr. Wallace (i. 110) speaks of a "large jar of rice wine, very sour, but with an agreeable flavour," and Mr. Burbidge (p. 65) mentions a peculiar spirit, "which is made of rice and *tampoe* fruit, mixed with water and strained off for use after fermentation."

#### PALM WINE.

Intoxicating drink is also made by the Dusuns from cocoanut palms. Sir Sp. St. John describes some such palms which were very unhealthy owing to this drain on them for toddy. (i. 244.) Mr. Whitehead also refers to such unhealthy-looking cocoanut trees. (p. 157.) "The juice is extracted by tapping the fruit-stem and suspending a bamboo-joint to catch the sap; the nuts consequently are not of much account, and are seldom eaten by the Dusuns." (p. 107.) At one place Mr. Burbidge found also among this people that "cocoanuts were scarce owing to the flowering stems being cut off and the exuding sap collected in a bamboo vessel to be made into toddy, a drink of which the hill villagers are very fond."<sup>16</sup> (p. 89.) Mr. Horsburgh says toddy is obtained by the Ballaus from several other palms besides cocoanut, and that some kinds of toddy "smell and taste strongly of sulphuretted hydrogen." (p. 44.)

A *Tusk* (hollowed?) for carrying Lime. Bound with fern, and beads attached. Carved wood stopper. (Hose Coll.)

"The *gomuti* palm is valued by the [Land?] Dyaks, as producing the best toddy, and in the greatest abundance. It is extracted from the plant by cutting off the large lateral bunches of fruit. When these are about half-grown, they are severed close to the division of the peduncle or stem, and, bamboos being hung to them, a good tree with two incisions will produce about a gallon daily for two months; a fresh surface being constantly kept on the severed part by a thin slice being daily cut off the stem or peduncle, so that at the end of the above-named period it has altogether disappeared. The toddy is taken from the bamboo twice a day, and, when fresh, has a very agreeable taste, and is a refreshing drink; but the Dyaks always place

#### CASE

for holding Betel. Made of a section of bambu incised with foliated scroll work, &c. The patterns left in relief are in the natural colour of the bambu, whilst the scraped parts are stained dark crimson. The stopper is ornamentally-cut open work (Brit. Mus.)

<sup>16</sup> A writer in the S.G. No 95, writing from Saratok in Dutch Borneo, speaks of a species of palm "from which the Dyaks extract a sweet sugary drink by no means unpleasant to the taste."

a piece of a bitter kind of bark in the bamboos which contain it, and this communicates its flavour to the toddy." (Low, p. 40.)

On one occasion (Diary, 10 April) Mr. Hatton, when at Ghanaghana, says: "At six o'clock they all began drinking a kind of arrack. They prepare it by placing cooked rice and water with cocoanut milk in a bamboo, which they then seal up; fermentation commences, and in a week or so a spirit is produced, which smells very much of ethylic acetate. At seven o'clock the whole household was drunk; men, women, and children rolling on the floor, laughing, and shouting." At Peluan a big jar of tapioca toddy was tapped. "This had to be done by means of a small reed projecting from said jar, the arrangement reminding you of the way you sip a sherry-cobbler. . . . They never changed the 'straw' when they drank, though the whole company took their turn at it over and over again." (Witti's Diary, 25 March.)

#### SIRI.

"The ordinary stimulant, however, is Siri, a pungent aromatic creeper, cultivated by the Ballau Dyaks for the sake of its leaves, which they thus use. A portion of a leaf is covered with lime, and in it a piece of betel-nut, a little tobacco, and some gambier (either the gum itself or the leaf) are rolled up, forming a quid, which is chewed. It has a pungent astringent

taste, colours the saliva red, and, if persevered in, dyes the teeth black. Its use is universal among the Dyaks, to whom it supplies the place of cake and wine, cigars and snuff, a pot of beer, or a cup of tea. It is produced at births, marriages, and deaths, in all assemblies, warlike, political, and judicial, at all feasts of rejoicing, and at all incantations for sickness; it is the universal cheerer and restorative, the all-healing medicine, and, when well chewed, the all-curing plaster. In every circumstance of life, fighting or trading, sick or well, travelling or staying at home, working or idling, sad, happy, or listless, the Dyak turns to his beloved Siri, to cheer, to sooth, or to arouse him; and a physiologist will perhaps say that his simple food demands some such stimulant." (Horsburgh, p. 27.) "In a small bamboo case, prettily carved and ornamented, the Dyak carries his sirih and lime for betel

#### SKARAN WOMEN'S BETEL NUT BASKET

The transverse light lines from right hand top to left hand are red, there are also similar red strips running down from left to right, but they are not so clear. Height, 7½ in

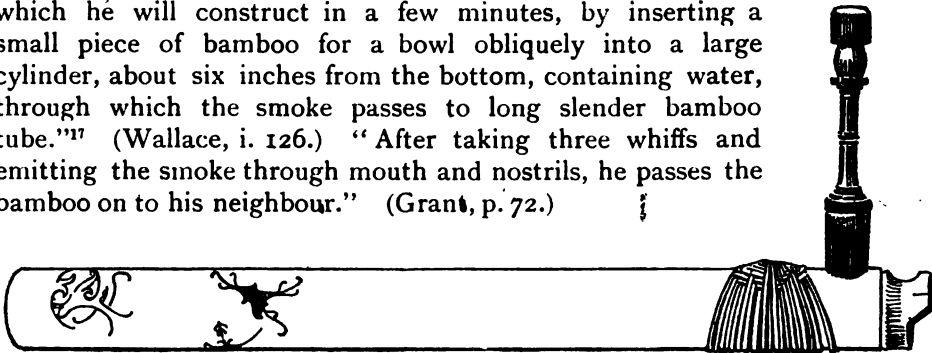
(Loggatt Coll.)

chewing." (Wallace, i. 125.) "In consequence of this continued use of sirih they have lost a considerable sense of taste." (Brooke Low.)

## TOBACCO.

"The Lundu Dyaks both chew and smoke tobacco, but they do not use pipes for smoking; they roll up the tobacco in a strip of dried leaf, take three or four whiffs, emitting the smoke through their nostrils, and then they extinguish it. They are fond of placing a small roll of tobacco between the upper lip and gums, and allow it to remain there for hours. Opium is never used by them, and I doubt if they are acquainted with its properties." (Marryat, p. 78.)

The Dyak's "favourite pipe is a huge hubble-bubble, which he will construct in a few minutes, by inserting a small piece of bamboo for a bowl obliquely into a large cylinder, about six inches from the bottom, containing water, through which the smoke passes to long slender bamboo tube."<sup>17</sup> (Wallace, i. 126.) "After taking three whiffs and emitting the smoke through mouth and nostrils, he passes the bamboo on to his neighbour." (Grant, p. 72.)



TOBACCO PIPE.

Formed of a section of bambu, bound at one end with rattan, beyond which is the tall iron wood bowl of a baluster form; near the mouth end are fragments of engraved ornament. Longwai.

(Brit. Mus.)

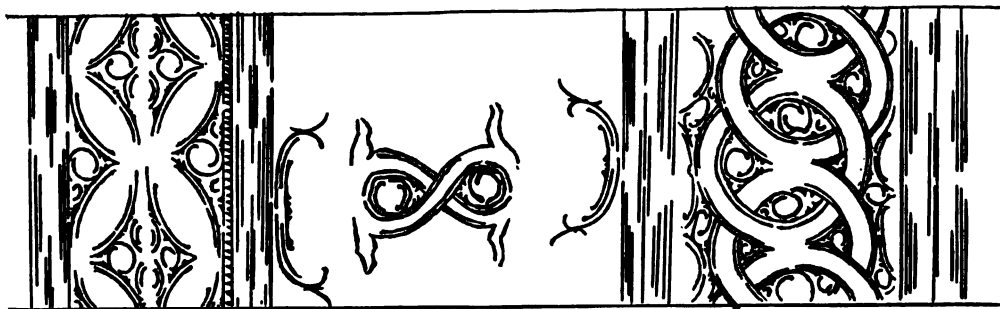
"The Sea Dyaks are not addicted to smoking, but chew tobacco to a considerable extent." (Brooke Low.)

"The Kayans dry their tobacco in the shade, and it is not at all badly prepared; it is wrapped in the leaf of the wild banana, which dries almost like paper and has a peculiar scent, and is thus smoked in the form of a cigarette, a Kayan being seldom seen without one between his lips, for all the race are great smokers." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 166.) Mr. Hose while ascending Mount Dulit was surprised to find wild tobacco growing at an altitude of 4150 feet. He continues: "The Punans, a race of people which live in the jungle, more like animals than human beings, having no houses, cut the leaves of this tobacco into fine shreds while it is still green, and then dry it in the shade.

<sup>17</sup> The Dyak pipe is a very peculiarly constructed instrument, consisting of a stout bamboo cylinder, about twenty-two inches long and one and a half inches in diameter, which contains water to cool the smoke; inside this tube is placed a piece of split rattan filled with fibre, which absorbs the nicotine; about one inch from the end of this tube is inserted, at right angles, a slender carved piece of ironwood, about eight inches in length, and bored with a hole rather more than a quarter of an inch in diameter; this constitutes the bowl, which contains only a very small quantity of tobacco. The Dyak, however, never takes more than half-a-dozen puffs at a time, as the Java tobacco which is generally used is very strong, and the smoke is always swallowed. Cigarettes, made of a little tobacco rolled up in a small piece of banana leaf, are largely used. The use of opium is, in some districts, rapidly extending among the rich Dyaks. (Bock, p. 212.)

This when sufficiently cured is made into cigarettes. The Punans state that they gather this tobacco two or three times a year, and that it was originally planted by the spirits." (Geog. Jour. i. 202.)

Mr. Wittl writes: "Over the whole district between the coast range and the heads of the Kinabatangan and Sibuko, we nowhere found that people understood how to develop the narcotic principle of tobacco. In fact, the leaves of the caladium are resorted to almost as readily as the leaves of the nicotina itself. That stuff the Dyaks smoke out of wooden pipes with a brazen tube; anything like real tobacco makes them as sick as if they were non-smokers. Neither do our Dusuns properly ferment the tobacco previous to curing it, they only wrap the tobacco leaves up in the leaves of plantains until the former turns brown. But in point of care bestowed on the growing of the plant, our Dusun is, compared to the sloth of a Pagalan hill Dyak, a two-legged bee." (Diary, 24 March.)



PATTERN ON BAMBU BETEL NUT BOX.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.  
(Hose Coll.)

## CHAPTER XIV.

### AGRICULTURE, LAND TENURE, AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

PREPARING THE SOIL—Choosing the ground—Omens—Timbers destroyed—Cutting instruments—Guided by the Pleiades and the sun—Fallows—FARMING TABUS—Prayers for heat—Bad Omens—The *tebudo*—Moon tabus—Sacrifices—Tabus at planting and harvesting—SOWING AND CARE-TAKING—Dibbling—Fences—Inimical animals—Great losses—Farm houses—Work and weeding—IRRIGATION—Transplantation—Buffaloes—High agriculture—Varieties of rice—OTHER CROPS—Great varieties—Kiaus' gardens—HARVEST—Lovely pictures—Preparing the rice—Threshing—Winnowing—Pestle—Reaping knives—Storage—Details of preparation and winnowing—AGRICULTURAL FEASTS—*Tuppa*—Paddy doctorings—*Nyipa-an*—*Man Sawa*—*Nyishupen*—*Bunut-Dangé*—THE SACRED FARM FLOWER—*Bunga Si Kudip*—FRUIT-TREES—Abundance of durien—Wealth in trees—Destruction—Katio nuts—Private property in trees—Disputes—A Lundu descendant—Common property—LAND TENURE—Private property—Sales—Land disputes—Value rising—Virgin forest land—Fight for rights—Sago properties—A Dusun heiress—Ida'an gardens—FAMINES—Backward agriculture—Insufficient crops—Wasted on arrack—Floods—PLOUGHING—Dusun buffaloes—A Lundu attempt—SAGO—Methods of preparation—Male (?) and female (?) plants—Sago cakes—Fermentation—Packing—Plantations—PIGS—The Dusun pig—Murut prejudice—Killing—Pens—GOATS AND CATTLE—CATS—DOGS—Poor specimens—Tabu—POULTRY AND EGGS—Egg tests—Poultry plentiful—Baskets—Enemies—TAMED BIRDS AND MONKEYS—DOMESTIC BEES—Hives—Poor yields.

### AGRICULTURE.

#### PREPARING THE SOIL.

"HARVEST in, and its feast over, new ground is looked out for the ensuing year, old jungle being preferred when any is left, and part of the old farm is made into a garden for the year, after which it is left to grow up, and in two years a thick young jungle of bush, some fifteen feet high, entirely covers it. . . . The *Orang Kaya* and chiefs decide on the farming-grounds for the year; and their decision is founded on the information supposed to be gained from the birds of omen, which are invariably consulted on these occasions. . . . It is a matter of honour for each [Land] Dyak family to grow its own rice." (Grant, pp. 28, 31.)

Among the Sea Dyaks: "When it is intended to open out new country, the first thing to be done is for every family to select an eligible piece of forest land and to mark out the quantity they wish to cultivate. The next step is to *beburong*, that is to say, to consult the omen birds of the tribe to learn whether or no they approve of this choice. For this purpose they erect a hut first in one quarter then in another of the land in question, and wait upon the birds for three days in succession until they hear either a note of warning to keep away from it, or a note of encouragement to remain on it. If the auguries

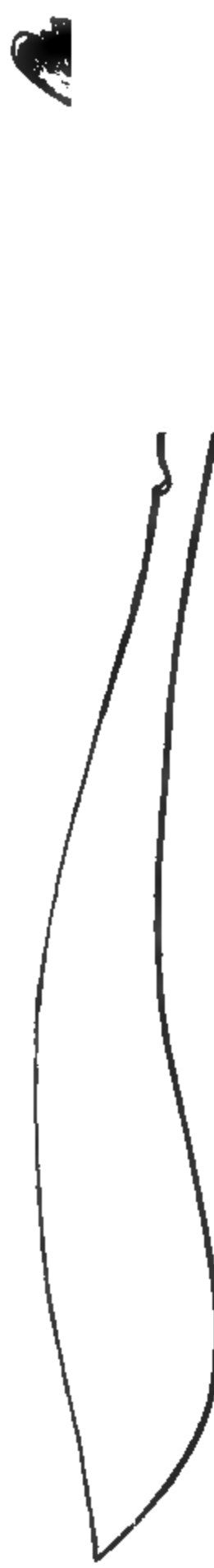
are favourable they proceed to denude the land of its forest. Both sexes share in this labour; the women and boys clear away the undergrowth and the men fell the trees. Much valuable timber is then destroyed, as they

*Biliang Axe*

With heavy iron head, bound with rotan to a thin pale wood shaft, which fits into a stout handle, the latter ornamentally carved and bound with black and white rotan. Western Borneo Length, 3ft 3in.  
(Brit. Mus.)

*Chandong DYAK CHOPPER*

24in long Handle apparently stained to look like horn, brass plaited wire. Weight, 30lb. The wooden scabbard made of two slabs held together by rotan, the belt band of European lamp wick Baram River.  
(Peck Coll.)



spare only such fruit trees as are in full bearing, and those upon which the bees settle and from which they expect to be able to gather wild honey. As some of the trees are of enormous girth being furnished with buttresses, they

do not always fell them at the base, but more often some distance up the trunk; others they leave standing altogether, merely lopping off the boughs to feed the fire which is afterwards to lay bare the ground and manure the soil." (Brooke Low.)

"One method they adopt for getting rid of old jungle is this:—First of all, they clear away the underwood and the branches near the ground, then with their axes they cut the larger trees more than half through; at last, choosing some giant of the forest, they fell it completely: in its fall it drags all the others after it, as they are connected together by twining creepers of great size and strength." (St. John i. 75.)

"The old stumps are left by the Dusuns and to prevent the rich earth and forest *débris* from being washed away by heavy rains, logs are laid against these horizontally all down the steep shoulders of the spurs." (Burbidge, p. 289.)

"The principal cutting instruments employed by the Dyaks in their wood work are parangs and bilongs. The parang is a thick, short, heavy sword, or rather chopping knife, about two feet in length, and of which either the blade is curved like a Turkish scimitar, or if the blade be straight the handle

*Parang Ilane.*

With wooden sheath. The blade chased and pierced, the hilt of carved ivory (?) with inserted tufts of hair  
(Dublin Mus.)

is bent backward, so as to form an acute angle with it. The parang is employed in war as well as for more peaceful purposes, and in the jungle is indispensable, as without it the Dyak would find it impossible to make his way through the thickets which he is frequently obliged to penetrate. It is, moreover, applied to every purpose which a knife will serve, and is at once a warrior's blade, a woodman's bill, and a carpenter's tool-chest." (Horsburgh, p. 37.) "One peculiar form of axe used by them is called a bilong; and a very excellent tool it is. It is very like some of the old stone celts, and in shape is like a small spade, with a square shank; this is set at any angle in a socket of hard wood, and woven with rattan at the end of an elastic twig, of about two feet long, the lower end of which is spliced round with pieces of wood as light as cork, to form a grip for the hand. It is one of the handiest

instruments, making at once an axe or adze, chisel, or plane; and with it they can turn a corner or get into a hole, cut a plank as neatly as if sawn, or cut down a big tree far quicker than one of our workmen could with a hatchet." (Bishop McDougall, T.E.S. ii. 28.)

"As a rule the Sea Dyaks prefer to cultivate hilly soil, but some few have learnt to utilize the wet land. They are guided in the planting season by certain stars, and wait for the Pleiades group to be a certain height above the horizon before daylight. This denotes the sowing time." (Brooke i. 59.) "The chief of the Uma Lesong tribe gave me a *tukar do*, a kind of sun dial, with which is measured the shadow of the meridian sun in a certain month of the year, and by its length is determined the season to plant with advantage. If the shadow be such and such a length the yield will be plenteous, if such and such another length it will be meagre, and if it be a certain other length there will be plenty, but there will be a weeping as well. They commence business towards the end of the dry season, July and August, so that they have the wet monsoon to bring the paddy to maturity, and the beginning of the following fine weather, April and May, to ripen the grain." (Brooke Low.)

"Some of the Land Dyak tribes have more land, in proportion to their numbers, than the other tribes, so that they can afford to leave their farms after each crop for nine or ten years, to recover themselves; others, again, farm the same ground once in five, six, or seven years, and I heard of one tribe leaving an interval of still less." (Grant, p. 31.)

"The old jungle is called *kampong*, and the new is called *temuda*. The Sea Dyaks prefer infinitely to farm the former whenever it is to be obtained within reasonable distance of the village, and when it is getting scarce in the neighbourhood, they shift their residence nearer to it. In parts of the country more populous than others, it frequently happens that the Dyaks have not in their territory any old jungle; such situations are not so laborious to prepare, but being destitute of the rich layer of vegetable mould, and the fertilizing properties of burnt wood, are not nearly so productive. After having felled the old jungle and farmed on it once, they leave it for seven years to grow up again, and are then ready to use it a second time. The first year's growth is called *kruaoh*." (Brooke Low.)

"The Sea Dyaks themselves, however, do not suppose that the soil is in any way incapable of bearing further culture; but give always as a reason for deserting their farms, that the weeds and grass which immediately spring up after the padi has been gathered, are less easily eradicated, than ground occupied by old jungle is prepared." (Low, p. 231.)

"The moment the crop is off the ground, a grass called *lalang Antropogon* (?), most difficult to eradicate, springs up. The natives do not attempt this, but leave it to be destroyed by the overgrowing brush-wood; so that a spot, after producing a crop, is not touched again for seven years." (Bethune, Jour. R. Geogr. Soc., xvi., p. 298.)

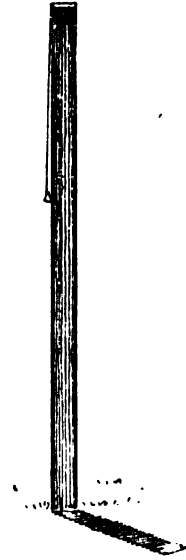
Mr. Wallace refers similarly to this after-growth (i. 100); at Tinagas (in B. N. B.) "The long grass is shorter, and also, in other respects, different from *Lalang Antropogon*." (Witti's Diary, 24th May.)

## FARMING TABUS.

"When the land has been fully cleared it is left to dry. Sun and wind are now of almost vital consequence to the Sea Dyaks, for if they are unable to thoroughly burn this immense mass of timber, famine stares them in the face for the year to come. If it pour with rain day after day and week after week, and there is no promise of continued fine weather, they are apt to imagine that some impurity has defiled the tribe and that the face of the Great Spirit is hid from them. So the elders of the people get to work to find it out, and adjudicate on all cases of incest and bigamy, and purify the earth with the blood of pigs. Prayers are offered to *Betara* from one end of the country to the other; for the space of three days the villages are tabued, and all labour is discontinued; the inhabitants remain at home, and strangers are not admitted. But if the weather is warm and dry the farms are ready in a very few days for the burning. They are set on fire from the windward side when the breeze is blowing, and soon the entire mass is seething with flames. It is a magnificent spectacle to behold when several of these farms are ablaze at once, and the hills are flaring like volcanoes. The heat at this season, caused by the universal burning, is almost insupportable; for days not a glimpse is to be caught of the blue sky overhead; the smoke hangs over the country like a heavy cloud, and the sun glows through the fog like a globe of molten copper." (Brooke Low.) Bishop Chambers mentions at Banting a house under tabu while praying for heat was being performed in consequence of continual wet weather. (Miss. Field, 1868, p. 253.)

In the Land Dyak operations of farming there are a variety of incidents more or less inimical, which can only be overcome by submitting to *tabu*. "If the basket in which the paddy is put as it is cut during harvesting be upset, that farm must rest for a day, and a fowl must be killed, or all their paddy will go rotten. If a tree falls across the farm-path, a fowl must be killed on the spot, and the path be disused for one day, or someone will meet with an accident upon it. On the farm-path, at no great distance from the village, rude wooden figures of a man and a woman are placed, one on each side, opposite to each other, with short wooden spears in their mouths. They are called *Tebudo*, and are said to be inhabited by friendly *Hantu*, who keep the path clear of inimical spirits, and woe to the rash Dyak who wilfully insults these wonderful logs!" (Chalmers in Grant.) "At full moon, and on the third day after it (called *bubuk*), no farm-work may be done, unless it is wished that the paddy should be devoured by blight and mildew. In some tribes, the unlucky days are those of the new and full moon, and its first and third quarters." (*ibid.*)

According to Sir Sp. St. John tabu is practised "at the planting of rice, at harvest home, &c. . . . During this time they appear to remain in their houses, in order to eat, drink, and sleep; but their eating must be



KINIAH *Tukar Do*,  
OR SUN DIAL.

"Length of sun's shadow determining farming operations."

(Brooke Low Coll.)

moderate, and often consists of nothing but rice and salt. . . . Sometimes, as at the harvest home, the whole tribe is compelled to observe it, and then no one must leave the village; at other times it only extends to a family, or to a single individual. . . . The animals used in the sacrifice are fowls and pigs, and I hear also that even dogs in certain tribes are occasionally employed. The fowls and pigs are eaten, but the dogs not, the blood only being required in their incantations. When a fowl is killed a taboo may last one, two, or four days; when a pig—and then it is usually a very important occasion—the ceremony may last four, eight, or sixteen days. People under interdict may not bathe, touch fire, or employ themselves about their ordinary occupations." (St. John i. 175.)

"The system of taboo is greatly practised by the Kayans during the times of planting and harvesting the crops, and more especially when the paddy is being stored. At such a time none may enter the house but those residing in it, and even they may not enter each other's rooms, the reason for this prohibition being simply that the people do not wish the extent of their harvest to be known. Anyone may taboo his own room, but it is the chief, who, with the advice of his followers, taboos the house or the river. Small fines are imposed for infringing the taboo, if it is done unintentionally, but in the case of a man forcing his way in a house that is tabooed, a serious quarrel is often the result, and this has sometimes ended in bloodshed, but it is a very rare thing to find a man acting thus, as all the people have some form of taboo in their own houses. After the harvest, a great deal of drinking and merry-making is indulged in, and at this time a great many marriages take place." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 170.)

The Dusuns tabued the inmates of a house on the occasion of a great sowing of padi. (De Crespigny, Proc. R. Geogr. Soc. ii. 1858, p. 348.)

#### SOWING AND CARETAKING.

"The padi seed, which is saved with the greatest care from the choicest of the preceding season, is planted in holes, made by a blunt pointed stick, at the distance of from fifteen to eighteen inches apart every way. Three or four seeds are dropped into each hole by the women and children, who cover them by scraping a little earth or ashes over them with their feet." (Low, p. 229.)

"After the seed has been sown, it is the business of the men to plant a fence (*raja*) round the farm to protect it from the inroads of wild animals such as pig and deer; this should not occupy much time, as the material is ready to hand, having been collected for the purpose previous to the burning, from the *débris* scattered on the ground." (Brooke Low.) Sir Hugh Low, however, says the fence *pagar* is built immediately after the burning and before the sowing: "The method generally used in constructing this fence is by raising one pole above another, horizontally, and sustaining them in this position by stakes driven into the ground, at an angle and opposite to each other, so that the bar rests upon the crutch formed by their crossing each other. The pagars, or fences, are about six feet high, and the bars about fifteen inches one above the other; they are strong enough to resist the encroachments of wild animals for one season: for more they are not required, being

then split up, and used in the houses for fire-wood." (Low, p. 227.) On his tour among the Land Dyaks, Mr. Grant writes: "Nobody need tell me he has a plantation of *bonâ fide* value, unless he can swear likewise to his fence being in good order, for the jungle-pig will break through anything but a strong railing, and will easily jump one of four feet high." (p. 144.) Mrs. McDougall (p. 138) gives similar testimony.

"There are many things which sorely try the patience of the Dyaks as they watch with unflagging interest the growth of their crops. It is true the pigs and deer are excluded by means of the wooden fence, but nothing short of the most untiring vigilance, and not always even that, can keep out the numerous climbing and winged pests, such as monkeys, squirrels, rats, and sparrows, some of which are sure to visit the farm as the paddy is ripening." (Brooke Low.)

Thus Mr. Denison reported at Tringus that the paddy crop had been good, but rats had caused heavy loss. (ch. iv. 39.)

So also among the Dusuns the rats destroy the crops, but the non-Mahomedan Dusuns of Padas eat the rats. (Whitehead, p. 75.) "They have to scare away the flocks of rice-eating finches, the chief offender being a small brightly-coloured finch (*erythrura prasina*). This bird is called 'Tuhan' by the Dusuns." (*ibid*, 107.)

The following is the method adopted by the Lundu Dyaks, who for eight days hold a *berobat*, "by which they endeavoured to drive away all rats from the paddy-fields. The ceremony consisted in sending a little boat to sea, in which was put all manner of eatables, and inviting the rats to take their passage on her to some other country. For a week after this, it was considered wrong to stir out of doors, ring a bell, cut firewood, pull about in a boat, use a knife, or do any kind of work." (Rev. W. H. Gomez, Miss. Field 1857, p. 238.)

In his excellent little work *Mammalia of Borneo*, Mr. Hose incidentally refers to the following animals as being destructive to the crops and fruit-gardens: "Monkeys, *Macacus cynomalys* and *Semnopithecus rubicundus*; a cat, *Felis planiceps*, is very fond of fruit, and has constantly been known to dig up and eat the sweet potatoes which are grown by the natives; a hemingale, *Arctictis Binturong*, injures fruit, and so does the *Mustella flavigula*; the squirrel, *Sciurus notatus*, is particularly destructive in the cocoanut plantations, spoiling the young cocoanuts when they are about the size of a hen's egg. The elephant is destructive to gardens, and the buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, commits great havoc among growing crops,—both in the northern portion of the country; while the deer, *cervus equinus*, often visits, at night, small patches of cultivation in half-cleared tracts."

"The next thing is to build a *langkau*, or farm house, on some commanding or central situation, where the family may reside without inconvenience, off and on, or altogether, just as they please, until the harvest is over." (Brooke Low.)

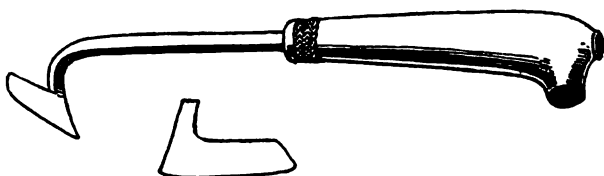
Such a farm house is thus described by Mr. Grant: "A slope was chosen and the wood (save a few stumps cut to the proper level) felled; other small posts were then stuck in the ground, and cross-pieces were laid upon these and the stumps, in which notches were cut to support them. Then a quantity

GROUP OF MURUTS.  
With part of a *farm house* in the midst of a *padi* field  
(From a photograph by Lambert of Singapore.)

of sticks, six or seven feet long, were cut and laid from the cross-pieces to the sloping ground. The whole was then thatched in one slope with branches bearing a long, palm-like leaf, all carefully turned downwards. This is the ordinary jungle *daŋgau*; better ones, which have the flooring raised completely from the ground, are sometimes made, and different leaves used, but ours well sufficed as a shelter for one or two nights. It was finished in an hour or so." (p. 37.)

"The Senahs have built many of their farm-houses in the trees overhanging the stream; in one was a whole family engaged in the important operation of preparing dinner; and it was amusing to observe the little children coming fearlessly to the very edge of the platform above the rushing stream to look at us, standing in positions so dangerous that they would drive an English mother distracted." (St. John i. 138.) At Kiau, on the steep side of the opposite hill, are numerous little farms, and on each you see a tiny flat-topped bamboo hut, which is used for shelter and rest during field labour." (Burbidge, p. 289.) "Other Dusuns likewise build these farm huts." (Whitehead, p. 107.)

"During its growth the field is always weeded twice: this, as they are assisted by no tools, with the exception of their parang, is a very toilsome occupation, which is always carefully accomplished by the industry of the Dyak,



WOMAN'S WEEDING HOE.  
Length, 12in. Baram River.  
(Hose Coll.)

as the rapid growth of the weeds would soon spoil his crop." (Low, p. 229.) "Another grievance is the grass, originally called *rumpat teka*, but since nicknamed *rumpat blanda*, and which they declare was introduced by the whites to feed their cattle on. It is now a proverbial saying with them that it is impossible to get rid of this grass, likewise it is unprofitable to shake off the rule of the white man." (Brooke Low.)

"They are obliged to take all hands they can get, and the children are either made to work in the farm, or to search for and carry home the fruit they find. Occasionally after they have been working the whole day in the farms, they go out in the evening with torches, into the jungle to seek for fruit. At times, when the work is very pressing, the whole village seems deserted; all people stay in the jungle, in houses they build on their farms; they often stay there for days and weeks, and only some sick people, old men and women, and little children stay at home." (F. W. Abe, at Quop Gosp. Miss.; 1st May, 1863, p. 77.) "During the farming operations the family generally reside on the spot, returning to the village with the produce." (Bethune, Jour. R. Geog. S., 1846. xvi. 298; Grant, p. 31.)

The duties of attending to the crops are, as it too often happens, left to the "women and children, while the able-bodied men seek other and more congenial occupation, *i.e.*, either follow a war-path, or journey into the far interior, or plunge into the jungle in quest of its produce. As the paddy

begins to ripen, the men return to their homes and the families then remove entirely to their farms, where there is still plenty to do to scare away the birds and other pests and to prepare for the harvest. The paths intersecting the farm are closed at this season, and no one can traverse them without paying a penalty or sin-offering of a fowl and a bit of iron. Those who may be suffering from positive want, having exhausted their last year's stock, now glean of the half-ripe paddy as much as they require for their immediate necessities; this is called *ñumbar*." (Brooke Low.)

#### IRRIGATION.

"The Malays and Dyaks near the sea-board always irrigate their rice-fields; not so the Dyaks in the mountainous interior, who generally grow paddy on the hill-sides. . . . When irrigation is used, the paddy is first sown and flooded, and, when some three inches high, is transplanted (into swampy land) into holes drilled by means of a long pole. When irrigation is not used, the paddy is simply put into these holes, and there is no transplanting." (Grant, pp. 31 & 32.)

Of the hill-grown rice Sir Chas. Brooke says it is inferior to the low-ground rice, "but as it does not require replanting, the Dyaks generally obtain a larger quantity of it, which generally repays them for deficiency in quality." (i. 59.)

"In the lower Trusan river where there are swamps the Murut rice-farms are prepared by buffaloes being walked round and round until all the growth has been trodden into the mud. In the upper country it is planted on the hills, new land being taken up every year, and very fine paddy is often grown. In a valley known as the Bah, which is about six to eight miles long and about three-quarters broad, in which the Trusan river has its source, a system of irrigation is carried out that would do credit to far more civilized people. The whole valley is dug out in squares, the earth heaped up, forming good paths, and the water is conducted by drains and bamboo pipes from one field to another." (O. F. Reckitts, S.G. No. 347, p. 214.)

"The small brooks which run through the valley are dammed up with stakes, which support an embankment of weeds and rubbish. The field is divided by ridges into parcels of land of different levels, and the water is so managed by attention to levels, that any of these can be flooded or drained, as the growth and appearance of the crop may render necessary. The Padi seed is not planted in the fields, but sown in another piece of land, and taken up and transplanted into the wet land of the farm. . . . I am not aware that the Dyaks possess more than one kind of wet rice, but of the upland Padi they have very many: the one most esteemed and in most general cultivation, is the Padi *ber-sabong*, a good kind and an abundant bearer. There are others of a whiter nature and smaller grain, but these are not so productive, and are consequently less grown. The Padi-*pulut* is a curious species; each family grows a little of it. It is a fine strong growing kind, but when clean and boiled, is of a peculiar clammy nature, and is much used by the Malays in their cooking for *Juadahs* and sweet-meats: the Europeans also use it for puddings. It bears a higher price than the other kinds in the market, and is never eaten by the Dyaks unless it has been cooked in a green

bamboo, as they suppose that the *priuk*, or cooking pot, spoils the flavour, and the Malays also are of this opinion." (Low, p. 317.)

"The Dyak rices are often good and sweet in quality, but they will not bear storing long, and are not generally very white grained. Interspersed with the paddy, you often see a good deal of Indian corn, which the natives are very fond of, though they do not grind it into meal. Dyaks often, too, make what they call gardens. These are enclosed spaces, fenced to keep out the pigs, and in which are planted sundry vegetables and fruits, prized by themselves if not by Europeans." (Grant, p. 31.)

"Some tribes have a succession of farms coming in a few weeks later than each other, but never more than three. The Hill Dyaks seldom plant their farms till a month or two later than the Sea tribes, who consequently have the first of the market; new rice always selling for a higher price than the old, the former being esteemed sweeter and more nourishing by the Malays who are the purchasers." (Low, p. 232.)

#### OTHER CROPS.

"Jason or Indian corn is planted sparingly at the same time; and as it is ripe and off the ground within three months from the date of the sowing, it does not injure the paddy, amongst the rows of which it is sown; and as it comes in at a season when the rice with some is getting exhausted, and the second crop is not ready, it is of great use to the Dyaks, though not so much esteemed as rice as an article of food. On the larger collection of ashes they also sow the seeds of gourds (*gerrok*), pumpkins (*entekai*), a kind of melon without flavour (*junggat, kundu*), and cucumbers (*rampu*), of which they are very fond. These trail along the ground amongst the stems of the paddy, to which they appear to do no injury, and continue bearing for some time after the rice-crop has been gathered in." (Low, p. 229.)

"The Dyaks get two crops off the ground in succession; one of rice, and the other of sugar-cane, maize, and vegetables." (Wallace i. 110.) "The Serambo, Peninjauh, Bombok, Singhi, Grogo, and Suba Dyaks plant no vegetables or only in the smallest quantities. The Singhi and Serambo Dyaks have a small number of sago trees, but not enough for their own wants, though some of the land in the neighbourhood of the former village is admirably suited for growing this palm." (Denison, ch. iii., p. 28.)

"The Sea Dyaks sow cotton-seed after the rice harvest." (St. John i. 75.) "The Land Dyaks plant rice, Indian corn, cucumbers, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, kiladis, yams, beans in their farms and gardens, and all kinds of fruit-trees around their villages and on neighbouring hills." (*ibid*, i. 202.)

"The only cultivation attempted by the tribes in the interior on the Baram is for the purpose of supplying their immediate wants, and only such as is necessary to produce rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, tobacco, sugar cane, and maize; the coastal people, however, grow a quantity of sago." (Hose, J.A.I., xxiii. 162.)

"The Dusun plants his rice, and after that has been harvested, *kaladi* (*caladium esculentum*) is put in on the same ground." (Whitehead, p. 107.)

The Dusuns cultivate "kaladi, red vegetables, in appearance something like pumpkins, they called *labu*; they taste like carrots and are rather pleasant. Kaladi is a root something like an artichoke, and tastes like starch." (Hatton, p. 158.) Sir Sp. St. John says the kaladi (*arum*) is like a beet root with the flavour of a yam, and very palatable. The Idaan plant it largely after rice. (i. 260.)

Among the Kiaus, "We passed through several fields of tobacco, as well as of yams and kiladis; the first is carefully cultivated, and not a weed was to be observed among the plants." (*ibid*, i. 275.) "At present, although they [the Kiaus] keep their plantations very clean, they use no instrument to turn up the soil, merely putting the seed in a hole made by a pointed stick. In size their kiladis, sweet potatoes, and rice are very inferior and their crops scanty, though the flavour of their productions is excellent, but with their tobacco they appear to take much pains. Thinking that potatoes might flourish here, Mr. Low, in 1856, sent some by Mr. Lobb to be given to the villagers to plant; next morning, however, he found the little boys playing marbles with them." (*ibid*, i. 320.)

#### THE HARVEST.

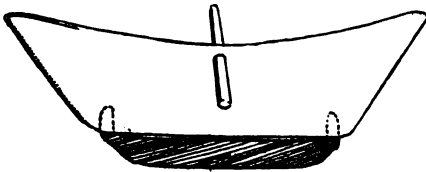
"About March or April or from six to seven months after the period of its sowing the padi puts on the beautiful appearance which informs the delighted husbandman of the approach of the reward of his labours. At this season the field of the Dyak presents a more lovely picture to the eye than the farms of Europe. The yellow padi is everywhere relieved by the gaudy flowers of the *bayam* or kind of vegetable, which resembles the *Amaranthus* or prince's feather of our gardens and its large tufts of orange and crimson enhance the beauty of the pleasing scene.<sup>1</sup> As the heads of padi seldom all ripen together, or so regularly as the ears of other grain in England, no sickle is used in reaping, nor are the stalks bound into bundles. Every person in the family of the Dyak armed with his or her basket and knife is employed in going regularly over the field, and taking off all the ripe heads, with but a few inches of straw, the bulk of which is left standing on the ground, where it decays, and nourishes the earth which produced it. Each person, when the basket is full, carries it to the *daŋgau*, where it is rubbed from the ear, frequently by the hands; but this irksome method is, by those who have large farms, avoided by a sieve which they erect outside the hut, with split rattans fastened into a frame-work, and supported by four posts, over which also the roof is extended: a mat is placed under the sieve, and the heads of padi, being put into it above, are worked backwards and forwards over the fine rattans of the sieve with a wooden instrument which they have for the purpose, until the padi, being freed from the stalks, falls into the receptacle below, whence it is taken, and being well dried in the sun, is finally conveyed to the granary of the family, until wanted for the purposes of trade and of home consumption." (Low, p. 230.)

<sup>1</sup> This may explain Mr. Grant's remark (p. 28) "farms, which, by-the-by, are called farms because they occasionally produce rice, not because they bear the smallest resemblance to what we have been used to call by that name."

A writer in the Jour. Ind. Arch. ii. p. 7, writing from some part of the west coast of Borneo, says: "The operation of threshing is performed by the feet of men and women who form a line, and clasping, with both hands over their heads, a tensely drawn rattan strung horizontally above them, execute a most vigorous dancing wriggle."

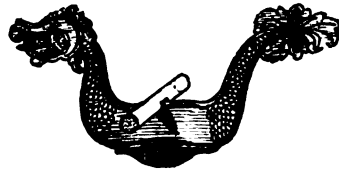
At a Sibayau village the women "were turning the padi into rice by beating it in their mortars, and winnowing it. They show a skill in the latter process truly marvellous: they put the beaten padi into a flat basket with slightly-rounded raised edges, and standing on the platform to catch the slight breeze, quietly throw the contents in the air, and catch the grains while the wind carries away the chaff; it is quickly cleaned. There was an appearance of activity and bustle about this village that was really pleasing." (St. John i. 209.)

Mr. Hose also mentions the use by the people of the interior on the Baram of a "description of pestle and mortar for husking the paddy." (J.A.I. xxiii. 162.) Another method is that described by Mr. Grant among the Land Dyaks: "When the crop is taken in, the ears only are cut off, then trodden out, and there is your paddy. To make rice, it is put into a large wooden mortar and pounded. The winnowing is contrived thus:—One man or woman, holding a basket of paddy high up, allows the grain gradually to fall to the mat below; at the same time, two men stand opposite, and each applies a huge fan with all his might, thus blowing away the chaff as the grain descends." (p. 31.)



SKARAN REAPING KNIFE.

Total length, 5½ in. Weight, over ½ oz.  
(Leggatt Coll.)



RICE REAPING KNIFE.

Koti R. ⅓ real size.  
(Leiden Mus.)

"The Sea Dyaks reap by means of a piece of sharpened steel, which is attached to their fingers, and in grasping a handful of heads of the padi, the steel cuts through them; but it is a slow process. The fruit is taken home, and after being dried, is stored in different sized troughs of bark [*tibang*], which are sewn together, and form strong enduring cases. The only means of computing the quantity of padi for sale is by naming the size round one of these troughs." (Brooke i. 59.)

This method of storage is also mentioned by Sir Sp. St. John: "The rice which is stored within a receptacle made of the bark of some gigantic tree, and is in the form of a vat. It is kept in the garrets of the houses, and a large one will contain a hundred and fifty bushels." (i. 173.) "A good deal of rice is stored in large long lengths of bamboo, which stand upright against the wooden partition in the house." (*ibid*, p. 108.)

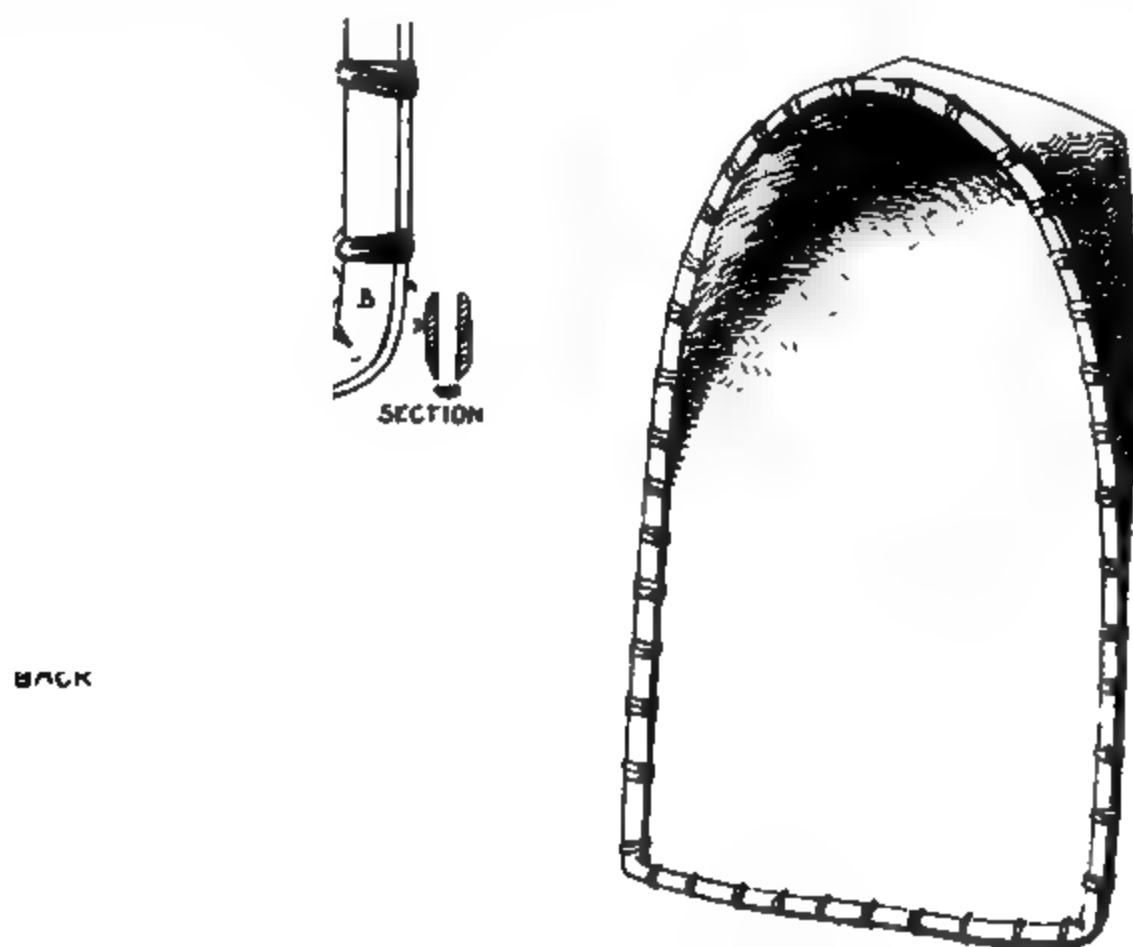
"The Kyans, Kiñahs, and Lanahans stow their paddy in barns built for the purpose. The floor is six feet above the ground, and the posts are

encircled with circular wooden discs to keep off the rats." (Brooke Low.) The Dusuns do the same. (Whitehead, p. 108.)

In a Kadyan village Capt. Mundy noticed these granaries, "built on the top of posts, about ten feet from the ground, had sliding doors at one end, through which the grain was carried." (ii. 166.)

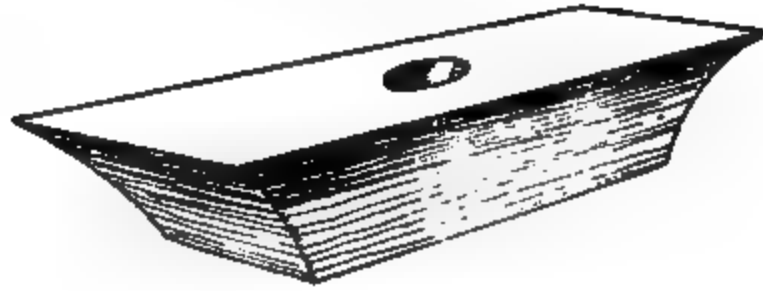
Mr. Wallace speaks of the numerous little granaries "built high up in trees overhanging the river and having a bamboo bridge sloping up to them from the bank." (*ibid*, 116.)

I think it is of the Dusuns Mr. Burbidge writes (p. 154): "One of the most important of the women's duties is to clean and prepare daily the 'padi.' It is a very pretty sight to see the girls of the villages inland thus engaged. As many as three may sometimes be seen beating the rice in one of their large wooden mortars. With one hand they grasp the pestle about the centre, while the other hand is rested on the hip. One woman commences to beat



SEA DYAK PLAITED ROTAN HANDLESS WINNOWING SHOVEL.  
(Leggatt Coll.)

the rice with a steady, regular stroke, then another one joins her, and then a third. Of course, the most exact time has to be observed, and the graceful motions of their slightly-draped figures, the dancing pestles, and the regular thudding sounds produced are very interesting to a stranger. After the rice has been sufficiently beaten, one of the girls scoops it out of the mortar with her little hands into a shallow tray of closely-woven rattan work of circular form and about two feet in diameter." It is sieved, as among the Sibuyan, falling back into the tray. "When finished, the rice is as clean and as white as that dressed by the finest machinery in England. Two or three girls will soon clean the day's supply, and by the laughing and gossip indulged in one may infer that the task is not a very unpleasant one to them."



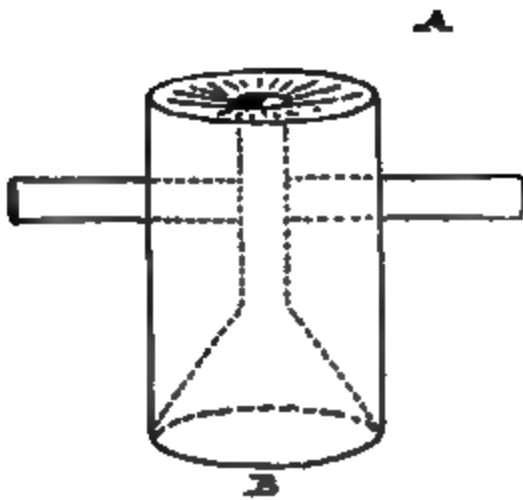
Lesong, RICE MORTAR.

36in. long, 18in. wide, 13in. high, hole 4in wide  
and 8in deep.

(Laggatt Coll.)

A somewhat different method is described by Mr. Hatton (p. 164): "One woman stamps the corn with a long stick of heavy wood, and then hands the broken grains to the next worker, who separates the chaff from the rice in a shallow pan made of

nipa leaves and rattans. The third takes the mixture of rice and paddy (*i.e.*, rice with the husk) which results from the last operation, and puts it in a similar shallow pan, where she separates the rice from the husk by a peculiar movement of a pan, accompanied with a jerk. Long practice has made the women perfect at this, and the men are equally perfect at doing nothing. The women use their left hand with equal facility to their right, and indeed make no distinction."



Kisar, OR PADI HUSKER.

It usually stands on a mat, and, being heavy, is kept *in situ* by its own weight. "The mode of grinding padi clear of the husk is through the trunk of a tree cut into two parts, the upper portion hollow, the lower solid; small notches are cut where the two pieces fit, and handles attached to the upper part, which being filled with padi and kept turning round the husk is detached and escapes by the notches."

(Sir James Brooke, Keppel i 64)

#### AGRICULTURAL FEASTS.

"Tuppa, or Jerroang, is always (by the Hill Dyaks) invoked at their agricultural and other peaceful feasts, and, together with the sun, moon, and stars, and the Sultan of Bruni, and their own Rajah, are requested to shed their beneficent influence over the seed padi, and to render the season propitious to its growth. They regulate the agricultural seasons by the motions of the heavenly bodies, particularly the Pleiades, which they call 'Sakara,' and to the several stars, on which they bestow the attributes of gods." (Low, p. 251.)

"The *paddy doctorings* are many in number. After burning down the jungle for the year's farms, before planting, after planting, on several occasions while the paddy is growing (especially if it does not seem quite healthy), after clearing a path, at the close of the fruit season, &c., the whole village, or

individual families, hold a minor doctoring, at which a fowl is killed. If it be held at the farm, and a *chanang* and drum be beaten at it, it is called *mekapaü*; if there be no music, and an offering to the *Hantu* only be made, it is called *nyizangan*. These latter doctorings it is which stud the farms and the roadsides, around a village, with the small bamboo altars (*serangan*) that are so prominent a feature in Dyak districts. Upon these, small offerings (*peñgudip*) of rice, &c., are placed, for the sustenance of the unseen spirits; but they are infinitesimally small, and the wonder is that people who dread so much the power and malignancy of the denizens of the world of shadows, should think that their malice is appeased by so trifling a tribute.

"The great paddy-feasts occur in connection with the harvest. They are three in number; and, with a short account of these, I will conclude this section."

1.—"Feast of *Nyipaän*, or gathering of the first fruits. Till this is held, no one may presume to cut his paddy, or even to repair the *tanyu*, or bamboo platform which runs along the front of the houses, and upon which the paddy is trodden out from the ear and then dried, preparatory to stowing it away in the huge barrel-like boxes of bark, which adorn a Dyak's garret. It lasts for two days—a fowl only is killed, and its chief interest consists in the occasional bursts of 'music and dancing,' which shake the not over-firm houses; and in the grand procession of *barich*, accompanied by a drum and a *chanang*, which proceed in state to each of the collections of farms, and there cut a bunch of the golden waving corn, and bring it back in triumph, that it may be hung up over the bamboo altar that is erected in the long room of the house where the feast is held. It generally falls about the beginning of March, and, when concluded, the work of platform-building and reaping is set about in earnest. Nothing but work, work, work, is thought of for a fortnight or three weeks; but then, when the reaping is well begun, a stoppage is made, and—

2.—"The feast of *Man Sawa* gives an interval of rest to the people's unceasing yet joyful labours,—joyful, because, though a season of hard toil from sunrise to long past sunset, yet to the Dyak mind there is no time like harvest-time. The fruit of their year's watchings and labours, and hopes and fears, is then begun to be realised, and they 'return with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.' The whole village has a festive appearance,—a feathery waving head of growing bamboo being placed outside each separate family apartment, to mark the joyful character of the season. This second harvest-feast lasts four days; fowls and pigs are killed, and preparations of rice, in different forms, give abundance of pleasant occupation to the patient and laborious wives and daughters of Dyakdom. For the first two days the feasting is done in a small hut, which is generally built near one of the paths leading out of the village, at the place where the 'birds of day' are consulted. It is never very large, and in the midst of it is erected a *sekurung*, or bamboo altar, which is decorated with green boughs, red and white streamers, &c., so as to present a very gay appearance. On and around this are laid offerings of every kind of eatable known to the Dyaks, which can then be made or obtained, fruits, a working *parang*, new paddy, &c., as a tribute of acknowledgment that all these good and useful things are bestowed by Him, Who is

the Lord and Maker of us all. On one side of it are ranged the musicians—the young men and lads of the tribe—who keep up an almost continual, though not unmusical, clatter, on the various kinds of gongs and drums which are found among them. In one corner the *barich*, all dressed in gorgeous array, sit croning away, one of them leading off the chant, and the rest responding; while, round about, the elders are scattered in groups, chattering and laughing with might and main, their gay jackets and *chawats*, or trowsers—purple, yellow, and scarlet are the predominating colours—all combining to make a very pretty picture. On the outer verge of these are grouped the women and children, all merry and happy; and it certainly does one no harm to join in their boisterous but innocent mirth, at this joyful harvest-time. Now comes a hum of preparation on the part of the elders, the music takes a more vigorous turn, and then, with loud treble shrieks, a body of the old men and a few *barich* range themselves round the *sekurung*, and commence their slow and solemn dance, some bearing in their hands tapers, and other offerings of various kinds; while every face is set into an expression of the most immovable gravity, as if dancing was certainly the weightiest and most important business which, as human beings, they are called upon to perform. For two days and two nights are the performances kept up; when the chief actors sleep is a mystery, it must be in alternate batches, for the rejoicings never seem to cease. On the morning of the third day, the feasting is adjourned to the long room of one of the houses, where another *sekurung* is also erected and adorned; and at noon the noisy part of it is concluded by the process of ‘getting the soul of paddy,’ which I will now describe. The Dyak word which I translate ‘soul,’ means ‘the living principle’ in anything, and paddy is supposed to possess one as well as mankind; and some also assign one to beasts. *Tūpa*, the chief good spirit, is supposed to send it down from heaven, by way of answer to the worship of their feasting; and were it not obtained, all the year’s paddy would, it is said, speedily rot and decay. In this district the trick is performed by the chief male doctor. When he is observed to be examining his ‘charm,’ and gazing earnestly at nothing in the air, the band strikes up with redoubled fury, and the old gentlemen begin to shriek and perform a somewhat more energetic dance than usual round the *sekurung*. After working themselves round it a certain number of times, they cease, and up starts the doctor, and makes a rush at an invisible something; men run to him bearing white cloths, over which he shakes his ‘charm,’ and forthwith there tumbles into each of them in succession a few seeds of paddy, and these are ‘the soul,’ of their year’s crop. When obtained, they are carefully folded up in the cloths, and laid at the foot of the *sekurung*. The same process subsequently takes place in every family apartment, and the doctor gets two or three cups and a small allowance of rice (value of all, about sixpence sterling) from each family, as a reward for his skill and pains.”

“In some tribes the soul of the paddy is always got about midnight, and the whole ceremony is far more impressive and exciting than in this district. Imagine a lofty altar, gaily decorated, erected in the open air close to a village, and surrounded by the grand forms of our tropical palms and other fruit trees. Huge bonfires cast a ruddy glare around, and strange and picturesque are the

dusky forms of the feasting Dyaks as they move to and fro in their gay attire. The crowning moment of the feast has come,—a long procession of doctors and elders is walking slowly round the altar, then, perhaps, decorated with small tapers innumerable. At length a loud shriek is heard, and all the performers rush wildly *en masse*, and lay hold of a long strip of white cloth which hangs down from one of the lofty corner pinnacles of the altar, upon which a doctor mounts amid the shouts of the bystanders. The elders and doctors, who have seized hold of the white cloth, shriek and yell, and sway themselves about in wonderful confusion; the spectators get excited, shout succeeds shout, the gongs and drums are struck as loud and as fast as human hands can manage it, the altar is violently shaken by the doctor who has mounted it, and, amid this hubbub, a few grains of paddy fall to the ground round about the altar,—this is the soul,—and the performance ends by all the old *barich* pretending to fall exhausted and senseless into the arms of their admiring younger sisters.

3.—“At the third and concluding harvest-feast, which is called *Nyishupen*, or *Nyipidang Menyüpong*, and held after the year's crop has been stowed away (in May), the same process is again repeated, and the soul of paddy thus obtained is mixed with the seed-corn of the next year. At this feast is held the great annual doctoring of the village; the young *barich* are operated upon by their elders, and the young lads by one of the male doctors. Pigs and fowls are killed, and the *pamali* lasts eight days, during which no stranger may enter the village. Cocoa-nut water in which gold has been washed is also ‘planted’ (as it is called) in the ground, to make the earth ‘cold’—that is, lucky. Such as desire it among the juniors are also specially doctored with cocoa-nut water, and then shut up for eight days in the long room where the feast is held,—this being considered a most salutary preparation for the labours of the new year. The general doctoring, which everyone undergoes, consists of a mixture of blood, turmeric, cocoa-nut water, &c., dabbed on the head. If a person is going to be specially doctored, he must get himself a green cocoa-nut, and with these in their hands the old *barich* dance wildly about the long room,—their performance being accompanied by the thundering of gongs and drums, and the melancholy strains of other *barich*, who are probably winding slowly in procession around a pile of *maiYang*, or betel-nut blossom,\* that has been collected together in one corner of the room. When any individual's cocoa-nut has been sufficiently tossed about by the *barich*, it is taken to an elder, who stands, sword in hand over a *lesong*, or mortar, in which the rice is pounded out of the husk; into this he places the nut, and cleaves it with one blow of his sword. If the water simply gushes into the hollow of the *lesong*, the person who is about to be doctored with its water may expect a healthy year; but if it squirts up towards the roof, then sickness is before him. The ceremonies attendant on the special doctoring of the young *barich* by their elder sisters would be tedious to relate,—the chief one is the laying out of these *malades imaginaires* in a row all along the long room, and covering them

From this *maiYang* the *barich* also make the wands which are one of the insignia of their office when employed in doctoring. [W. Ch.]

up as if they were dead, when the head *barich* waves a lighted taper over them, and chants a very doleful strain, and then finally uncovers their faces, and blows new life into them. This over, they are uncovered,—but arise from their recumbent position they may not, for one day at least, and for eight days they are imprisoned in the long room.” (Rev. W. Chalmers in Grant’s Tour, pp. 106-125.)

“There is a Kiñah harvest festival called *Bunut*,<sup>3</sup> which seems to be in honour of the fertility of their women and their soil. The families who have given birth to children since the date of the last festival, empty each a basketful of toys and eatables on the floor for the boys and girls to scramble for. After this the wise women of the tribe squat in a circle round a gong full of water with four water-beetles (called *ivak* by the Kyans and *rung kup* by the Dyaks) swimming about in it. They draw auguries from their evolutions in the water, and implore their god *Laké Ivong* to come up their way, up the Baloi river and the Bulan river, and bring with them the soul of the paddy seed into the country of *Laké Uan*. Cane juice is then poured into the water, and the mixture drunk up by the women; the beetles are taken to the river side, and dropped into the current to be carried away towards *Laké Ivong*. This ceremony is followed by a downright indecent rough and tumble, in which all join, men and women, boys and girls. They pelt one another with soft rice boiled in soot, fling one another on the ground, rub one another all over with slush until their bodies are caked with the filth. A naked man with an idiotic simper on his face wanders in and out among the crowd of revellers, and the women are made to touch him as he passes in and out among them. This is presumably in honour of his manhood and power, and may be simply a survival of primitive worship. The grossest licence is permitted during the quarter of an hour this orgie prevails. The verandah, which has now begun to smell like a pig-stye, is deluged with water, and one or two women slide about the slippery floor with hand-nets, and make believe to scoop up the slush for fear the rice they have wasted may never return to them again.

“The Kyan harvest festival is called *Dangé*, and at its conclusion the village is tabued for a period of ten days. A pig is sacrificed according to custom, and its flesh exposed on a bamboo altar in the open air as an offering to the Great Spirit. The wise folk of the village dance a measure round it, and wind up by chasing each other round it with naked weapons; a slave woman, with a basket of food on her back, beating a gong the while. A trophy is fitted up in the verandah of the house composed of rice cooked in various ways, all manner of fruits from their gardens, every-day clothing, holiday costumes and war gear, all of which things it is the business of the mystery-man to forward to the Great Spirit as a thank-offering from the people with prayers for more of the same sort, their wants being abundance of produce, plenty of wearing apparel, the animals of the chase, and the heads of their enemies. At the village of *Balo Lahé* I met the widow of the powerful Kyan chief Oyang Hang, who was subdued by Rajah Brooke in 1863. Music

<sup>3</sup> I am not certain whether this is really a harvest feast or one like Sea Dyaks’ Gawai Burong held occasionally and not annually. (H. L. R.)

and dancing went on in the evening, and was the best of the kind I have seen anywhere. The women spared no pains to please us; they turned out in troops to dance before us, and the old lady was unapproachable, her performance being inimitable. There were single dances, double dances, and company dances. Some were graceful, others were grotesque. There was the dance of the blind man feeding his pigs, which convulsed us with laughter; a deer dance, and the dance of the fishes blocking up the river, in which the feet of the performers went pit-a-pat, pit-a-pat, and the arms were swung backwards and forwards in quick time, the ends of the column changing places as the company faced about. This was followed by a ludicrous dance called the dance of the Punan women, caricaturing their untidy costume and awkward deportment. Then there was the dance of the young warrior making love to another man's wife; the performers were both women, she sat with her back to him making a cigarette; every time he danced up to her to take it out of her mouth, she shook him off, but as he danced away from her, she threw him a glance over her shoulder which encouraged him to advance again. Then there were war dances, the men in full costume, with the step and music peculiar to each tribe." (Brooke Low.)

#### THE LAND DYAK SACRED FARM FLOWER.

"The *Dracœna* resembles the species known to botanists as *Dracœna terminalis*, and is not a native of the island. It is planted near the houses and around the *bulu gading*, or ivory bamboo, which is held in great reverence. This beautiful cane, one or more tufts of which are found near every village, grows to the height of the largest of the genus: its stems are of a bright yellow colour, with a smooth and ivory-like appearance. Beneath its shade, and amongst plants of the crimson and pink-leaved *Dracœna*, is generally erected a little bamboo altar, covered in winter from the rain with a roof, but more frequently open. When protected, a ladder is usually placed for facilitating the ascent of the spirit to the offerings upon the stage, which are placed there on all their festival occasions: when the altar is roofed, it in general resembles a Dyak house, and thus becomes a little temple. No worship is paid to the tree, but the place on which it stands is considered sacred: and a plant is always procured and tended with care in every village, until it becomes a large and handsome bush. Its gracefully beautiful stems and foliage probably first attracted the attention of these people and induced them to suppose plants which were to them of so pleasing an appearance, equally the favourites of the gods. The *Bunga Si Kudip*, as it is called by the Dyaks of the southern branch of the Sarawak river and amongst whom it is held in the greatest esteem, though known, I believe, to all the tribes, is the plant described by botanists as the *Pancratium Amboinese* or *Eurycles coronata*, a native of the Moluccas and other islands to the eastward, but, as far as at present known, a stranger to the flora of Borneo, in the western part of which the order *Amaryllideæ*, to which it belongs, is only represented by one species of *Crinum*, which is found on the muddy banks of rivers. By the Siboooyoh Sea Dyaks this plant is called *Si-Kenyang*. By the Dyaks of the southern river the roots of this bulbous plant are preserved with jealous care, being

always taken up when the padi is ripe, and preserved amongst it in the granaries, to be planted again with the seed-padi in the following season. It bears a beautiful crown of white and fragrant flowers, which rise about a foot above the bulb; the only plant which I saw in a flowering state was at Sennah, and no consideration would induce the owner to part with it. These and other Dyaks assert that the padi will not grow unless a plant of the *Si-Kudip* be in the field, and on being asked respecting its origin they answered that Tuppa gave it to mankind with the padi, and requested them to take care of it, which they now do. The plant I saw in flower at Sennah had a bamboo altar erected over it, on which were several offerings, consisting of food, water, etc." (Low, p. 273.)

Of this sacred flower Mr. Denison writes (ch. viii. p. 88): "It was at the village of Sentah that I succeeded with great difficulty in procuring two bulbs of the *Sekedip* flower, so highly prized and venerated by all the Land Dyak tribes I had visited, so much so that I could never induce them to part with even a single root. This flower has been so fully described by Low in his work on Sarawak that I shall only confine myself here to saying that the plant grows to a height of about eighteen inches, the leaves being arranged as with those of the arum, light green in colour and deeply ribbed in the direction of their length, and what are called hastate-shaped, but, short and very broad, the length and breadth being about equal. The blossom is white and shaped like that of a hyacinth with six petals, the tops of the stamens being reddish yellow. The flowers form a bunch at the end of a long stalk about a foot in length. I could obtain no explanation from the Dyaks as to the origin of their veneration for this flower. It is planted with their paddy, and, when the crop is gathered, the plant is dug up and the bulb preserved till again required. All that the Dyaks could say was that this had been their custom from time immemorial. I found the *Sekedip* planted near the villages with another flower called the *peningat*, generally in conjunction with a clump of yellow bamboo, and this appeared to be invariably a place of offering."

#### FRUIT-TREES.

"The ancestors of the Sea Dyaks, having for many centuries occupied the countries these people now inhabit, fruit trees are scattered in abundance all over its surface, particularly near the banks of rivers, and all jungles abound with them. The most esteemed kinds surround their villages, and these, with others in easily accessible places, are individual property; but those of the jungles are not owned, and their fruit generally becomes the property of the local fauna." (Low, p. 234.)

"On approaching the houses of the Hill Dyaks, during the season when the fruit trees are in blossom, or loaded with their delicate fruits, the perfume exhaled by them is most grateful." (*ibid*, p. 282.) "The Dyaks are passionately fond of the durian, and distinguish it by the name *dien*, which signifies 'the fruit,' *par excellence*; *dien* being the term for fruit in general, as well as for this species in particular. Its seeds, which are large, are roasted, when they resemble chestnuts, and are carefully preserved by the people, to be eaten when the season of fruits is past. They take no care whatever in replanting

fruit trees, nor do they weed the ground, hence the fruit seasons are very precarious. Near the houses are always planted the cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees of the tribe; but so far inland, and at any considerable elevation, they are long before they come to a fruit-bearing state; and then their productions are small, and not to be compared to those grown in the vicinity of the sea." (*ibid*, pp. 283-284.)

"The Peninjauhs are becoming wealthy from the great extent of their fruit trees. . . . One good fruit season, a hundred and fifty families realized two pounds sterling each, enough to buy rice to last them six months." (St. John i. 159.)

"On the Samaharan we noticed with much indignation that hundreds of fine fruit-trees were destroyed, and on enquiry found it had been done by the old Orang Kaya Sunan, who wanted to have a farm near his own house. The trees belonged to the tribe, who vainly tried to persuade him not to do it; but being backed by the Datu Patinggi, he would not listen to them." (*ibid* i. 225.)

On the Sarawak (?) river, Bishop McDougall writes: "Wild nutmegs and a great number of jungle fruit-trees grow on either side, and greatly excite my men as we pass by. They are like boys in England coveting apples, and when I do let them land they yell and screech for joy. They scramble up the trees like monkeys, and in an incredibly short space of time, every fruit-bearing bough is lopped off by the *parangs* of the climbers; while those beneath gather the fruit as it comes down. They are most destructive to the trees, and rather than lose an inaccessible morsel, down comes the whole tree in no time." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 151.)

A correspondent from the Batang Lupar says: "Vast quantities of Katio nuts are now [Feb.] to be obtained in the jungles, between the Kalaka river and Sungei Samaludam; Malays and Dyaks, from all parts, are now busy gathering these nuts, from which the oil is expressed in the usual clumsy and antiquated fashion. The price realized for the oil is a dollar a gantang here, and up the coast, it is said, fifty per cent. and more, can be made. Nearly all the Lingga able-bodied men have deserted the village, temporarily, to look for these Katio nuts." (S.G. 1894, p. 67.)

"The fruit trees [of the Land Dyaks] about the Kampong, and as far as the jungle round, are *private property*, and all other trees which are in any way useful, such as the bamboo, various kinds for making bark-cloth, the bitter *kōny*, and many others. Land, likewise, is individual property, and descends from father to son; so likewise is the fishing of particular rivers, and indeed most other things. So tenacious are they of this kind of property, that amongst themselves the young shoots of bamboo (which are edible) cannot be cut by anyone but the proprietor without incurring a fine." (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy i. 210.)

Sir Henry Keppel records the settlement of the disputed possession of some durian trees. The case was as follows: "The plaintiffs and defendants were relations in the third degree; and their common great-grandfather having planted some durian trees on the bank of the river, they (the trees) have, in the loose manner in which property descends, become the property of the planter's descendants, now amounting to about fifty persons. Two men,

named Nidor and Tajou, having taken the unripe fruit from the trees, the defendants, in consequence, cut down two of the trees from spite." A fine was fixed for destroying trees which were common property. (Meander ii. 63.) [For property in wild bee trees, see Hunting.]

On one occasion in 1882 a neighbouring chief, "on the grounds that he is descended from the old tribe of Lundu Dyaks, of which he is one of the last survivors, lays claim to the whole land lying between Lundu and Tanjong Datu, and has been exacting from the Selakows a certain percentage on all beeswax and edible birds' nests which they may obtain in the jungle or caves of the surrounding mountains. Fines also have been imposed upon them by the same person if in felling jungle for farming purposes they destroy a fruit tree, as all fruit trees are said by this old gentleman to have been planted by his ancestors and are therefore his. The Selakows are new comers, their old home being in Sambas territory, and they complained that if the land all belonged to one man there was no room for them and they had better return to Sambas." Mr. F. R. O. Maxwell, who reported the above (S.G. No. 187, p. 31), informs me that he put a stop to the Lundu descendant's claims.

"The Muruts will fell forest trees in order to clear land, but will not clear secondary jungle. Certain fruit trees are considered the common property of the village, and others are private property: unless the *tabu* mark is placed on any particular tree (a few dead leaves bound round the tree), it is generally considered that passers-by may help themselves to the fruit." (Denison Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 185.)

### LAND TENURE.

"Land among the Hill Dyaks being so abundant, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, but little of it is the property of individuals; though each tribe has its limits, which have been handed down from father to son for ages, so that every old man of a tribe knows the exact extent of its district. But, as in a country where beasts of burden do not exist to assist the farmer in bringing home the produce of his lands, it is a very great advantage to the cultivator to have his field as near to the village as possible, we find that the tribes situated at a distance from the banks of the river, or where the brooks are too small to admit of the use of the canoe, the property in the vicinity of the houses divided into plots, which are the acknowledged property of certain individuals. During one of my visits to the Sennah tribe, a farm of about fifty acres was sold by one Dyak to another, the purchaser giving in exchange one large jar, said to be of the value of sixty rupees, or six pounds English. The rich men of a tribe often possess four or five such pieces of land in the favoured situations, and are, consequently, enabled to farm one piece every year near their own villages, as well as a larger farm at a distance, and in the vicinity of others of the tribe. In choosing the place for their farms, the locality is generally settled in a council of the tribe, so that one road may lead to all, at the making of which the whole village is called upon to assist. On the death of a Dyak, his land, together with his other property, is divided equally amongst his children, without distinction of age or sex." (Low, p. 319.)

Land disputes were very common (S.G. No. 169, p. 57) on the Batang Lupar. Mr. H. F. Deshon, writing in 1882 from the Simanggang, says: "The decision arrived at by your Highness in regard to the disputed lands between the Krian and Rembas gave universal satisfaction. It has hitherto been the custom of Rembas Dyaks who have moved into the Krian to still claim their old farming grounds in the Rembas river however distant they may be, and they have steadily refused to allow people living on the land and in the vicinity to farm these lands even after a lapse of ten years and more from the time of their removal." (S.G. No. 189, p. 55.)

"As regards the tenure by which land is held by the Sea Dyaks, it has been the immemorial custom that when a person fells the virgin forest, he acquires by that act a perpetual title to the land. It is his from henceforth to do with as he pleases; he may sell it, or lend it, or let it. The rent he is empowered to demand may not exceed in value a dollar, and must be either a game-cock, or a sucking pig, or a couple of plates. But as land is rising in value every year, and old jungle is becoming scarcer and scarcer, there is a marked tendency among the tribes to demand a heavier rent—in fact, several dollars a year. The tenure, too, has been modified within late years in view of the increasing demand for accommodation, and it is now generally understood that when the proprietor chooses to leave the district and remove into a distant country he forfeits, by so doing, all title to the ground and can no longer exact rent." (Brooke Low.)

"Sea Dyak parents and children, brothers and sisters, very seldom quarrel; when they do so, it is from having married into a family with whom afterwards they may have disputes about land. . . . There are favourite farming grounds and boundaries are not very settled. It used to be the practice not to have recourse to arms on those occasions, but the two parties collecting their relatives and friends would fight with sticks for the coveted spot." (St. John. i. 50.)

"The sago plantations in the Muka district are strictly considered personal property of individuals, as a general rule, and questions as to proprietorship form the principal cases in our Courts. The plantations are either acquired by hereditary succession, or by purchase. Occasionally a plantation will be found which is held in common by the members of one family, but generally this occurs when the parents have not long died, and the children consist principally of girls. In the north, amongst the Dusuns, where sago is unknown and padi plentiful, I have visited some villages where the padi is common to all. These are inland villages. Those near the sea have not this custom." (Denison Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 184.)

Among the Dusuns: "All the land that it is possible to cultivate belongs to families; some own considerably more than others. An orphan—a little girl in this village—was quite an heiress, owning a good deal of rice-land that had returned to forest, and therefore the more valuable. The Dusuns advised one of the Kadyans, whom they had taken a fancy to, as his ideas of the Mahomedan faith were not too strict, to marry this girl, as they told him that she had plenty of land, and the rattans had not been cut there for years. . . . Some of the larger land-owners who are short-handed employ their

less fortunate brethren at the harvest time, the payment of wages being made in rolls of tobacco." (Whitehead, p. 112.)

At Mengkabong "it was evident that these Ida'an kept this land under continual cultivation, and that each portion was strictly private property. We found every house had about four acres of ground belonging to its owner, which were divided from one another by slight embankments. (*ibid*, i. 247.)

#### FAMINES.

"Agriculture with the Sea Dyaks is in a very backward condition, but they contrast very favourably with the Malay population in the vicinity. Neither use the plough nor buffalo, but the former cultivate on a more extensive scale and with a more provident idea. They grow, both individually and collectively, far more than they require for their own consumption, and with the residue they purchase necessities, such as salt, steel, iron, and luxuries, such as personal ornaments, for their families. If the harvest has been really plentiful they are even able to afford to purchase gongs and toddy, and perhaps a jar or two." So says Mr. Brooke Low, but there is another side to the question and want is not at all unusual. [This want was pointed out when dealing with the preservation of food, p. 386.] "The harvests vary very much in the quantity produced. A failure in the burning of the old jungle, owing to too much wet, or want of sun in the ripening season, so injures the crop as to put the inhabitants to great straits to obtain means of maintaining life. Vegetables are not in abundance, except those growing wild in the jungles. The feeding on unripe cucumbers or other foods of the kind, occasions much sickness. An apparent provision of nature, however, much assists the inhabitants, as the causes which produce bad crops of padi seem to favour the various fruits of the country, and thus are the people afforded means of living." (Brooke i. 59.) "At certain seasons of the moon, just before and after the full, the Dyaks do not work at their farms; and what with bad omens, sounds, signs, adverse dreams, and deaths, two-thirds of their time is not spent in farm labour. When they have a plentiful harvest, the greater part of the stock is used for giving different kinds of feasts. This is, of course, a dead waste; and for the remainder of the year the inhabitants are badly off. . . . Many a time have strange visitors remarked what happy people the Dyaks must be, who farm and gain a livelihood with so little trouble, and are not pestered by irritating social conventionalities. But this is not true by any means." (*ibid*, i. 149.) Of the Kayans he says: "They farm as Dyaks, but not in so large a quantity, cultivating also sweet potatoes, tapioca, and other vegetables; but agricultural products are scant, and their comforts are few compared even to those of Dyaks." (*ibid*, ii. 302.)

Early in 1894 according to a correspondent of the Sarawak Gazette, p. 22: "The Ulu Lingga Dyaks having exhausted their last year's supplies of rice are badly off for food. They are living upon tapioca and wandering about in the jungle seeking produce to exchange for paddy in the Lingga bazaar."

Thus Mr. O. F. Rickets writes in 1886: "The paddy is looking nice and green and seems to promise a good harvest, but just at present the Murats

are very short of rice, or anything to get it with, as they are mostly very poor; it is to a great extent their own fault, as after the harvest so much paddy is used for making arrack." (S. G., No. 250, p. 178.)

"The accounts of the Bombok (Land) Dyaks as regards their paddy crop is the same oft-repeated story of its insufficiency, and not being enough to supply the villagers' own wants. The miserable system of cultivation, and the delay and procrastination attendant upon waiting for propitious omens continually causes the Dyaks to lose the best days of the months." (Denison, ch. ii., p. 14.) . . . "I heard that the inhabitants (Serin Dyaks) had not enough rice to carry them through till next harvest; in fact these Dyaks are so well off in birds' nests that they do not pay sufficient attention to their paddy planting." (*ibid*, ch. vii., p. 76.)

Some Dyaks at Nerdang in 1870 changed their farm lands to others where good crops had previously been grown, "but the river had overflowed its banks and converted their farms into mud more than a yard deep, and after many attempts to remedy this misfortune they were obliged to give it up in despair. So they are scattered in many places, some trading, others seeking gutta-percha, rotan, and other things in the jungle, to sell." (Gosp. Miss., 1st Nov., 1870, p. 171.)

#### PLOUGHING.

On the Tampusok, among the Bungol Ida'an, "I first saw natives ploughing. Their plough is of a very simple construction, and serves rather to scratch the ground than really to turn it over; it is made entirely of wood, and is drawn by a buffalo, and its action was the same as if a pointed stick had been dragged through the land to the depth of about four inches. After ploughing, they use a rough kind of harrow. I think this superior agriculture is obviously a remnant of Chinese civilization." (St. John i. 246.)

In the Sarawak Gazette (1894, p. 69) the Lundu correspondent writes while referring to the spread of coffee cultivation: "An English plough that has been lying idle for many years has been applied to land over-grown with lalang, the result being most satisfactory, and it would be of great service to those opening up plantations along the main roads where the grass grows so thick. The plough was drawn by a number of men, but with buffaloes better results would be obtained."

#### SAGO.

"It is from the Milanowe settlement, particularly from Hoya and Mocha, that the greater part of the sago from the west coast of Borneo is exported, which is cultivated by the Milanowes, to the same extent as rice is amongst the other tribes." (Low, p. 339.)

"The Punans and Kajamans farm meagrely; they prefer the sago to rice and grow the palm." (Brooke Low.)

A correspondent at Muka and Tilian writes: "The sago tree is a long palm, from thirty to forty feet high. This is cut into lengths of about a yard, the pulp is hoed out, or rather the wood is hoed into pulp. The pulp is then spread on the floor and the women, lowering a dipper into the river below, draw water which they throw over the pulp, treading it with their feet. The

water oozes through the floor of the room, in colour and consistence like milk, into a sampan (canoe) placed below for the purpose of collecting the precious liquor. It is guided in its course by two kajangs of atap leaves. The boat or canoe gradually over-flows, but the water that runs off is mere water, the sago having sunk to the bottom of the boat, where it remains in cakes. Tilian is about two miles long, and every house is occupied with the same work of sago making. The smell is unpleasantly sour like sulphur, but it has been pronounced not only not unwholesome but absolutely nutritious." (S. G., No. 30.) A more complete account is that given by Mr. Burbidge :

"The trees are cut down just as they attain maturity, the time being known by the production of the branched inflorescence. The leaves are removed, and then the trunks, which are ten to fifteen feet long, and as thick as a man's body, are split longitudinally, into two halves. A man then cuts out the pith, with which the whole centre of the trunk is filled. This requires some skill. The implement employed for the purpose is an axe, formed of a bamboo stem, fixed in a stout wooden handle, and lashed with rattan. By repeated strokes of this instrument, the pith and fibres are scooped out in thin layers, care being taken to cut it out as free from lumps as possible. The pulped pith is then carried in baskets to a washing apparatus. This consists of a rudely-constructed vat, elevated on piles, beside a river or brook, whence fresh and clean water is plentifully obtainable. From the vat a spout conducts the water into a trough below. The bottom of the vat is covered with a mat or bark-strainer. The pith is now placed in the vat, and trodden, water being occasionally poured over it during the progress, and the result is that the fine sago starch is washed through, and settles in the bottom of the trough below, the coarse particles and other impurities being retained by the strainers, at the bottom of the treading-vat. After the fine sago has been allowed time to settle in the trough, the water is run off, and the white putty-looking mass below is packed up in bags, and sold to the Chinamen, by whom it is again washed and dried, previous to its being shipped to the Singapore market. Two species of sago palm grow here, forming stout-stemmed trees, thirty or forty feet in height. They are readily distinguished by the one having smooth bases to the sheathing leaf-stalks, while the other has the leaf-sheaths set with stout black spines. The smooth variety is most abundant. The dried leaf-sheaths of this palm are utilised in the manufacture of neat baskets, being neatly sown together with strips of rattan, and fitted with lids." (Burbidge, p. 176.) "Sago, baked in pellets about the size of peas, forms the staple article of food of Milanos." (Crocker, S.G., No. 122.)

Mrs. McDougall, quoting the Bishop, her husband, says (p. 53) : "Some Dyak tribes, in the interior of the country, live on cakes made of sago, in preference to rice." This is his account of the process of manufacture : "Having cut out the pith, and washed it, the natives pack it up in little pottle-shaped parcels, and bury them in the mud by the sides of the rivers. Here it undergoes a process of fermentation, which would make most people, who smelt it, fancy it was no longer fit for use. Not so, however. After a time the packets of sago are sent to Singapore, &c., &c." (*ibid.*)

Sir Sp. St. John says (ii., p. 19) the sago on the Trusan is chopped out

with a scoop. "The coarse sago is put into leaf cases and sold to the Chinese, who turn it into the flour and pearl of commerce."

When this traveller first ascended the Limbang, he found "a large party of armed men assembled, who were preparing to collect sago palms, which grow in immense forests at the foot of the Ladan range. They fell the palms there, and clearing them of leaves, drag them to the banks of the small streams, and float them to the village. They always say there are two species of sago palms, one covered with thorns, the other free; the former is more safe from the attacks of wild pigs, and the latter perhaps more productive. . . . After the first three or four years, the freshly-planted palm is surrounded by smaller ones springing from its roots, so that when the time has arrived to secure its sago, which is after about eight years, there is a crop of young ones approaching maturity; in fact, in a well managed and old established plantation, a tree can yearly be cut from the same clump. The natives know directly when the palm is ripe by the appearance of the flower, but if it be allowed to fruit, the whole pith is spoilt for the purposes of commerce." (*ibid*, ii. 33.)

## DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

### Pigs.

Frequent references to domesticated and wild pigs have been made in these pages, but the following remarks about the domesticated animal may not be out of place here.

"The Dusun pigs were larger and of a different colour to any I met with elsewhere in Borneo, standing three feet nine inches at the shoulder, dirty white in colour, and almost hairless, except on the snout, where they were adorned with a huge tuft of coarse bristles." (Whitehead, p. 46.) Elsewhere Mr. Whitehead writes: "The Dusun pig, or *Waguk*, is very narrow—a rail among mammals; his colour is black; he generally cruises below the house, where he pounces on anything that may accidentally fall through the floor. The *Waguk* is the pet of the Dusun household, and is christened with a single name, like the Dusuns themselves." . . . "The pig here rejoiced in the name of *Empallong*. The pigs are fed twice a day, but they subsist chiefly on the filth they can find in the neighbourhood of the campong. At sunset you may hear half-a-dozen women calling their pigs home; the cry is 'Ke-Ke-Ke, *Empallong*, *Empallong*!'" (p. 111.)

"The Muruts had plenty of dirty, half-starved black pigs running about the jungle near their house." (Burbidge, p. 72.)

"The Muruts have a curious prejudice against pork that has not been raised under their own houses; the people of one village will not eat of a pig which has been reared in a neighbouring village. This prejudice extends even to European bacon in tins, which they refuse to touch, although jungle pigs are eaten readily." (Denison, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 10, p. 183.)

"The people were engaged killing pigs here [at Koligan], and the noise was very great. They fasten the animal's legs and then thrust a sharp bamboo right up to the animal's heart. The curious part of the operation is that from the moment the bamboo enters the body the animal makes no more noise."

(Hatton's Diary, 12 April.) Some of the Dusuns "keep their pigs penned up, fattening them in a regular way, and removing thus an offensive point in Dusun agriculture." (Witti's Diary, 21 May.) Mr. Whitehead also refers to these pens. (p. 111.)

#### GOATS AND CATTLE.

"Goat's flesh being prohibited to the [Land] Dyaks' customs, none of these animals are kept about their villages, but the Kyans and Sea Dyaks keep and eat them." (Low, p. 309.) Writing of the native tribes inland, from Bruni, Mr. Burbidge remarks: "Breadths of fresh greensward occur among the clumps of low brush or scrubby vegetations, the remains of the old jungle, and here buffaloes and goats, and occasionally other cattle, browse around the houses." (p. 153.) "At Mengkabong there are goats and buffaloes." (St. John i. 299.)

#### CATS.

"A few cats, generally in a half-starved condition, are found about the Hill Dyaks' houses; they are of the Malayan breed, with curled tails." (Low, p. 210.) "The Kadyans had cats wonderfully like our own, but with abnormal tails." (Burbidge, p. 72.)

"Cats, or *Tungow*, are very scarce; there was not one in Melangkap, and I only saw one in Kiau. Cats are common in the houses of the coast people; but as a Dusun can both catch and eat his own rats and mice, the presence of this animal would be superfluous." (Whitehead, p. 112.)

#### DOGS.

Mr. Wallace was much pestered (i. 87) by the half-starved dogs who ate up one of his specimens of an orang outan, gnawed his boots and even ate a piece of his mosquito curtain, where some lamp oil had been spilt over it some weeks before.

We have previously recorded the statement by Sir S. St. John about dogs being used as sacrifices when a padi planting tabu is laid. With the one exception mentioned in a footnote, p. 390, it is not stated that dogs are eaten and consequently capable of being tabued, but they may be tabued as regards, shall we call it, companionship use. Thus Mr. Crossland relates: "My dog followed some of my boys to a new house just being built; and although there was nothing but a small notched post by which to climb up into the house, the dog managed to get up. Then, seeing the lads go up another notched post into the upper loft, where the small boys were beating the gongs, the dog climbed up there also. Upon this, all the old women and men cried out that the dog must be killed at once, since it had gone into the upper loft, which was utterly forbidden. My boys were much grieved, as the dog was a great favourite; so they begged to be allowed to bring the dog home that they might tell me all. The people said, if it had been any other dog than mine they would not have allowed this, but in any case it was to be killed at once. . . . I sent for the head men, and told them they were to decide it among themselves. They said it was an extraordinary case, but still it was true that in their custom the dog must be killed. I suggested a substitute, which after due deliberation was accepted; and next morning my boys went

with three fat fowls, which were killed and 'eaten.' (Crossland Miss. Field, 1877, p. 416.)

For other information about dogs, see Hunting.

#### POULTRY AND EGGS.

On his Tour Mr. Grant writes: "A majority of the eggs are pretty certain to be antiquated, and I have been much amused in watching the old women going to the nests, taking up the eggs, putting them to their ears, and finally shaking them, in order to discover whether they were fit for the table or not. The test, however, was not generally to be depended upon." (p. 35.)

Fowls are plentiful among these people, but are "preserved more for sale among the Malays than the use of families that rear them." (Low, p. 310.)

Among the Muruts and Kadyans "Poultry are represented only by cocks and hens." (Burbidge, p. 72.) Among the inland tribes "poultry are domesticated, and are often very abundant. The fowls are caught every evening and placed in open-work baskets of either rattan or bamboo, suspended beneath the eaves of the houses. This care is essential in order to guard them from the attacks of large snakes and iguanas, or other poultry-stealing saurians. (*ibid*, p. 153.)

"With the Dusuns "chickens are fairly plentiful, but hawks commit great depredations amongst them. At night they are packed away in long baskets under the houses; over these baskets it has been my misfortune to sleep." (Whitehead, p. 112.)

"Among the enemies of domestic poultry are the civet (*Paradoxurus hermaphroditus*), which is very destructive, the cat (*Felis Bengalensis*), which is constantly trapped by the natives as it is very fond of stealing fowls, going into the villages and taking the chickens from beneath the houses, and strange to say, the plandok (*Tragulus napu*), a little deer has been known to kill chickens in the poultry-yard and carry them away into the jungle." (Hose, *Mammalia*, pp. 68, 19, 21.)

#### TAMED BIRDS AND MONKEYS.

By the Muruts and Kadyans "some of the wild birds of the forests are domesticated as pets, the most common being java and little red sparrows; a beautiful little green-ground pigeon; paroquets of two kinds, one very small like a love-bird, the other having two long blue attenuated feathers in its tail. Mino birds are not unfrequently tamed, and they may be taught to speak words or phrases quite readily. Some of the larger hornbills, the 'rhinoceros' variety especially, are also tamed, and are most amusing creatures." (Burbidge, p. 72.)

The monkeys (*Macacus Nemestrinus*) "are easily tamed by the natives, and in some places they are used to climb the cocoanut trees to throw down the nut, the monkeys having been taught to throw down only ripe ones."

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hose (*Mammals of Borneo*, p. 26), when describing the *Cyon rutilans* says: "The natives state these wild dogs hunt in packs. They have many superstitions concerning these animals and they are spoken of as *hantu* or spirit." See *Legends*, p. 357.

(Hose, Mammalia, p. 7.) The hemingale (*Arctictis Binturong*) is also tamed. (*ibid.*)

## DOMESTIC BEES.

Domestic bees are kept by the Sikongs and Si Panjangs; the Tabiahs and Sentahs and the Sennah tribes are reported having bee-hives under the houses. (Denison ch. v. vi. viii., pp. 51, 62, 65, 87.)

At Kalawat Mr. Burbidge saw "tamed bees hived in sections of hollow tree-trunks, about two feet in length, the top and bottom being stopped up, and a hole burnt in the centre as an entrance for the busy workers. In one or two cases separate little huts were erected especially for the bees, but as a rule the hives were placed on a board beneath the overhanging eaves of the houses. The kind of the bee kept is very small, much smaller than that common in England, and I was struck at the peculiar manner in which they wriggled their bodies simultaneously as they congregated in groups on the hive near the entrance. These tame bees, as well as their wild brethren, who nest in the tall forest trees, make but little honey in proportion to that of our northern kinds, and are especially kept for the wax they yield, this being used occasionally by the natives in the form of rude candles, and it is also an article of export from Borneo." (p. 88.) At Kiau, as at all the Dusun villages, the hives seemed to have been the same as described above, but in "several instances the hives were on shelves inside the houses, a hole being made through the 'ataps' corresponding with the hole in the hive, so as to allow of egress and ingress, a plan similar to that adopted by the bee-keeping natives of Kashmir." (*ibid.*, 266.)

Mr. Whitehead likewise speaks of tame bee-keeping among the Dusuns: "Bees are kept in hollow logs about two feet long, blocked at the ends, with a small hole at the side. The logs are generally fastened outside the windows, *sic*; but honey is apparently scarce." (p. 112.)

## CHAPTER XV.

### HUNTING AND FISHING.

HUNTING WITH DOGS—Breed—Pluck—Sea Dyaks' dogs—Pigs—Dangers—Carrying quarry home—Trophies—"Butter fingers"—JUNGLE CRY—SKERTCHLY'S TRAPS—*Jerat—Bubuang—Kelung—Peti—Peti Lanchar—Peti* and the bow—Etymology—RAT TRAPS—DEER SNARING—PITFALLS—BIRD CATCHING—Calls—Lime—FROG HUNTING—TORTOISES—SUMPITAN—Monkey shooting—Bad shots—Punan hunting—CROCODILES—Superstition—Revenge—Public nuisance—A trapper—Baits—Fine speeches—Rajahs—CAVE NEST HUNTING—Swift producing nests—Qualities—Government farming—Mount Sobis caves—Ladders and collecting—Intruders—Scentless guano—The Gomanton caves—Seasons—Description of nests—HONEY AND BEESWAX—Tapang trees—Method of collecting—The climbers—Accidents—Murut agility—Property in trees—Disputes—Beeswax—Bears—SEINES AND NETS—Mr. Chapman's description—*Pukat China—Pukat tarik—Sulering*—Excitement—Divers—Sharks—*Pomfret* fishing—Divers—*Umai Rambat—Kelong*—Scoop net—*Ikan buntal—Sadak—Serangkong—Tangoh—Pemansai*—TUBA—Fishing parties—Great fun—Preparing the root—Excitement—Spears—Torchlight—*Selambau*—ANGLING—Hooks and lines—Curious bait—Duck floats—*Rawai—Taut—Sempetih—Achar—Sagang*—SUMPITANS—SPEARING—TORCH-LIGHT—DIVING—TRAPS AND WEIRS—*Ensenga—Bubu*—Big weirs—*Kélong*.

### HUNTING.

#### HUNTING WITH DOGS.

"AMONG the Lundu dogs were small, but very wiry, with muzzles like foxes, and curling tails. Their hair was short, and of a tan colour. Small as they are, they are very bold, and one of them will keep a wild pig at bay till the hunters come up to him." (Marryat, p. 88.)

In hunting deer the Land Dyaks "show considerable skill. Armed with sword and spear, they will go out, accompanied by three or four of their little smooth-haired, erect-eared dogs, who will bring to bay a huge boar, or a deer, and stop by him until the men come up to spear him." (Grant, p. 143.) "But although with these people small dogs are kept occasionally, they are not so well trained or practised as those of the Sea tribes. It is astonishing how such little curs can bring the fine stag and the wild boar to bay, but such is the case." (Low, p. 309.)

"Hunting is with the Sea Dyaks an occasional pursuit rather than a steady occupation or a necessity of existence. They subsist more upon a vegetable than an animal diet, and they fish far more than they hunt. They only form hunting parties once or twice a year, when the entire village is about to celebrate some periodical festival, and it becomes an imperative duty to provide an abundance as well as a variety of food for the guests. Other tribes devote more time to the chase and less to the soil. A Dyak village swarms with dogs, but few of them are fit for the labours of the chase, being

for the most part curs that whine and howl and are of no use whatever, except to consume the refuse food and prowl about the premises. They are small in size and of a tawny colour. The breed is known to the scientific world by the specific name of *Canis rutilans*. Some are striped with black, others are plain; they are called *saih* or *sabit*, according as they are one or the other. The former are the fiercer looking of the two. The best of them, that is to say, those employed in the chase, are plucky little animals and will worry a boar three or four times their size and not give in until cruelly mauled. Such dogs are worth their weight in dollars to those who are fond of boar and venison, and invaluable to those tribes who, like the Batakans, depend upon the hunting path for their food." (Brooke Low.)

"The Balaus nearly always employ dogs, which are very small, not larger than a spaniel, sagacious and clever in the jungle, but stupid, sleepy-looking creatures out of it, having all the attributes of bad-looking, mongrel curs as they lurk about the houses. . . . Native hunting with good dogs is easy work; the master loiters about gathering rattans, fruit, or other things of various uses to his limited wants, and the dogs beat the jungle for themselves, and when they have found a scent, give tongue, and soon run the animal to bay: the master knowing this by the peculiar bark, follows quickly and spears the game. The boars are very dangerous when wounded, as they turn furiously on the hunter, and unless he has the means of escape by climbing a tree, he would fare ill in spite of his sword and spear, if it were not for the assistance of his dogs. These creatures, though small, never give in unless severely wounded, and by attacking the hind legs, keep the pig continually turning round. . . . Upon a hot day a deer is soon run down by them; in fact, hunters declare that they could easily catch them themselves in very dry weather, when the heat is extremely oppressive." (St. John i. 32.)

"Once a year, when the falling fruit is thickening upon the ground and the pigs have cleaned out one side of the river, they instinctively take to the water and endeavour to reach the opposite bank. The natives know when to expect this wholesale movement on their part, and as the time draws near they form parties to waylay the pigs at various points. They wait patiently for days together, and are rewarded ultimately by spying a herd issue from the forest and plunge into the stream, following their leader in a dense compact mass. When they are well in the current the canoes dash into their midst, sticking them right and left, making enormous bags. As the swine have been feeding upon fruit for some time past they are fatter than usual and their meat is better flavoured." (Brooke Low.)

Bishop McDougall writes on his journey up country: "About sunset a sow and family of wild pigs passed us; we jumped into a boat and gave chase: hard work we had of it, with five fellows paddling to come up to them, they swim so very fast. We speared and sabred six, one an enormous brute. The Lingas say, that within these last two months they have taken three hundred pigs." (Mrs. McDougall, p. 139.)

On the Baram "all the various races excepting the Punans, employ dogs in hunting; in speaking of Punans in this way it must be understood that I refer only to those who have not mixed with other races, as those Punans who

have come in contact with the Kayans, have adopted many Kayan habits and customs." (Hose, J. A. I. xxiii. 159.)

"The Muruts have a peculiar race of small brown dogs resembling terriers which are very useful in pig-hunting." (Burbidge, p. 72.)

These hunting parties are not always unattended with danger. On the Baram a Saribas Dyak was accidentally speared in the stomach by his brother who intended spearing a pig. The man died. (Q. A. Buck, S.G., No. 249, p. 163.)

"The quarry is carried on the back in a pack-basket suspended from the shoulders, and is cut up at home. If it is too heavy or too bulky to be transported in this fashion it is either cut up on the spot or dragged by the leg along the ground to the nearest watercourse and conveyed home in a canoe. The Dyaks infinitely prefer pork to venison, the former being the richer, fatter, and juicier of the two; indeed the venison of the country is coarse and devoid of fat. There is no waste in the preparation of animal food. The horns and tusks come in for a variety of uses, ornamental, superstitious, and economical. The larger bones are preserved to be hereafter fashioned into knife handles. The smaller bones are chopped up with the meat and fat to be afterwards salted or smoked as choice may dictate. All pickle food, *makasam*, is esteemed, and especially so pickled pork; pickled venison and pickled fish are devoured with immense satisfaction.

"The Kiñahs preserve the skulls and jaws of the animals killed by their dogs in the chase, and of such as they offer in sacrifice; but they abandon them when they abandon the village, for it is not permitted by custom to take them away from one place to another.

"When a Land Dyak village has turned out for a wild-pig hunt in the jungle, those who remain at home may not touch water or oil with their hands during the absence of their friends, lest the hunters should all become 'butter fingered,' and the prey so escape them." (Chalmers in Grant's Tour.)

#### JUNGLE CRY.

The only reference to a jungle cry is by Sir Chas. Brooke. On his great expedition against the Kayans a woman had been captured and then freed again: "Upon our departure this disconsolate female will utter the wild Kayan jungle cry, which will soon be heard and recognised. It is very peculiar, and not easily imitated by strangers." (ii. 298.)

#### TRAPS.

The variety of traps in use in Borneo have been described a number of times by different travellers, but no traveller has gone so thoroughly into the details as has Mr. Sydney B. J. Skertchly. I therefore gladly avail myself of the permission of the Anthropological Institute to reproduce Mr. Skertchly's Paper.

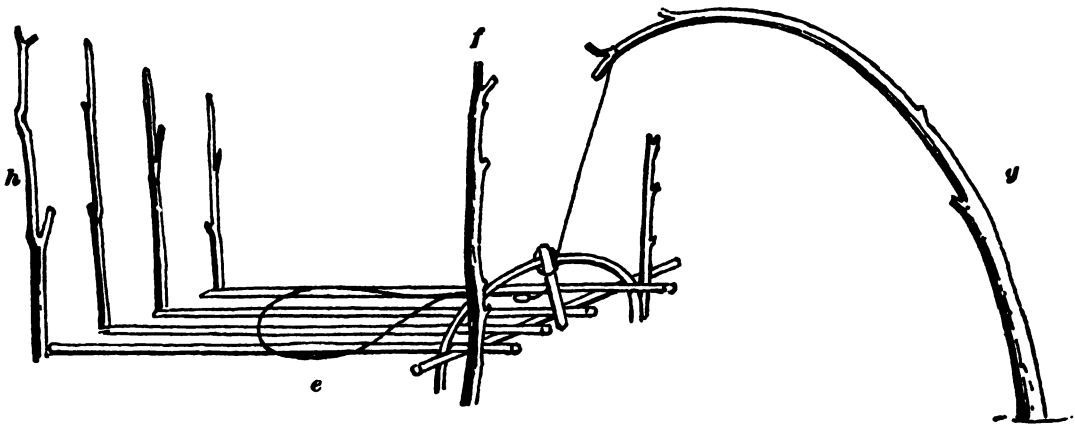
"The following descriptions were written and the accompanying sketches made in the jungle of North Borneo. The traps were made for me by my own Dyaks, some for the purpose of illustration, some for the purpose of filling our scant larder.

"The words, whether Dyak or Malay, are spelt phonetically, and the meaning given whenever it is known to me.

# I. THE JERAT.

FIG. 1.

"The *Jerat*, Figs. 1 and 2, is a spring and noose trap of universal use amongst Dyaks and Malays in the forest.

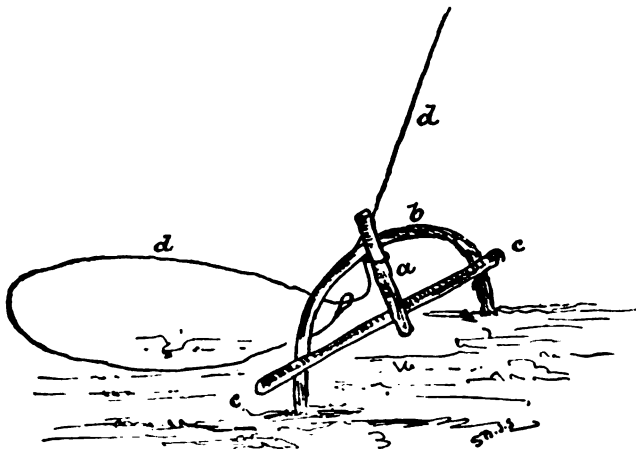


"The *jerat* consists of the following parts:—

- Fig. 2. a. The *Tidat*, or trigger.  
 b. The *Bunkang*, or hoop.  
 c. The *Peningkas*, or catch.  
 d. The *Ambar*, or noose-cord.

- Fig. 1. e. The *Pantar*, or platform.  
 f.f. The *Liar*, or guard-sticks.  
 g. The *Baur*, or spring.  
 h. The *Sabar* or *Pagar*, or fence.

FIG. 2.



TRIGGER OF JERAT, SET.

The word *jerat* with slight modifications is known far and wide through the archipelago, thus:—

The Malay and Dyak is <i>jerat</i> .		
„ Sunda	„	<i>jiret</i> .
„ Batavian	„	<i>jirat</i> .
„ Tagala	„	<i>dalat</i> .

“The Dyaks also call this trap *penjuk*.

“The word *jerat* means literally a running noose, and the full name of the trap would be *jerat burung* = bird noose, or *perangkap jerat burung* = trap-noose-bird.

“The *Bunkang* or hoop (Malay, Jav., Sund., *benkang*, curved) is of pliable wood, about the thickness of a lead pencil, and the size of a croquet hoop. It is firmly fixed in the ground.

“The *Tidat* or trigger, is a small stick about three inches long. Its upper end is tied to the cord or *ambar* about two feet from the noose-end.

“The *Peningkas*, or catch, is simply a stick rather longer than the width of the *bunkang*, or hoop.

“The *Ambar*, or noose-cord, is of twisted bark, or, where obtainable, of stout string, the noose being a variety of running bowline. This is the real *jerat*. The word *ambar* may, perhaps, be allied to *ambur*, *hambur*, spread, but this is doubtful, as *ambur* means rather to spread about as in sowing rice, than to spread wide open.

[Mr. Brooke Low says, “The cord made use of for their springs is of their own manufacture, very fine and strong, and made from the inner bark of several kinds of trees.—H. L. R.”]

“The *Pantar*, or platform (? Malay *pantat*, a base or bottom), consists of four or five straight sticks about nine inches long.

“The *Liar* are only sticks placed on each side of the *bunkang*, or hoop, to protect it.

“The *Baur*, or spring, is a flexible stick which acts exactly like the stick in a common mole-trap.

“The *Pagar*, or fence, is rapidly made by cutting branches, sticking them in the ground at an angle, and bending them so as to roughly catch. It is only made about eighteen inches high.

[Mr. Hornaday (p. 421) describes this fence thus: a low hedge “of green boughs had been built from one ravine to another, across a ridge in the most inviting part of the forest. The hedge is a careless affair, about two feet high, but withal so cunningly made that I actually walked into one of the traps without seeing it! At every rod or so a clean gap is left, just wide enough for a bird or small mammal to walk through without suspicion, and while in mid-passage he will suddenly be yanked heavenward by a ‘twitch-up,’ as we boys used to call it. . . . In that particular hedge I counted eleven traps, all very neatly constructed.”—H. L. R.]

“*Jerats* were always used by me in preference to other traps for catching argus and other pheasants and jungle fowl.

“A place is sought showing the beaten tracks of the birds, and a long

*pagar* is erected, right across a valley for instance. Openings for *jerats* are left every twenty yards or so, and *jerats* are also placed across every bird track.

"The *jerat* being made it is set as follows:—

"The *baur*, or spring, is bent down, and the *tidat*, or trigger, passed over the *bunkang*, or hoop, the head of the trigger catching the back of the hoop. At the same time the *peningkas*, or catch, is slipped under the *tidat* and the *baur* released. The trigger is now set. The *liar* are now placed, one end on the ground, the other on the *peningkas*, and on the platform so formed the *ambar* or noose is spread, and then concealed by a few leaves.

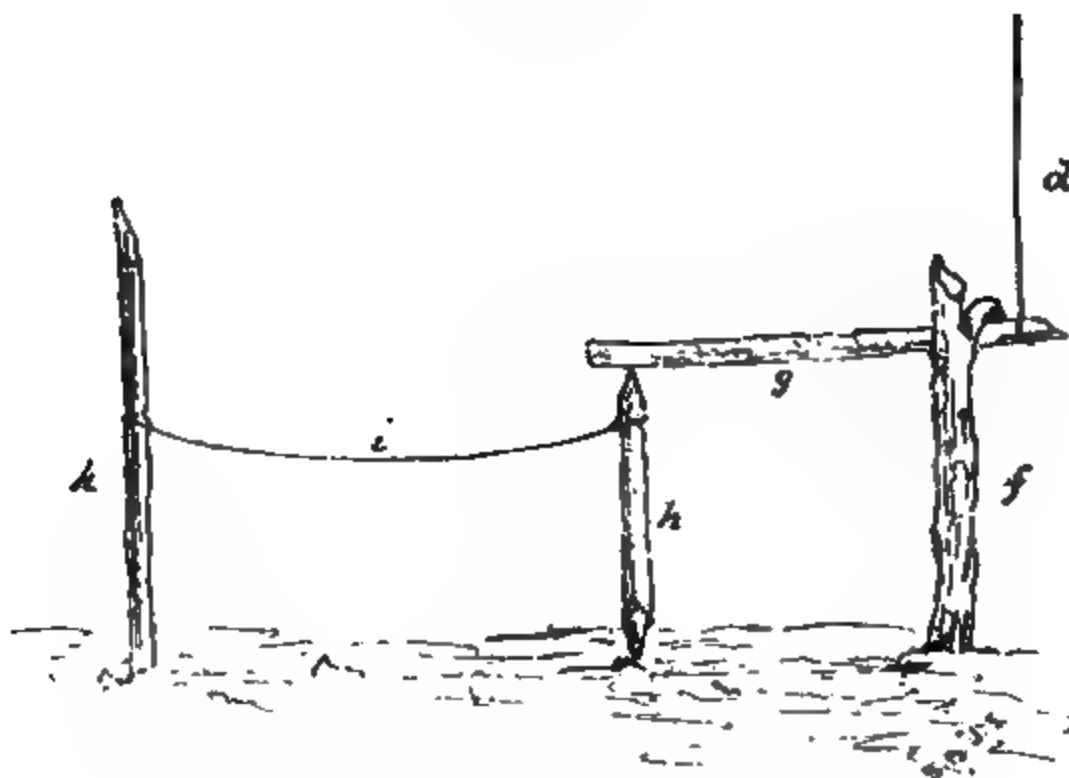
"The *pagar* is so slight that a bird could easily get through it, but they don't. When foraging the birds are not particular where they go so long as the way is easy and the food plentiful. Hence the slightest obstacle will turn

## 2. THE BUBUANG, OR KRINKAP.

FIG 3

BUBUANG.

FIG 4.



TRIGGER OF BUBUANG, SET.

them. They saunter along the *pagar*, come to an opening and start through. The moment they step on the platform it falls, releases the trigger, up goes the *baur*, and the victim hangs suspended by the legs.

"It is my favourite trap. Six can be made in an hour at no cost, and it is very effective. I have caught argus, fire-back and Bulwer pheasants, jungle fowl, porcupine, wild cat, civet cats, &c., in them. Once we got a monkey, but a friend released him. Many times we got planduk, or mouse-deer, into *jerats*, but they always got away.

["The men visit these traps night and morning, and numbers of animals and ground birds are caught by them. Those most frequently trapped are the little moose deer, *Tragulus napu* and *Tragulus javanicus*, and of the carnivora, *Viverra zangalunga*, *Hemigale hardwickei*, *Felis bengalensis*, *Felis planiceps*, and my new species of *Hemigale hosei*, was also obtained by one of these traps." Hose, Geogr. Jour. i. 9.]

"This is a fall trap for birds. The *bubuang* may be allied to *bubu*, a fish trap, something like an eel creel, and does not seem to have any connection with *buang*, to throw out, a word which has many prefixes, but not *bu*.

"The word *krinkap* I suspect to be a Dyak modification of the Malay *perangkap*, a common word for a trap, signifying literally that which catches.

"The *bubuang* is a clumsy contrivance used for catching jungle-fowl and pheasants. It is neither so easily made nor so effective as a *jerat*, and as it nearly always kills the victim, is not in use by the Moslem Malays. The only ingenuity about it is the trigger.

"The parts of a *bubuang* are as follows:—

- Fig. 3. a. The *Kalung*, or drop.  
b. The *Tiang*, or posts.  
c. The *Baur*, or spring.  
d. The *Tali*, or cord.  
e. The *Pagar*, or fence.

- Fig. 4. f. The *Pungayet*, or catch.  
g. The *Tuil*.  
h. The *Peningkas*, or trigger.  
i. The *Kunut*.

"A fence or *pagar* about eighteen inches high is erected, at one end of which two stout sticks, *tiang*, supporting a cross-stick in the forks, are placed. At the other end of the *pagar* a small log of wood blocks up the opening. A roof, or *lantei*, rests loosely upon the end log and also upon the *kalung*, or drop, also a block of wood.

"The heavy *kalung* with the roof resting on it is hung by bark cords to the *baur*, or spring-stick, at the farther end of which a string, *tali*, connects it with a trigger.

"The trigger is placed inside the *pagar* on the right hand. It consists of a stick *pungayet*, with a tine, and is firmly fixed in the ground. The end of the *tali* is attached to a straight stick, *tuil*, which catches under the tine and rests upon the double-pointed *peningkas*, or trigger. The *tali* thus pulls up the *tuil* and presses it upwards against the tine and downwards on to the top of the trigger.

"To the upper part of the trigger a fine string is attached and passes across the trap to the opposite side where it is fastened to the trigger. This cord or *runut* is about five inches from the ground.

"A bird entering the trap presses against the *runut*, the trigger gives way, releasing the *tuil*, and the *kalung* falls with the *lantei* on top of it.

"The words *tiang*, *tali*, *lantei*, and *pagar*, are common Malay words, signifying respectively post, cord, floor, and fence, and are not technical terms.

### 3.—THE KELUNG.

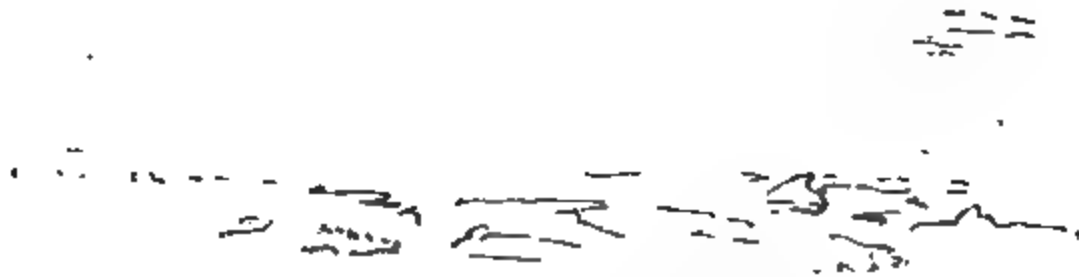


FIG. 5.

"The *kelung* now to be described is a deer trap consisting essentially of an oblong enclosure of rough poles, roofed, and having a portcullis-like door.

"The word *kelung* is in universal use in the Malay states for the extensive fish-stakes which form such a feature along our shores, and I was somewhat surprised to find the name in use both by Dyaks and Malays for a deer trap. I hope to write a separate paper on fish traps, and will only here remark that the fish *kelung* is a labyrinth of split-bamboo mats leading into a central enclosure.

"The deer *kelung* consists of the following parts:—

Fig. 5. The enclosure of *Pagar*, with its *tiang*, &c., as in the *bubuang*, but of course much larger.

a. The *Pintu*, or door.      b. The *Baur*, or lever.  
c. The *Tali*, or cord.

Fig. 6. d. The *Tuil*.      e. The *Sekang*.  
f. The *Peningkas*.      g. A peg with no special name.  
h, h. The *Runut*, or lines.

"The height of the *pagar* is about six feet (one *depa*), and the length twice as much. The trigger is placed outside the *pagar* near the end furthest from the door.

"It will be noticed that what is here called the *sekang* is the *tuil* of the *bubuang*, and the *tuil* of the *kelung* is the *pungayet* of the *bubuang*. I could get no explanation of this though I made special inquiries.

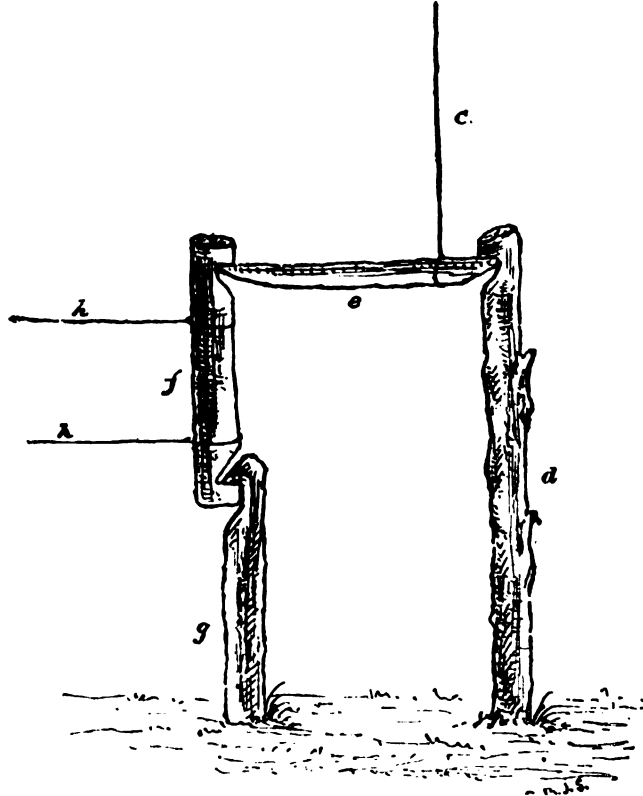


FIG. 6.

"The *sekang* catches in a notch in the *tuil* at one end, and in a similar notch in the *peningkas* at the other. The *peningkas* also engages with the peg by a notch.

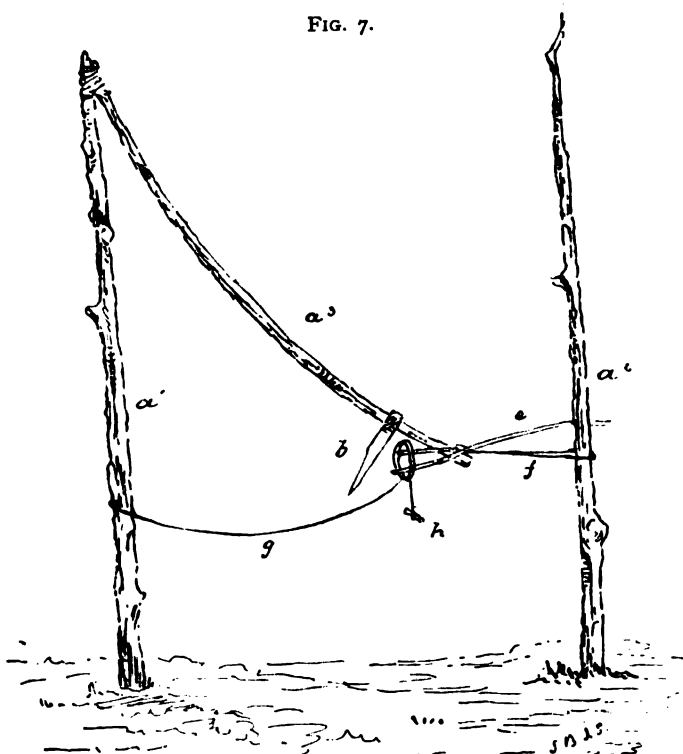
"Two lines, *runut*, lead from the *peningkas* to the far side of the enclosure to which they are fixed. These *runut* are made of a fine black liana, and if string be used it is always dyed black.

"In the *pagar* behind the *runut* a quantity of pandan (*Pandanus*) leaves and a little salt are placed as bait. The deer enter the *pagar*, press the *runut*, displace the *peningkas*, and the door falls.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deer are sometimes caught with a large Jerat, having a hook in place of a noose. I have not yet seen this in use.

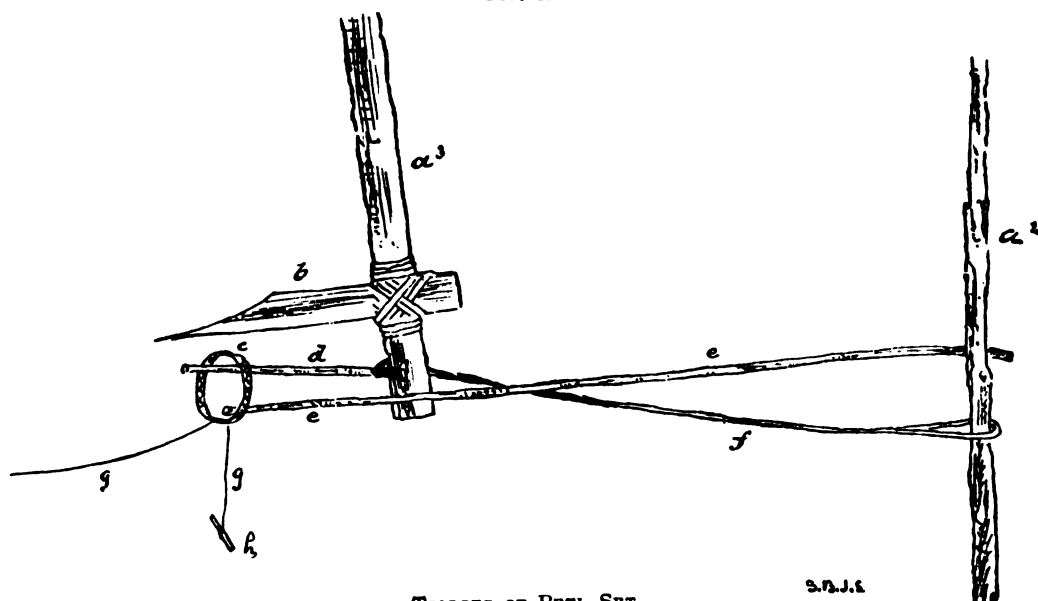
4.—THE PETI.

FIG. 7.



PETI

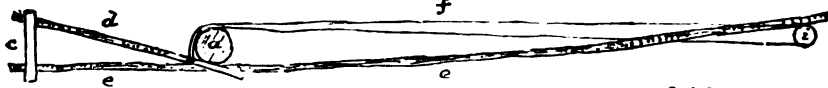
FIG. 8.



TRIGGER OF PETI, SET.

S.M.J.L.

FIG. 9.



PLAN OF PETI TRIGGER, SET.

"We now come to two very interesting methods of taking larger game such as pigs and deer.

"The *e* is very short and the word is in sound much like the French *petit*. It may be allied to the Malay *petik*, to 'touch' a stringed instrument.

"The *peti* consists essentially of a spring armed with a fixed spear, and as will be shown, may help us to understand how the bow might have been produced.

"The parts of a *peti* are as follows:—

- Figs. 7 to 9. a, a. *Pangat*, or posts.  
 b. *Mata siah*, or spear.  
 c. *Unkrung*, or ring.  
 d. *Tuil*, or trigger.  
 e. Has no special Dyak name.  
 f. *Mutan*, or band.  
 g. *Runut*, or cord.  
 h. *Klandu*, or toggle.

"The size of the *peti* depends upon the game sought.

"For pigs the *pangats* are about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  depas (9 feet) and the *mata siah*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  jenkals (11 inches). The *mata siah* is generally made of bamboo, and the binding cords and *runut* of bark cord.

"Two stout posts, *pangat*, a, are firmly fixed in the ground, and to the top of one of them a tough elastic stick is bound by one end and acts as a spring. Near the end of this the *mata siah*, b, is attached. The *unkrung*, c, is a ring of plaited split rotan, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and half-an-inch wide. This is quite loose. The *tuil*, d, or trigger, is a thin stick 4 inches long, tied to the free end of the *mutan*, f, or band, which is fastened to a *pangat*. A longer stick, tough and elastic, completes this part of the mechanism.

"To set the *peti* the *pangat* a3 is pulled back towards *pangat* a2; the *mutan*, f, is then passed round *pangat* a3 below the *mata siah*, b, the end of the *tuil*, d, pressing against the opposite side of *pangat* a3 as shown in the plan. The stick, e, is passed beneath the *tuil*, d, touching it<sup>2</sup> and its other end sprung back to the opposite side of *pangat* a2. Over the ends of d and e, the *unkrung*, c, is placed to prevent d and e flying apart; d and e by their outward pressure holding *pangat* a3 in position.

"To *pangat* a1, at the height of the *unkrung*, is tied the *runut*, g. This passes through the *unkrung* and terminates at the *kālanduk*, h, a thin stick or toggle somewhat longer than the diameter of the *unkrung*. The *runut* is nearly horizontal.

"An animal passing between *pangat* a1 and the *mata siah* pushes the

<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary, though preferable, for the stick to touch the *tuil*. A figure is purposely drawn with the parts free, to show the arrangement of parts.

*runut* outwards, draws up the *kālanduk* which pulls off the *unkrung* and releases the *mata siah*, which flies to *pangat a1* with terrible force, often stabbing the victim to the heart.

"The *peti* is a fearful machine by which many Dyaks have lost their lives. It has been effectively used to kill the rhinoceros. My men were well acquainted with its use, and I had to prohibit it for fear of accident. It is forbidden in Sarawak.

["As these traps are so placed as to be with difficulty discovered in the jungle, the traveller has to be careful, as to be transfixed with one of these spears set for deer, would occasion death. The Dyaks themselves, though very careful, have frequently met with such accidents." (Low, p. 235.)



UNDUP PIG TRAP CHARM  
Stuck in the ground by the Pig  
Trap it is supposed to attract  
the wild pig.  $\frac{1}{2}$  real size  
(Crossland Coll.)

UNDUP PIG TRAP  
CHARM.  
Front view.  
(Crossland Coll.)

In fact there is no end to this class of accidents. I append a few accounts: "A Kalakah Dyak named Bakir, hunting gutta on the upper Sarawak, was killed by a *peti*, or pig-trap of the kind described above. The lance entered his groin and passed quite through his body. To the credit of the Sarawak Government it should be stated that these traps are now prohibited under heavy penalty, and the owner of the one which killed Bakir was promptly fined \$100, or four years' imprisonment." (Hornaday, p. 422.) "One Quop man and one Sentah man were lately struck by these *peti* and bled to death in a few hours. Some Chinese culprits also, who lately absconded, took the round-about paths used by Dyaks for trapping game, instead of following the regular road, when several of them got pierced through the legs—luckily the traps were set for pigs, and not for taller animals." (Grant, p. 143.) "One of the Lawas Muruts showed me where the bamboo spear belonging to one of these pig or deer-traps had been driven right through his leg near the knee. His bronze features underwent the most extraordinary and suggestive of contortions as



PIG TRAP CHARM.  
19½ in long.  
(Oxford Mus.)

he explained how it had taken the strength of five or six men to hold him against a tree while others tugged at the bamboo shaft until they succeeded in withdrawing it from the injured limb. In some districts these pig-traps are very numerous, and one has to be continually on the look-out for them. (Burbidge, p. 62.) A Dyak's son having unaccountably disappeared somebody reminded Noun (the father) of the *peti* he had set two nights before, whereupon with two companions he went with a torch to examine the *peti* and there found the corpse of his son Linggi, the bamboo having entered his side eight inches deep, judging by marking of the blood on the sharp bamboo; for it appears that when the young man was hit by the bamboo he mechanically threw out his arm and pulled out the spear again from his side, and then fell quietly backwards." (S.G., 30 Apr., 1880, p. 28.) H. L. R.]

##### 5. THE PETI LANCHAR.

"The *peti lanchar* is even more interesting than the *peti*, combining in itself some of the principles of the bow and catapult.

"It is not known to every Dyak tribe, and most of my men, Kalakas, were ignorant of it. It was, however, speedily adapted by them till I put a stop to it. In Sarawak it is not allowed to be used.

"My mandore, Sali, a Sarawak Malay, made the first for me, and the names of the parts are those he gave me. None of my Dyaks knew any words to represent the parts.

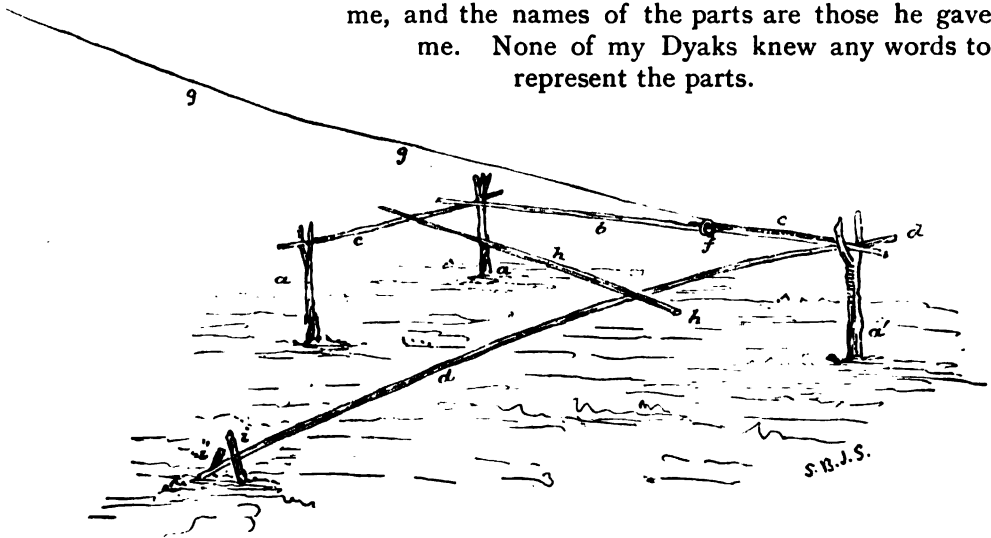
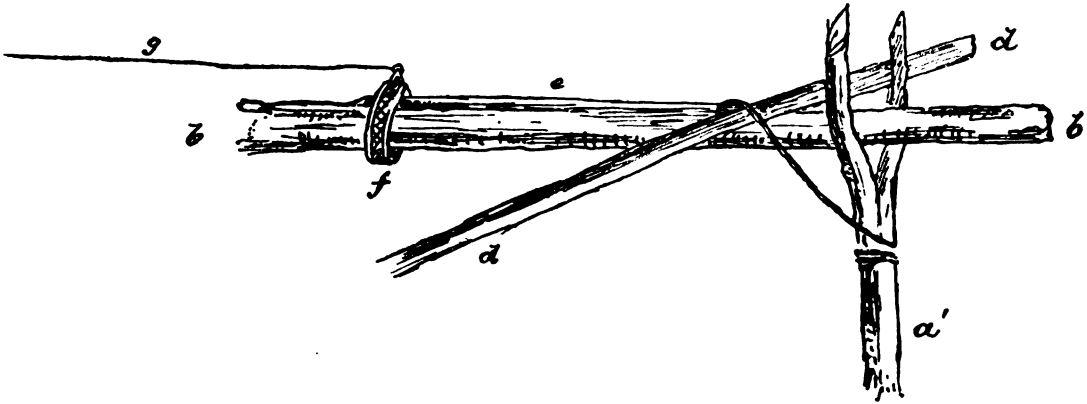


FIG. 10.

##### THE PETI LANCHAR.

- Figs. 10, 11. a, a, a. *Tiang*, or posts.  
 b. *Jimbang* or *Jimbattan*, or bridge.  
 c. *Galang* or *Kalung*, crotched sticks.  
 d. *Juran*, or spring.  
 e. *Pungati*, or trigger.  
 f. *Chinchin*, or ring.  
 g. *Sasawat*, or string.  
 h. *Mata peti*, or arrow.  
 i, i. *Tukul bubu*, or pegs.

FIG. 11.



TRIGGER OF PETI LANCHAR, SET.

The *peti lanchar* consists of three *tiangs*, *a*, from 18 inches to 2 feet high, cleft at the ends to receive the *jimbang*, *b*, and *kalung*, *c*. The five parts form the rigid frame.

"A long elastic pole, the *jurun*, *d*, is fixed at one end in the ground and further secured by two pegs or *tukul bubu*, *i* (trap pegs), one on each side. These hold the *jurun* rigid while it is bent back in setting.

"On the *jimbang*, *b*, the *chinchin*, or ring, *f*, of rotan, travels, to which is attached the *sasawat*, *g*, a cord of thin black creeper. The *pungati*, *e*, is a piece of pointed stick attached to a *tiang*, *a* 1, by a short cord. The arrow or *mata peti*, is a stick or bamboo pointed at one end and notched or forked (*gingin batar*) at the other.

"To set (*passang*) the *peti* the *jurun*, *d*, is bent backwards against *tiang a* 1; the string of the *pungati*, *e*, is then passed over it and the butt end of the *pungati* pressed against the *jurun*, the point being inserted in the *chinchin*, or ring, *f*.

"The *sasawat*, *g*, is led across a deer path, the trap being hidden in the jungle. No pig or deer would pass a white *sasawat*, hence it is always black.

"The victim pressing against the *sasawat*, pulls the *chinchin*, or ring, from the *pungati*, the *jurun* is released and the *mata peti* shot forward. The *mata peti* rests against the *jurung* and on the *galung*.

"It is evident that such a trap fires its arrow in a very uncertain direction. Hence, where bamboo can be obtained, the *mata peti* is inserted in a bamboo on each side of which a groove is cut. The *jurun* presses against the notch as before, and the bamboo, acting as a barrel, makes the arrow fly straight.

## 6. THE PETI AND THE BOW.

"It is singular that the Dyaks having invented the *peti* and the *sumpitan* never designed the bow, which is also unknown to the Malays of Borneo. Yet the *peti* contains all the elements necessary for making a bow.

"The common *peti* is a bow with an arrow fixed to it, and the string attached to one end by a temporary catch. If the arrow worked loose it would shoot away when the trap was sprung.

"In the *peti lanchar* a step in advance can be seen. The arrow is moveable; but the string is still detached from the bow.

"The bamboo barrel is most likely a suggestion from the *sumpitan*.

#### ETYMOLOGY.

"A few words may be said respecting the etymology of the terms used. Not speaking the Dyak language, my information was derived through Malay, and my instructors failed to give me the meaning of many words. 'What does *lanchar* mean?' I would ask. 'Why this is the *lanchar*,' would be the reply. As many of the Malay words are in common use it may be most of the Dyak words also are not technical terms. In the following notes D. stands for Dyak, M. for Malay:—

*Jërat*, pr. *Jer'-at*, D. and M.

*Tidat*, pr. *Tē-dat*, a trigger, D. and M., appears to be synonymous with *pungati*.

*Bunkong*, pr. *Bunk'-ong*, a hoop, D. and M.

*Peningkas*, pr. *Pening'-kas*, D. and M., is applied to a stick which falls to the ground from a very small distance, as distinguished from *kalung*, which falls from a height.

*Liar*, pr. *Lē-ar*, D. and M., synonymous with Malay *sabar* and *sawar*. The sticks or broken branches used to mark the route when in the forest, are called by their names, which are not given by Swettenham, Maxwell, or Favre.

*Pantar*, D. and M., in common use in N. Borneo.

*Baur*, pr. *Bough-rr*, D. and M., an elastic stick or spring.

*Kalung*, D. and M., see *peningkas*.

*Sëkang*, pr. *S'kang*, D.

*Lanchar*, D.

*Pungati*, pr. *Pung'-ati*, see *Tidat*.

*Sasawat*, pr. *Sasar'-wat*, D. and M., a thin cord, as distinct from *tali*, a cord which may be string or a cable. Synonymous with *runut*.

*Runut*, D. and M., see above.

*Tukul Bubu*, D. and M., *Tukul* = pig *bubu* = trap.

*Mata Siah*, D. and M. *Mata* here means sharp. It is quite distinct from *mata*, eye. Malays here say *mata pisan*, to sharpen a knife. *Siah* is Dyak and its meaning is unknown to me.

"I must leave this subject to competent philologists, and here only record the little I know, because the words do not occur in ordinary dictionaries.

"All the Borneo natives use pit-falls with sloping sides, like native graves, but there is nothing of particular interest in them. This paper does not pretend to be exhaustive, but merely records accurately the traps I have seen."

#### RAT TRAPS.

Mr. Burbidge's party were at first much puzzled "by seeing horizontal bamboo-stems fixed in the trees over the path, but they eventually discovered that these were intended to serve as bridges or paths to rats or other animals, traps being set to catch those who were unwary enough to avail themselves of the convenient crossing. A curious custom of the Dusun is to entrap and

eat the common field rats, wild cats, &c., of the country. Beside all the little paths through the forest near Kina Balu, wooden rat-traps are set in the herbage through which the animals have made their tracks. A form of this trap, slightly modified, is hung on the branches of trees for the capture of squirrels, and other fruit-eating rodents." (Burbidge, p. 87.)

#### DEER SNARING.

"The *jarieng* is also in use among the Dyaks, the idea being borrowed from their neighbours the Malays. The object is to drive the deer into the meshes of a net and to kill them before they can break through. This sport requires nerve and a quick eye to avoid ugly wounds from the hoofs and antlers. The *jarieng*, as this net is called, is simply a long cane cable with a continuous series of cane loops or nooses depending from it, and standing five feet high; if a single cable be insufficient, two or more are joined together until the required length is attained. A bend of the river is selected where the deer are known to lie hid. The net is then stretched across the narrow neck of land, and upheld in an upright position so as to intercept the stampede into the bush. The party then divides, some to watch the net, others to drive the deer towards it. This they do simultaneously from both sides of the point, yelling and shouting with all their might and barking like dogs to rouse the game. The startled deer spring from their coverts, and bounding towards the forest encounter the net and get entangled in its meshes. Before they have time to extricate themselves they are despatched by the watchers. This sport can be followed in the night time as well as in the day time provided there be moonlight." (Brooke Low.)

Sir Chas. Brooke found "the sport was as slow as anything could be, the only exciting part of it being when the deer rushes into the snare, and with the tremendous impetus, he is generally thrown backwards; then the watcher rushes up and cuts down the beast. But there is considerable danger of becoming entangled in the nooses, or of coming in contact with the deer as he is madly tearing about in his endeavours to escape." (i. 99.)

#### TRAP

aa Pegs connected by rattan for setting the trap; b cath, anything touching this liberates the pegs and the bamboo forces c tightly down on d, thus securing any animal that has touched b.

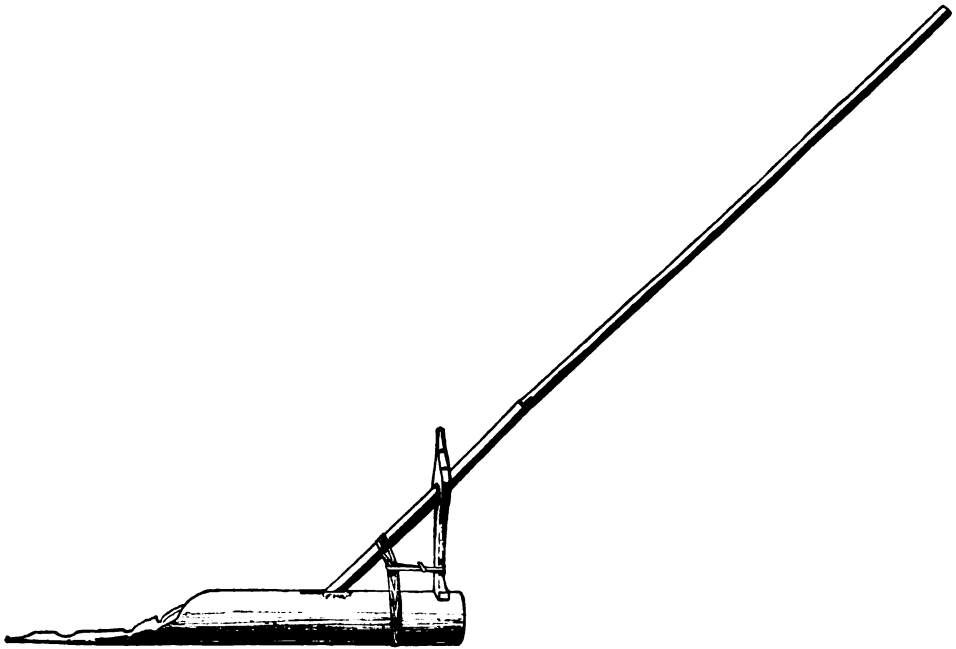
(After Mr Burbidge, p. 87.)

## PITFALLS.

"The *nklubang*, or pitfall, is another common contrivance to impale game. The bottom of the pit is staked with bamboo or iron-wood spikes, and the opening is covered with twigs and leaves so as to be in no way distinguishable from the surrounding vegetation." (Brooke Low.) As we have seen above, Mr. Skertchly also mentions pitfalls.

## VI.—BIRD CATCHING.

"The Kadyans have an ingenious way of capturing the little green or puni pigeons (*Chalcophaps indica*) with a bamboo call, by which their soft cooing notes are exactly imitated. These birds are gregarious, and just before breeding-time they arrive in large quantities. The call is formed of two pieces



MURUT BIRD CALL. Length 21in.  
(Brit. Mus.)

of bamboo, a slender tube, a short piece 3"-4" in diameter, and a connecting piece of wood. In the short piece is a hole similar to the embouchure of a flute; and the lower end of the blow-tube is fitted to this in such a manner that, on blowing, a soft, low, flute-like 'cooing' is easily producible; and this can be readily modulated so as to be heard either at a long distance or near at hand. The native, who has taken up his position in the forest or jungle where these little birds are found, blows very softly at first; but if there be no answering call from the birds he blows louder and louder, thus increasing the radius of sound. If there really be any pigeons of this kind within hearing, they are sure to answer; and then the hunter blows softer and softer until they are enticed into the 'wigwam' of leafy branches which he has erected in order to conceal himself from sight. The door or entrance to these

'wigwams' is partially closed by a screen of palm (*Nipa fruticans*) leaves. This is elevated a little to allow the pigeons to enter, after which it is allowed to fall, portcullis-like, entirely, so as to close the entrance; and the bird is then easily secured. Above the entrance two holes are made, so that the hunter can look out without being seen. These huts are formed of a few poles or sticks rudely thatched with twigs and palm-leaves, and vary from four to six feet in height. This pigeon is migratory, and arrives in Labuan and on the opposite Bornean coast with the change of the monsoon, about April. Many hundreds are then caught by means of this *dakut*, or 'bamboo call.' At this season little huts are built in the forest, and the hunter, ensconced within, blows his call, and they will actually run inside the hut, where they are caught." (Burbidge, p. 73.)

"The natives name many birds from a fancied interpretation of their notes, as 'Whip-poor-Will' with us, e.g. the *Suiṣ api* or 'Blow the fire' is supposed to call out '*Antit! Antit! Suiṣ api!*' (blow the fire), *Ambit priok!* (take the pot), *Jarang nasi!* (cook the rice), *Lapar anak!* (the child is hungry)." (R. B. Sharpe, Proc. Zool. Soc. 1879, p. 320.)

Mr. Brooke Low says: "Pigeons and other birds are caught with *bird-lime* placed in the trees which they frequent for food, particularly the different species of *Kasu ara* (figs), which are very abundant and on which the many species of these birds delight to feed."

The only other reference I find to bird-lime is as follows: "The common *nangka* has a tremendous amount of sap, but the only use it is ever put to, apparently, is to make bird-lime (*empulu*)." (S.G. 1894, p. 146.)

#### FROG HUNTING.

"About half-past seven the Dusun people lit up their torches and commenced a frog-hunt in the river. The frogs (*Bunong*) were to be found sitting on the rocks in the river, and remained perfectly still in the bright torchlight, when the Dusuns were able to secure them easily with their free hand. As each *Bunong* was secured he was threaded through the middle on the strip of rattan, until the length was filled; then another was ready. With luck they would have several yards of threaded *Bunongs* all alive and kicking." (Whitehead, p. 121.)

#### TORTOISES.

"The large land tortoise is called by Malays and Dyaks *Baneng* (or *Banieng*). Dyaks say the *Banieng* are to be found in the upper Batang Lupar and upper Undup on the border in the old jungle, but there are none in the Saribas or Kalaka river. Very credible witnesses affirm that they noticed in the last (Rejang) expedition large numbers of shells of the *Banieng* round the houses of the people in the Chermin stream. Below one house a large one was found alive fenced in (probably it was being kept as a *bonne bouche* for the feast that was due), but the informants soon had it out and roasted it. Dyaks are very fond of eating such creatures and say large numbers are to be met with in the old jungles above Kapit fort. The shells can be made into rings, but have no commercial value." (Batang Lupar Notes, S.G. 1894, p. 201.)

## HUNTING WITH SUMPITAN.

The Sibops "are skilful in the use of the blow-pipe (*sumpitan*), and by use of this weapon numbers of monkeys are killed, from which the Bezoar stones are obtained. These stones are held in great estimation by the Chinese, who purchase them readily at a high price, for using as medicine for all kinds of ailments. They are reported to be found both in the intestines and in the gall bladder of the monkey. They are of various dimensions, usually flattened in shape, somewhat oval, from the size of a pea to that of a hen's egg—the largest realising from \$20 to \$25. The monkeys in which these stones are most commonly found are the *Semnopithecus rubicundus* and *Semnopithecus hosei*. A softer form of this stone is also found in the porcupine (*Hystrix crassispinis*). These animals are shot with poisoned arrows, blown from the sumpitan by Sibops and Punans. Sometimes the poison loses its virulence when not quite fresh, and an animal will then carry away the arrow, although it may have pierced its body to the depth of 2 or 3 inches, and it is easily broken off in the animal's movement through the jungle, leaving the poisoned end in the body. Monkeys have been shot, in whose bodies a broken piece of an arrow has been found, covered with a coating of the substance called 'Bezoar' stone. The localities most frequented by these monkeys are the spurs of large mountains and salt springs, which are common in the interior." (Hose, *Geogr. Jour.* i. 200.)

Sir Sp. St. John mentions the Ida'an trying to secure some small birds with the blow-pipe: "They shot innumerable pellets from their blow-pipes, but did not secure one. In fact, they did not appear to use this instrument with any skill." (i. 269.)

"Among the Punans it is common to destroy wild boar, deer, &c., with the darts." (Brooke Low.)

For further information about the Sumpitan, see special chapter devoted to it; and see also Fishing.

## CROCODILE HUNTING.

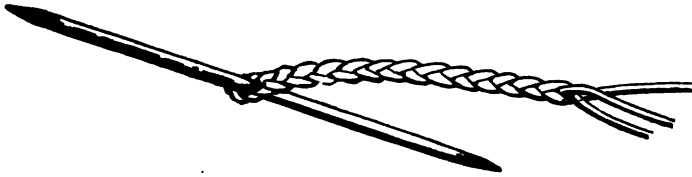
"From superstitious motives the Dyaks do not interfere with the crocodile until it has developed a man-eating propensity. They then turn out in a body and make war upon the race and slaughter it wholesale. They take the heads and hang them up over the fireplace side by side with the cluster of human heads which depends from the roof. When the Dyaks of Pulo Pisang lost one of their number a few years ago they made a war path and killed sixteen crocodiles in revenge, and when Avan Nyipa, of Batu Gadiang, lost his wife, the Kyans and Sebops turned out *en masse* and destroyed thirty within a month. They probe the bottoms of the pools and other likely places with long poles and compel them to rise to the surface and despatch them with their spears.

"The Sarawak crocodiles vary in length from ten to twenty-six feet, but the common size is from ten to fifteen feet.<sup>3</sup> They become a public nuisance from the date of their first human meal, and are thereupon hunted to death.

<sup>3</sup> The Bornean crocodiles are *Tomistoma schlegelii* and *Crocodilus porosus*, the former being peculiar to the island.

Manang Blitang, of Yong, is perhaps the most successful and persistent crocodile trapper in the Rejang River. He is supposed to possess supernatural power over them, and his services are therefore always in request where a seizure has occurred, and the kinsfolk are anxious to discover the whereabouts of the guilty reptile.

"The ordinary way to take a crocodile is with a baited wooden hook and slack cable. The most irresistible bait is the carcase of a dead monkey (dog or fowl will do), and the more overpowering the stench the greater is the probability of a bite, as the brute will only swallow putrefying flesh. Fresh meat is carried away between the jaws and hidden in some safe place until it decomposes. The line is a loose one of rattan, many yards in length, and is not made fast, so that the reptile may drag it away with him when he bolts the bait. The buoy at the other end of the line floats on the water and serves as a clue to his whereabouts; and when he is discovered he is hauled ashore and pinioned. While this is being done he is addressed in eulogistic language and beguiled, so to speak, into offering no resistance; but the moment his arms and legs are bound across his back and he is powerless for evil, they howl at him and deride him for his credulity. They then rip up his belly for human remains and hew him to pieces. He struggles furiously at this stage but to no purpose, and is speedily decapitated with an axe. A



CROCODILE HOOK.

short stick pointed at both ends is often used instead of a hook, and is secured to the bait in such a fashion that it is swallowed lengthwise. To ensure this result the bait is hung upon a bough overhanging the river, but several feet above the level of the water to oblige the crocodile to spring upwards in order to reach it. The efforts he makes to disgorge the wood work it round so as to stick in his throat crosswise. It is usual to hang a dog higher up in the same tree so that he may attract the cruising reptile by his unhallowed howling." (Brooke Low.)

On one occasion rather an amusing discussion "arose amongst the natives as to the proper course of dealing with our captive monster, and as the question appeared to create a considerable interest and much harmless fun, I encouraged them in the important debate. One party maintained that it was proper to bestow all praise and honour on the kingly brute, as he was himself a rajah amongst animals, and was now brought here to meet the rajah; in short, that praise and flattery were agreeable to him, and would induce him to behave genteelly in my presence. The other party said that it was very true that, on this occasion, rajah met rajah, but that the consequence of honoring and praising a captured crocodile would be, that the crocodile community at large would become vain and unmanageable, and after hearing of the

triumphant progress of their friend and relative, would take to the same courses with double industry, and every one eat his man for the sake of obtaining the like fame." (Sir Jas. Brooke, Mundy ii. 72.)

#### CAVE NEST HUNTING.

The collection of edible birdnests for the Chinese markets amounts almost to an industry in these parts where the limestone caves lend themselves for nesting purposes. The Borneo swift producing the edible nests is *Collocalia fuciphaga*. The birds *Collocalia lowi* and *C. linchi* also occur in Borneo, but they use moss as well as saliva in building their nest. A first quality nest is very translucent and of a pale yellow colour, and it is said that only the older nests are mixed with feathers. Old ones are of no value, but when these get destroyed in a few months the swifts build new ones. The caves are farmed out by the Government, the division of the spoils between the chief, or the tribe, or the individual, and the Government, varying in the different districts.

#### EDIBLE NESTS OF CAVE SWIFTS.

Weight  $\frac{3}{4}$  oz.; length 2 inch.

(Peck Coll.)

In Upper Sarawak "such tribes as possess caves in which edible birds' nests are found, divide the nests with the Government. These nests are taken three times a year,—1st, *buang burok*, cleaning out the caves, in this take the nests are few and of indifferent quality, they are the perquisites of the tribe; 2nd, *bunga jagong*, which goes entirely to Government; 3rd, *peniuda*, this is the property of the tribe, and is, as is also the first take, divided amongst those who have worked in the cave, and is not the property of the tribe as a tribe." (Denison, ch. i., p. 3.)

The collecting is thus described by a correspondent of the S.G., No. 68.; he is speaking of the caves at Mount Sobis, on the Niah river: "We commenced our exploration of the cave by walking up a gentle incline, a soft flooring of dry, scentless guano under foot. We were met by thousands of bats and swallows, the latter are the manufacturers of the edible nests; they resemble the common swallow in appearance, but are only half as large. Now descending a gentle declivity, we found ourselves in an immense amphitheatre, the roof of the cave assuming a circular shape, high in the centre, resembling the interior of a dome; our guide assured us the roof was one hundred and twenty fathoms high. Thousands of nests were to be seen clinging on to the

pillar-like sides and roof. The most flimsy looking stages, of bamboos, tied together by rattans, showed us the simple means employed by the natives in collecting them from their seemingly uncomfortable position.

"Through rifts in the mountain side stole many coloured rays of light, throwing a dim religious light over the scene. Through this ghostly dimness the black mouths of branch caverns could be seen. I broke the dead silence which seemed naturally to steal over us by a loud shout, which re-echoed through the vaulted chambers. We now had to light candles to proceed; after another stiff climb we saw light, and going down a steep declivity we emerged on one side of the same opening by which we entered. The caves are remarkable for their vastness; they are dry and free of stalactites, bar those mentioned as existing at the mouth; several large boulders of limestone were scattered over the floor, cropping out of the bed of guano. . . . Some idea of the extent of these caves may be formed from the fact that they yield over 30 pickul, or nearly two tons of edible nests, at one gathering; unfortunately for the owners, the nests are black, and of an inferior quality, worth only 100 dollars per pickul; whereas the white nests of first quality realize 2,000 dollars per pickul."

Mr. W. B. Pryer gives the following account of nest collecting: "All the roof of the dark parts of the cave were occupied by the birds, who kept up an intermittent twittering, sounding, from the immense quantity of birds assembled, like the surf breaking on a rocky shore. We saw the nest gatherers getting in their crop; they had extended their flexible rattan ladders over some horrible-looking gulfs and fixed them against the sides; two men take their stations on these; one carries a light four-prong spear, about 15ft. long, just below the prongs a lighted candle is fixed; holding on to the ladder with one hand, the spear is managed with the other, and the nest transfixed; a slight push detaches it from the rock, the spear is then withdrawn until the head is within reach of the second man, who takes the nest off the prongs and puts it in a pouch carried at the waist." (The Field, Dec. 20, 1884.)

Of the Kayan caves on the Baram, Sir Sp. St. John writes: "The natives say that in these caves there are two species of birds—the one that builds the edible nest, and another that takes up its quarters near the entrance, and disturbs, and even attacks the more valuable tenants. The Kayans endeavour to destroy these, and while we were there knocked down some nests constructed of moss, and adhering to the rock by a glutinous but coarse substance." (i. 117.) It is probably the *C. lowi* or *linchi* that is here referred to. Incidentally he mentions (p. 115) that although the guano is many feet deep it emitted "scarcely any smell."

The Gomanton caves near the Sepugaya river in Brit. North Borneo have been well described by Mr. Bampfylde ("Cruise of the Marchesa," ii. 99.) He remarks: "The natives collect in a slovenly manner and not always in the proper season. Great care should always be taken after detaching the nests to sweep the various lodgments so as to remove all mess of feathers, which would otherwise adhere to the next lot of nests and deteriorate in value. This is invariably done by the Sarawak Land Dyaks, and hence the latter people increase the value of the caves, although the total produce is less than at

Gomanton. For some years back there appear to have been only two seasons for collecting, viz., the *Papas* and *Kapala*; one about March, and the other about two months later. I am, however, informed, on the authority of experienced collectors and others, that the most remunerative way is to divide the year into four seasons, as formerly done. No fixed date can be given for these seasons, and the gathering depends on the laying of the eggs, and when this commences the nests must be taken. The natives say that the birds will lay four times a year if four collections are made, but if there are only two collections they will lay twice only. The first three seasons always produce white nests, the last only *manas* and *itam* (the medium and black qualities), but it must be worked to insure a good harvest for the next coming *Papas* season. By these means a larger quantity and a far finer quality of nests are obtained than by dividing the year into two seasons only, when the birds are allowed to add and add on to their old nests,—as they will invariably do,—which rapidly deteriorate, becoming dirty and of low value. As the nests are taken only when the eggs are laid, a danger of over-collecting might be apprehended, but I am assured no such danger exists, as the birds carry on the breed in nooks and crannies inaccessible to the collectors."

The best description of the nest itself is given by Mr. Dalrymple: "The Tiroon districts, on the east coast of Borneo, have scarce any but white; red is found at the islands of Mantannane, adjoining to the N.W. coast of Borneo, and the black almost everywhere in the Sooloo dominions. The last is very much mixed with feathers, but seems in nothing else different from the white; but the other, even where clear from feathers, has a tinge of red. If the nests are not annually removed, the birds make use of them again, so that by age and accession of dirt they lose their whiteness and purity. . . . These nests are not easily described; they are flat on the side towards the rock to which they are affixed; in general the outward extremity is nearly semi-circular, bending upwards, however, so as to form a hollow cup as a receptacle for the eggs. The nest is composed of a glutinous substance, very compact, disposed in even filaments without, but within in very rugged fretwork, somewhat resembling the inside of bones, the component threads, as they appear, being very unequal in size. Generally the part towards the rock is foul and moist, but the exterior part, when dry, is extremely brittle." (Alex. Dalrymple, *Natural Curiosities at Sooloo*, p. 15.)<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Macgregor states that he saw that the young birds are glued by the legs to the nest so that they cannot fall out. (p. 15.)

<sup>4</sup> The gelatine-like mass is produced, according to Dr. Bernstein, at the nesting season by the two enormously-developed salivary glands on either side under the tongue, and is probably also secreted by the largely-developed glands of the stomach. It is not prepared from seaweed or other marine plants in the crop, the swifts having no crops. It draws out in long threads. When one of the birds "wishes to begin building, it flies repeatedly against the selected spot, pressing each time a little saliva against the rock with the tip of its tongue. This it will do from ten to twenty times, moving away not more than a few yards in the intervals. It then alights, and arranges the material in semi-circular or horseshoe form on the rock, continuing to add saliva; by the motions of its body from side to side the yet soft saliva is forced out over the harder parts, producing those peculiar undulatory bands which give the nest a stratified appearance." Prof. Troschel, of Bonn, finds the material "does not consist of specially nourishing or stimulating substances, but is quite similar in constitution to any animal saliva." (Chambers' Jour. 1875, p. 527.)

## HONEY AND BEESWAX HUNTING.

"The tapang is the largest tree in these parts, sometimes measuring 120 feet to the first branch and 16 or 18 feet in circumference. It is very handsome in appearance, and has light green leaves, which, with its enormous size, makes it easily distinguishable from the rest of the jungle trees, even at a great distance. The wild bees always hive on the tapangs, which are, therefore, considered of great value by the Dyaks, who collect the wax and honey. I have seen as many as thirteen bees' nests hanging to the branches of one tapang tree. [The ascent is made by means of a ladder hereinafter described.] The honeycomb is secured thus:—The man shakes a lighted brand over the nest, and the bees fly away after the sparks, or are scared by the fire. The Dyak then puts the comb in the basket, which he almost invariably slings over his shoulders, and descends with the prize." (Grant, p. 60.)

Among the Balau Dyaks the method of obtaining the comb is different. "When the collector has arrived at the branch from which the comb hangs he puts over it the end of the rope which he has brought with him, to which he forthwith attaches the basket, and cautiously slips the bight of the rope along the bough till the basket hangs directly under the comb. He then with his parang loosens the comb so as to allow it to drop into the basket, and giving the signal to his companions (who hold the other end of the rope), comb and basket are quickly lowered to the ground. In the meantime he must defend himself with his light from the attacks of the bees in the best manner he can, and he wisely makes a speedy descent." (Horsburgh, p. 42.) Sir Hugh Low mentions a case where the boys were swollen all over from the effects of the sting. (p. 316.)

"It requires cool and deliberate courage to take a bee-hive at so great an elevation. . . . The plan pursued by the Pakatan Dayaks, is to kindle a large fire under the trees, and, by throwing green branches upon it, raise so stifling a smoke that the bees rush forth, and the man ascending takes their nest in safety." (St. John i. 75.)

Mr. Hornaday says of the climber: "Le Tiac had few preparations to make. He wore only his chawat, which he adjusted securely, tucking the ends in tightly so that they would not catch on the pegs and trouble him. At his back was securely fastened a *juah* (back-basket) to receive the comb if it contained honey. His torch was made up securely, and slung from his neck by a cord, so that it would hang down his back lower than his feet. It was then ignited and waved to and fro, until it smoked freely, and he started up." (p. 424.)

A detailed account of the ladder is given by Mr. Wallace: "The men first went to a clump of bamboo that stood near, and cut down one of the largest stems. From this they chopped off a short piece, and splitting it made a couple of stout pegs, about a foot long, and sharp at one end. Then cutting a thick piece of wood for a mallet, they drove one of the pegs into the tree [50 or 60 feet high] and hung their weight upon it. It held, and this seemed to satisfy them, for they immediately began making a quantity of

pegs of the same kind. . . . When about two dozen pegs were made, one of them began cutting some very long and slender bamboo from another clump, and also prepared some cord from the bark of a small tree. They now drove in a peg very firmly at about three feet from the ground, and bringing one of the bamboos, stood it upright close to the tree, and bound it firmly to the two first pegs, by means of the bark cord, and small notches near the head of each peg. One of the Dyaks now stood on the first peg and drove in a third, about level with his face, to which he tied the bamboo in the same way, and then mounted another step, standing on one foot, and holding by the bamboo at the peg immediately above him, while he drove in the next one. In this manner he ascended about twenty feet, when the upright bamboo becoming thin, another was handed up by his companion, and this was joined on by tying both bamboos to three or four of the pegs. When this was also nearly ended, a third was added, and shortly after, the lowest branches of the tree were reached, along which the young Dyak scrambled. . . . The ladder itself was perfectly safe, since if any one peg were loose or faulty, and gave way, the strain would be thrown on several others above and below it." (i. 85.)

"Accidents, however, do happen; a Lundu fell from a tree and in consequence had a fractured foot which had to be amputated." (S. G., No. 184, p. 6.) And at Mukah a man was killed by falling from a tree (*ibid*, No. 201, p. 80); in neither case had the ladders anything to do with the accidents.

"It would be extremely puzzling to find a tree so thick, or tall, or otherwise so difficult to climb, that the lithe and dusky native [Murut] would fail to reach its summit. The chances are that he will literally walk up a slender tree in the neighbourhood with the aid of hands and feet, and then find a route to the one you wish him to explore by way of the interlaced branches so high above you. If any sufficiently stout lianas are dangling near, he ascends hand-over-hand in a way that would delight the most accomplished gymnast; and if the tree so stood that the ascent could only be accomplished by the direct way of its own gigantic trunk, then the chances are that a stair of bamboo pegs would enable the ingenious savage to effect his object." (Burbidge, p. 53.)

"Some Dyaks say the bees mistake the fire for gold and come down to possess themselves of the treasure." (Keppel, *Meander* ii. 11.) Mrs. McDougall (p. 52) reports a similar belief.

"Though situated in the heart of the jungle these [tapang] trees are the property of individuals, and descend from father to son like any other possession, conferring upon their owner a right to the honey and wax they may yield." (Horsburgh, p. 42.) "And a Dayak from a neighbouring tribe venturing to help himself of this apparently wild honey and wax, would be punished for theft." (St. John i. 159.) Quarrels, the result of taking such honey and wax, are not uncommon. Sir Hy. Keppel mentions several such. One was a dispute between the people of Samarahan and the Sibuyaus. "It appears that the Dyaks of Sibuyow settled in the Samarahan River several generations ago; and both parties have since been in the habit of taking the

comb from the trees. At first, each party collected what they could without jealousy or disputes; but at length arose a competition among them, and each endeavoured to get the lion's share either by stealth or force. During the prevalence of bad government, neither party cared much for the Tappangs, as the parties who got the wax were obliged to give the greater part of it to Seriff Sahibe, and incurred great risk of being fined by him on suspicion of concealment. The people of Samarahan were doubtless originally proprietors of the trees; but their ancestors, of free-will, gave the Sibuyows a settlement and a right, which have existed for probably a hundred years. It is confessed by both parties that the Sibuyows paid something for the settlement, but what rights were to be included in consideration of the payment cannot now be shown. The decision was that the Sibuyows shall be the possessors of the Tappang trees below the junction, thus giving the original inhabitants nearly two-thirds of the ground and of the trees." (Keppel, Meander ii. 10.)

As regards the wax, Mr. Hatton speaks of "several dozen large cakes of beeswax about a foot in diameter" (p. 150), and Sir Sp. St. John mentions a wax taper being used by a native when exploring a cave on the Baram. (i. 113.)

Referring to a man who was injured by a bear, Mr. R. K. Phillips writes from the Sadong: "A Dyak in Simanggang was also, I hear, similarly attacked by a bear. I believe in both cases both man and beast were bent on obtaining wild honey from Tapang trees, which the bears are as fond of as the native, hence these attacks." (S.G. 1894, p. 26.)

The bear (*Ursus Malayanus*) "is very fond of feeding upon the honey of a very small bee, called by the Dyak *Kululut*, and I have seen holes in trees of hard wood made by the bear with its claws in its endeavours to get at a nest of these bees. The bees usually have but a very small hole for an entrance." (Hose, Mammalia, p. 28.)

According to Sir Hugh Low (p. 316) it is this small bee which the natives domesticate; the tapang tree bee he speaks of as being "large, wasp-like." (p. 315.)

#### GAME RIGHTS.

"Kina Balu itself and the uncultivated spurs are portioned off to the various tribes which surround it, each village owning the collecting and sporting rights over the country opposite to their village. I do not think this etiquette is ever transgressed; whenever I visited these forests, the people of the village where I was living always took me to their part of Kina Balu." (Whitehead, p. 112.)

"The porcupines and monkeys are hunted for their bezoar stones; the squirrels for their fur and teeth (squirrels' teeth are used for necklace tassels); bears and tiger-cats and panthers are hunted for their canine teeth, their skins being used for war-jackets and seat mats; the hornbills, jungle fowl, and argus pheasants for their plumes for decorating helmets and sword sheaths; the bill of the rhinoceros hornbill is wanted for ear pendants and helmet crests, and crocodile teeth are wanted for ointment cases; bears' teeth and boars' tusks are wanted for charms, and the crimson horn of the *Buceros rhinoceros* is used for ear pendants; the helmet of the *Galeatus* is used for a sword-buckle." (Brooke Low.)

## FISHING.

## SEINES AND NETS.

Mr. T. S. Chapman, one of the ablest officials of Sarawak, describes net-fishing as follows: "On the sea for miles on either side of the mouth of the Kalaka river three kinds of nets are used, viz., 1st—*Pukat China*; 2nd—*Pukat Malayu*, or *pukat tarik*; 3rd—The *Sulering*. The *Pukat China* is a net nine feet deep, and the other day I fished with one 900 feet long; its mesh is half-an-inch long, the whole length of its head when in the water is supported by floats: its foot is not weighted, but drags on the bottom. It is used as follows: Having been laid on layers in a boat, and the boat having been paddled quietly in shore until sufficiently shallow for a man to stand with breast and head above water, two of the fishermen jump out, one holds the net, the other with a long pole stands ready to beat the water; the boat then paddles off nearly parallel to the shore, letting out the net as she goes on, and when all is out, another fisherman with a couple of beaters jumps into the water, the former holds the end of the net whilst the latter immediately proceeds to beat the water along the shore. The fish are roused and frightened from their favourite haunt amongst the broken water close in shore, and dart out to sea, but meeting the net are entangled in its meshes. The fishermen holding each end of the net gradually advancing to one another, the beaters contract towards the centre, which is now taken up by boat, and to which eventually both ends of the net arrive—then comes the exciting part—two men stand up in the boat and haul in the net head and foot at the same time, laying it ready on layers for the next cast, and as the net comes in so do the fish entangled in it.

DYAK *jing Kuan* OR SHUTTLE.

With *tengang* string. Used in net weaving.  
(Brooke Low Coll.)

"The *Pukat Malayu*, or *putak tarik*, is a net of one inch mesh, generally 180 feet long; the head and foot ropes are kept apart by a series of sticks called *rakohs*, sixteen or eighteen inches long, fastened at intervals of about five feet; to the head and foot ropes are fastened a number of net bags, about two feet deep, joined to one another. This net can be pulled by two men, and there is no necessity for a boat. One man enters the water up to his middle, holding one end of the net, and drags it along parallel with the shore; another man holds the other end, and walks along the shore sufficiently quick or slow so as to permit the net to continue in a semi-circle; after proceeding for some distance, the man in the water wades on to land, bringing his end of the net with him, and then both drag it high and dry. The fish are found securely caught in the net bags.

"The *Sulering* is like the *pukat*, but it has no bags, and is only half an inch mesh, when dragged it bellies out, and it is used for fishing the smaller kinds of fish. All the three kinds of nets are made of good strong twine and are tanned with the bark of the *sumak* tree, which abounds in most of our low jungles.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Brooke Low speaks of the *jala*, or casting net, in ordinary use being made of *tengang*, string tanned claret colour with *sumak* to preserve it, and weighted with stones if nothing better is to be obtained.

"We have a smart little boat, a crew of six good men, clever and keen at fishing, and the three kinds of nets are carefully stowed. The tide began to ebb as we left, and by half-ebb we had arrived at a good place. We agreed to take a cast or two, and we soon pay out our *Pukat China*. The water is in a lovely condition, being discoloured, and minute shrimps *bubok* leap about in millions. One beater is out thrashing the water, and the ends of the net are gradually closing. All is laughter and excitement, a large fish has struck the net, another! another! pull! pull! close in! close in! and soon we are hauling up the dripping net into the boat, and with it fish of numerous kinds, big and little, now a tortoise, now a turtle, now a *siluar* or grey mullet, and, hallo! what's this? and, with a terrific ripple and plunge, in topples a shark, some six feet long, gnashing and snapping. Now there is great excitement—the fierce fish snaps at all who go near him, and faith we are at close quarters, and it is not so easy a matter as some may think to kill a shark under these circumstances. The fish is entangled in the net, and we cannot cut at him without spoiling it. At last after many futile efforts, one of the party, against all advice, springs on to the shark and endeavours to get him free. The shark gives a powerful twist, gets his head loose, and in a twinkling has bitten our brave comrade in the shoulder, tearing the flesh off nearly to his elbow, and laying bare his muscle. It was the last bite that shark ever made, for, being free of the net, spear and parang soon settled him. Our friend with the torn shoulder has fainted, but I soon rouse him up, and after carefully washing the jagged wound, I sew it up and apply Friar's balsam and bandages. He is a fine, healthy, young fellow, and I am glad to say his wound subsequently healed beautifully. . . . On camping, they clean and dry their fish over fires kept low and smouldering. This dried fish is most excellent, and with proper care will keep for a fortnight." (S.G. No. 100.)

Another account of this sort of seine fishing, for catching *pomfret* fish, is given by Mr. Gueritz. It is the method used by the Bintulu Malanaus. "The *barong* (boat), used for this fishing, is especially adapted on account of its beam and short length, to resist the heavy seas which are so prevalent on the river bars along the coast. The common measurement of a *barong* is about thirty feet in length, and eight feet beam. It has a crew of from eight to twelve men, who propel the boat with oars of eight feet long, and very broad blades. Their mode of rowing is very different from what one has been accustomed to, their stroke being very short but deep, and they pull with a short jerk instead of a long swing, and it is quite surprising at what a rate they send the heavy looking boats along. The men sit on separate boards, sloping away towards the bow. A most uncomfortable seat, and very awkward if one misses his stroke, or the rattan with which his oar is fastened breaks. The boat is also supplied with a tall mast and a large square sail. On the port side are rigged two strong stanchions, with a cross bar, on which the net is rigged. The net itself is forty two feet in length, and thirty six inches in breadth at one end, from which it decreases to a breadth of about two feet. This net is stretched across two poles, in the form of a triangle. These poles are then laid across the bar and the two ends fastened by a catch in the boat. On the starboard side are also two stanchions, on which the mast, &c., &c., are laid

when not in use. Each boat owns about seventy rattans of sixteen fathoms long. These rattans are sunk with a stone at the end. A bunch of nipa leaf is fastened to the rattan, at five fathoms depth, and it is floated by a piece of the nipa stalk. Under these leaves the fish collect, to enjoy the shade. The fishing now commences, the men row up to a rattan, and as they pass it, a man standing in the stern catches the nipa stalk, at the end of a hooked pole which he holds. He pulls it gently towards him, until he can make out the leaf below, when he sees whether there are any fish or not. If there are, the net is then let down. He then fastens the stalk to a long rattan, which he hands across the net to a man standing in the bow, the boat then makes a short circuit, during which the man in the bow gently pulls the leaf up, so as to come across the net; when just over the net, three men dive underneath, one on either side and one in the middle, and drive any straggling fish into the net. As the leaf comes over the net, the men in the boat, who have all been standing on the port side, make a rush to the starboard, which brings up the net with the fishes enclosed.<sup>6</sup> I was amused at seeing one of the divers who remarked a rather fine fish making away. He dived after it, and after chasing it for some distance without being able to turn it, came up with an aggrieved countenance and said, *Diya tida maku*. During the sail back, the fish are divided, and then commences the preparation of the *Umai*, of which I partook and enjoyed. *Umai* is simply raw fish, which has been very carefully scraped and cleaned, it is then cut into thin stripes, and dried for about half a hour, when it is eaten with the *buah bawang* and pearl sago. The Bintulu men dive and drive the fish into the net, while the Muka men are content to let the fish follow the leaf or not, without attempting to drive in the stragglers. I wonder if this has anything to do with the saying here, 'that a shark will not touch anyone between Semalajau and Tatau. In the memory of the oldest man here, no fisherman has ever been taken between those two rivers, although the Bintulu men very often come in contact with them whilst diving.' (S.G. 130, p. 30.)

"Another kind of net is the *rambat*. It is a circular casting net, loaded with leaden or iron weights at the circumference, and with a spread sometimes of thirty feet. Great skill, acquired by long practice, is shewn by the fisherman in throwing this net over a shoal of fish which he has sighted, in such a manner that all the outer edge touches the water simultaneously; the weights then cause the edges of the circumference to sink and gradually close together,

<sup>6</sup> A curious custom is reported to exist on the Kalaka river: "The *junghat* fishermen have not had very big hauls of fish lately. In some cases the men do not go out to their nets at all, because of the poor takes. A *junghat* house, to those who are unacquainted with this mode of catching fish, is well worth a visit. There is a curious superstition, to the effect that one must be careful to avoid the mention of the names of any four-footed beast while in the house, for there is a legend, that whoever does so, will have his head twisted face backwards, and the spirits, to vent their wrath, will tear and bite the tails and sides of the fish; should this happen, the *baku* of the *junghat* must be beaten with a collection of various kinds of leaves, such as *giwang pinang*, *mainang pinang*, *ikat-ikat*, *nipulut babi*, &c.; accompanied with incantations, before any more fish can be caught. Even now the Malays are very particular about this custom of refraining from uttering the name of any animal whilst engaged at the *junghat* work." (Kalaka Notes, S G. 1894, p. 169.)

encompassing the fish, and the net is drawn up by a rope attached to its centre, the other end of which the fisherman had retained in his hand. The skill of the thrower is further enhanced by the fact that he, as a rule, balances himself in the bow of a small 'dug-out,' or canoe, in which a European could scarcely keep his footing at all. The *rambat* can also be thrown from the bank, or the beach, and is used in fresh and salt water. Only small fish and prawns are caught in this way. Prawns are also caught in small *kélongs* with very fine split bamboo nets; but a method is also employed in the Brunai river which I have not heard of elsewhere. A specially prepared canoe is made use of, the gunwale on one side being cut away, and its place taken up by a flat ledge, projecting over the water. The fisherman sits paddling in the stern, keeping the ledged side towards the bank, and leaning over so as to cause the said ledge to be almost level with the water. From the same side there projects a long bambu, with wooden teeth on its underside, like a comb, fastened to the stern, but projecting outwards, forwards, and slightly upwards, the teeth increasing in length towards its far end, and as they sweep the surface of the water the startled prawns, shut in by the bank on one side, in their efforts to avoid the teeth of the comb, jump into the canoe in large quantities." (Treacher, Jour. Straits Asiatic. No. 20, p. 53.)

"The scoop net is used chiefly by the women, who are fond of wading up the shallows, net in hand and basket *suitong*, slung from the shoulder, scooping up the prawns and periwinkles, &c., that come in their way. Sometimes they drop the fish into a hollow gourd which they carry." (Brooke Low.)

On the Sarebas river "the *Ikan buntal*, during the dry season, comes up to spawn, it is supposed, just below Tanjong Asam. The Malays and Dyaks, chiefly the latter, collect in large numbers, as many as fifty and sixty boats have been counted together, and the fishermen use hand nets of a peculiar shape, called *tanggok*, with which they scoop the fish up, out of the shallows, into their boats. When in luck the takes are very large." (Batang Lupar Notes, S.G., 1894.)

"The *Sadak* is a sort of shrimping net, conical in shape, and stretched on a hoop of cane with a handle. It is from eighteen to thirty inches in diameter, and is used, generally by one wading, to dip into shallow pools and dark corners along the river banks, for any sleeping fish, or fish that may be hiding." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"The *Serangkong* is a conical basket made of split bambus or ribs of palm leaf. It is about two feet in depth and fifteen to twenty inches across, without a bottom, and having an opening at the top. It is used by a person wading along the banks of the river, who gradually sinks it in any likely little pool and presses it closely down to the bottom. He then passes his hand through the top and grasps any fish that may have been enclosed, transferring them to his boat. This basket is generally used in the lower waters for prawn fishing." (F. W. Leggatt.)

A SERANGKONG HAND FISH  
BASKET.  
(From a Sketch by Mr. Leggatt.)

"The *Tangkok* is similar to the Serangkong, but much larger, being about five feet in depth and three feet wide, or larger still. It is closed at the top. Two or more men hold this between them horizontally and rush it through the water until they think some fish have been enclosed. It is then drawn to the bank and the fish removed." (F. W. Leggatt.)

"The *Pemansai* is a long oval-shaped shallow basket—two-and-a-half to three feet long—and about one foot deep and wide, closely woven. It is boat-shaped, having the bottom pinched together at each end, and wide and flat at the middle. It is generally used by women to drag for fish as they wade along the shallow, sluggish water in the jungle." (F. W. Leggatt.)

#### TUBA FISHING.

"But the favourite form of fishing whether on a large or on a small scale is with the *tuba* root (*Derris elliptica*), the juice of which is baled into the stream to poison its waters and to cause the fish to rise stupefied to the surface. The *empang*, or basket-work screens, are first erected at the mouth of the river to prevent the escape of the fish into pure water. Each person brings his own *tubai*—a bundle or two. A *karangan* is selected where suitable stones abound. It must be two or three hours' pull from the entrance, or the sport would be over too soon. The canoes line either bank, and at a given signal the entire *bala* (party) commence to hammer out the root and soak it in the water in the bottom of their boats. A few minutes later, when all hands are ready, the poisoned liquid is baled out into the stream, and the canoes after a short pause begin to drift slowly down the current, and as the fish rise to the surface, they are speared with forks or captured with hand-nets. The best of the fun is over in an hour or two, but many remain, nevertheless, until late in the evening to watch for a fresh rise. The women join in the sport and scoop up the small fry with their nets. It is forbidden by custom to hurl the spear at the fish; any accident arising from an infraction of this rule is punishable by fine." (Brooke Low.)

Another account runs: "The *tuba* roots are done up in small, close bundles the thickness of a man's wrist and six or eight inches long, and dry and hard. . . . Each boat has four or five bundles. For an hour sixty clubs beat a lively tattoo on the root bundles as they were held on the edges of the boats. . . . About twenty gallons of water was baled into each boat, and into this the *tuba* was dipped and wrung out from time to time: when reduced to shreds, it is further chopped up. When water was squeezed out of the *tuba* it had a white, frothy appearance, like soap-suds. The Malays procure lumps of clay and dissolve them in the solution until it is made quite murky." (Hornaday, p. 384.)

"The large fish are secured by spearing, amid much excitement, the eager sportsmen often overbalancing themselves and falling headlong into the water to the great amusement of the more lucky ones. . . . The *tuba* does not affect the flesh of the fish, which is brought to the table without any special preparation." (Treacher, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc. No. 20, p. 53.)

His Highness says the spears are barbed and furnished with "buoyant

bamboo staffs, so that in the event of the fish being wounded the bamboo floats and is easily recovered." (i. 92.)

"It often takes place at night by torchlight, the multitude of boats floating about on the dark river, each with its torches, throwing into strong relief the dusky and nearly naked figures of the crew, and partially lighting up the distant gloom of the forest; the glancing of the paddles, the hushed motions of the rowers, the erect figure of the spearsman with his three-pronged spear, as the little canoes float over the dark river and beneath the high over-arching trees, or dash on with foaming speed amid the yells of the crew and urged by the contending efforts of rivals to the capture of some large fish, dimly seen struggling at a distance, form a singular and interesting spectacle." (Horsburgh, p. 41.) "Sometimes as much as a couple of tons of fish are taken in a few hours by this method, which in no way renders the fish unfit for eating purposes; it is always a great event and hundreds of boats crowded with the fairer sex turn out to see the fun—the sight reminding one somewhat of the Cam in the May week." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 160.)

"Anybody, whether contributors of tuba or not, may join in the sport of spearing the fish. But as it is only just and right that those who have contributed the tuba should obtain some advantage, this is secured by placing a fence see below across the river at some distance below the spot at which the tuba was beaten. This fence is made by firmly planting small posts, bambus, &c., the rows of posts from the two banks converging towards the centre of the stream where a gap is left. In this gap is fixed the *selambau*. The *selambau* is a large triangular shaped net of coarse strong line, almost flat, but rather baggy at the mouth, in length from ten to fifteen fathoms, and five to ten broad at its mouth. Along each side are a number of lines for drawing it up to the surface. In the annexed sketch *a a* is the fence from the banks to the mouth of the *selambau* *c*; *b b* are two stages built on top of

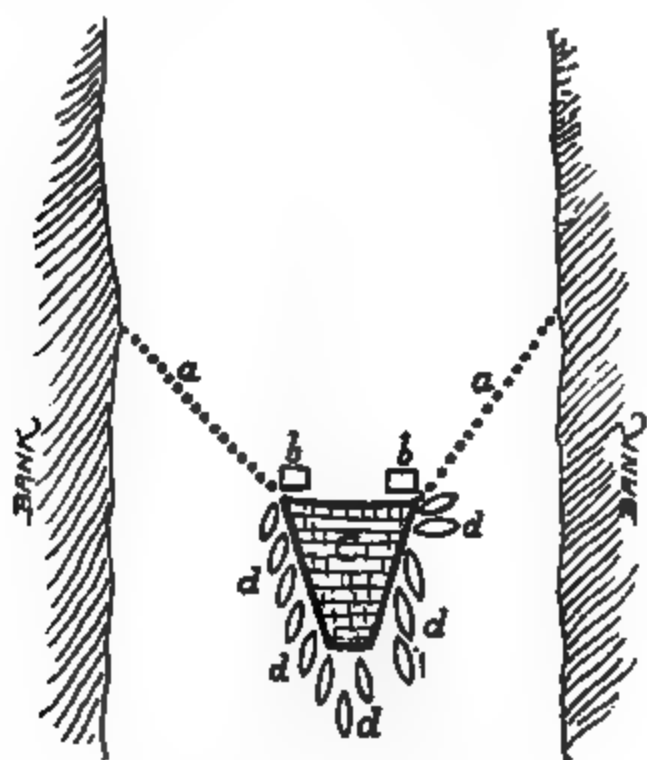


DIAGRAM OF *Selambau* FISH TRAP.

Occasionally used when Tuba Fishing.

(From a Sketch by Mr. Leggatt.)

PLATFORM ON POSTS  
In water used with *selambau*.  
(From a Sketch by Mr. Leggatt.)

posts driven into the bed of the river and secured at the point where they cross. The small platform erected on this staging is occupied by two or three men. Two posts are now arranged perpendicularly to run in loops of cane attached to the staging and to these two posts the mouth of the *selambau* is secured. The duty of the men on the staging is to submerge the mouth of the *selambau* by pushing it down with the posts, while the sides and apex are prevented from sinking too deep by the lines held by the men in the boats *d d d d*. By its splashing about in the net the presence of a fish is at once known, and then the men on the staging quickly draw the net to the surface again by pulling up the posts. The fish is then clubbed by one of the men in the boats and taken from the net, which is again submerged. The fence on each side of the net prevents the fish escaping, so that a great quantity of fish is often secured and is afterwards divided in proportion among the contributors of the tuba. Another plan adopted is to build an *abau* or cage in the fence into which the fish enter in trying to escape from the tuba into fresh water. And at the conclusion of the fishing the contents are divided. Another plan is to build a number of small *abaus* right across the river, one for each village or long house contributing tuba, the proprietors of each *abau* being decided either by lot or according to the quantity of tuba contributed." (F. W. Leggatt.)

#### ANGLING.

"On the Sangow and other large rivers, the Dyaks are very expert with the rod and line, which is constructed with a reel and spare line, precisely like those of Europe. Having hooked a large fish, they play him with a dexterity which would delight old Izaak Walton, and finally, having exhausted him, land him with a net in the most skilful manner. Their hooks are of brass, of which also their shining bait is manufactured. The rod and line are, I believe, used both for trolling and fly fishing, but I never saw the former." (Low, p. 311.)

"The hook and line are also used especially for deep sea fishing, and fish of large size are thus caught." (Treacher, Journ. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 20, p. 53.) Mr. Hatton says "the thorns of the rattan leaves are used for catching fish with." (Diary, 16 Mar.) "The Sea Dyaks are expert anglers and with them fishing is a favourite occupation. They commence fishing at a very early age and the habit grows upon them rather than otherwise. They fully understand the use of a bait and invariably bait their hooks. Fish lines are made of the *apieng* palm." (Brooke Low.) "The Undups make hooks out of brass wire flattened at the end and drill a hole to insert finer brass wire as string and flatten by beating out the point and barb." (Crossland.) "For bait they use worms or certain fruits or berries." No

<sup>7</sup> The *Ikon Patin* is found below Pusa. When the fruit of the *api-api* tree is ripe it falls into the water and floats and the fish are attracted by it. The wily Malay fisherman has noted this (and what he doesn't know about fishing isn't worth knowing), and he arms himself with a trident (*sarambang*) which is placed on a rest pointing towards the bows of his frail sampan and allows himself to drift down or up the river with the ebb or flood. He remains sitting motionless, watching the floating fruit, and as a fish darts at it he jobs at it with unerring aim and secures, without any undue exertion, many a finny monster for his evening meal. (Batang Lupar Notes—Sarebus River Fishing, S. G., 1894, p. 201.)

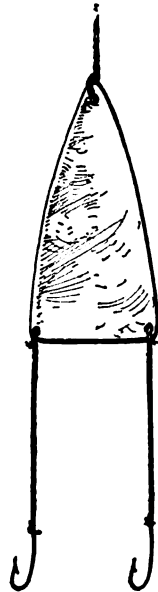
float is attached to the line." (F. W. Leggatt.) Mr. Hose mentions "that on one occasion when he and his companions on their descent from Mt. Dulit attempted to catch by hand some small fish in a pool an ingenious Dyak produced a piece of thread, which he tied on the end of a stick, and with a small piece of brass wire which he bent into a hook, it looked as if he meant business. We then searched for worms but found none. The Dyak, however, was not going to give up so easily, and sitting down on a stone, he proceeded to take out his knife and cut small pieces off the sole of his foot with which he baited the hook, and was not long before he landed a fish." (Geogr. Jour. i. 206.)

"Another method of fishing is by wooden floats (*lampong*), generally of the form of a duck, each with a baited hook attached to it, and set swimming down the stream. The owner of these floats glides in his canoe among them, plying his rod and line, and watching till the peculiar motions of any of the ducks should shew that a fish has been hooked."<sup>8</sup> (Horsburgh, p. 40.)

"The *rawai* is a long line from which are suspended at intervals short lengths with hooks attached. There may be from thirty to forty so connected. At each juncture with the long line is a small float about the size of a cedar pencil, which indicates the presence of a fish.

"The *Taut* is a night line, generally secured to an overhanging tree. The *Sempetik* is a night line so arranged that when a fish makes his efforts to escape, it causes the release of a spring (branch of a tree or bambu), and it is immediately drawn up out of the water, suspended in mid air.

"The *Achar* is a spoon. A piece of mother-of-pearl shell, or any white metal, is cut into the form of an isosceles triangle, having a length of about 2 inches, and breadth at base of from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 inch. The corners are rounded off and sides slightly curved. At the apex the line is attached, and from the base are suspended two or three hooks by a couple of inches of line. This appliance is used either from the river bank, or from a boat, though in the latter case one man is required to paddle while another spins. The line is attached to a rod.



AN ACHAR SPIN.

(From a Sketch by Mr. Leggatt.)

"The *Sagang* is really a multiplication of hooks, and is made by tying on to a short line a number of thorns, odd pieces of wire, splinters of hard wood, &c., so that three or four radiate from one point, at an acute angle with the line. When baited they are swallowed without difficulty by the fish, but any attempt to eject them afterwards only results in their being more firmly embedded in the gullet. The *sagang* is generally used in the upper waters of small creeks to catch a sort of eel." (F. W. Leggatt.)

<sup>8</sup> At Moeara Pahau this float is secured by a line round the neck and allowed to float on the water, the hook suspended beneath. The natives only use it when the water is thick, and then they rarely set this without hooking a fish. The river here is more than ten feet deep. (Bock, p. 126.)

## SUMPITAN FISHING.

"I have seen a Murut strike fish after fish with unerring certainty with arrows from a sumpitan, even at more than a foot below the surface of the stream." (Burbidge, p. 62.)

## FISH SPEARING.


We have seen above that spears are used when tuba fishing, although occasionally their use is forbidden. "The fish spears in use are the *pendawan* and *serepang*. The *pendawan* is simply a barbed spear with a slender iron fore-shaft; the *serepang* is a forked spear furnished with a long bamboo shaft, and with either two, three, or four metal prongs." (Brooke Low.) "The fish spear (*saram-pang*) is so arranged that when a fish is struck the head of the weapon comes out of the socket, but the head being tied to the bamboo shaft, it is impossible for a fish to remain long under water as the bamboo is always bearing it to the surface, when another spear is plunged into the fish and it is secured." (Hose, J.A.I. xxiii. 160.)

## FISHING BY TORCHLIGHT.

"Another mode of fishing is to creep along the bank in a canoe after dark with a torch in one hand and a fish spear in the other, to stick the mudfish as they rise to the surface confused by the light. Prawns are also caught in this fashion, but with a hand net." (Brooke Low.)

"At Labuan, during a low tide, the shore for miles is a perfect blaze with torches; there, however, a curious crab is the object of capture." (Whitehead, p. 80.)

## DIVING FOR FISH.



DYAK FISHING SPEAR  
Bambu handle, hardwood  
prongs secured in position by  
cane (repaired with string)  
Length of handle 4ft 5½in  
Length of prongs nearly 3in  
Weight nearly 9oz

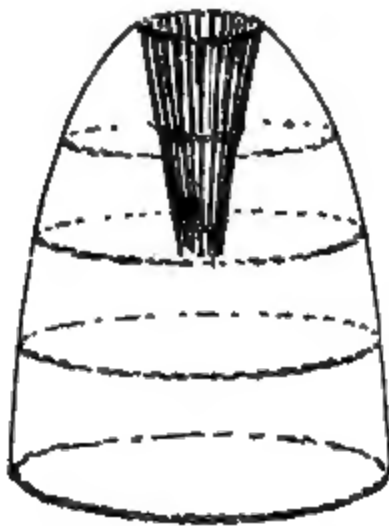
Mention has been made of Dyaks jumping into the water to secure fish. "They often catch the fish in the upper waters by diving into the rocky pools and pulling them out of the holes and crevices. The *sema* especially are caught in this way." (Brooke Low.) "The operation is simple; stones are hurled into a pool in the river; the fish fly for concealment under the stones and to the holes in the rocks; the men jump in and soon bring them out of their hiding-places." (St. John ii. 91.)

"It is very curious to see the Murat sitting on some slabs and pulling out fish from underneath. My companions catch fish in open water with nothing but their hands. One among them, a converted Peluan-Dusun, often succeeds

in securing a moderate-sized fish by going for it like a cormorant." (Witti, Diary, 26th March.)

### FISH TRAPS, WEIRS, &c.

The traps used with tuba fishing have already been mentioned. "The *Ensenga* is a small, roughly-made basket, of the shape of the *serangkong*, but closed at the end. It is used to catch fish in the small, swiftly running streams in the jungle. It is tied horizontally to any stumps or pegs put in for the purpose, and the swiftly running water prevents the return of any fish that may enter it, though the interstices of the bambus allow very small fish to escape. The *Ensenga* is only large enough to admit of the arm being inserted.



BUBN FISH TRAP.  
(From a Sketch by Mr. Leggatt.)

"The *Bubu*, or *Ubu*, is also made in shape like the *serangkong*, but it has in addition a smaller cone, inserted in the smaller orifice at the top, the points of which are made sharp. The *bubu* is about two to two and a half feet in depth, and twenty to twenty-four inches wide. It is placed horizontally in the centre of small streams, and the water shut off on each side of it by logs placed across the bank. The fish are carried into the basket at the wide open end, but are prevented from passing through and driven back, by coming in contact

with the sharp points of the pyramidal cone inside." (F. W. Leggatt.) This trap is made of the ribs of the *apieng* palm. (Brooke Low.)

Sir Sp. St. John speaks of a river being "full of *Ida'an* fish-traps, made by damming up half the stream, and forcing the water and fish to pass into a huge bamboo basket. They appear to require much labour in the construction, particularly in the loose stone walls or dams . . . we found the whole stream turned into one of these traps, in which were captured very fine fish, particularly after heavy rain." (i. 253.)

Mr. Burbidge describes an almost similar trap near Kiau: "In order to set the traps effectively, an oblique dam of stones and earth is made so as to direct a large body of water through an aperture, and in this the basket is placed. A fish once washed into it has no chance of escape, and large quantities are caught at times, especially after the river is freshened by rains." (p. 94.)

The Land Dyaks have a trap similar to the above, but with some modification: "The stream is regularly dammed up with stones, pieces of

BAMBU FISH TRAP.  
Baram River.  
(Hose Coll.)

bamboo, grass, &c., and the water turned on to a long tank-like platform, made of bamboo, built at one side of the river. This has a sieve-like bottom, through which the water escapes, while the fish are unable to get through." (Chalmers, Miss. Field, 1859, p. 114, and Grant, p. 23.)

The *Kélong* is more properly a Malay trap, but it is used by the Dyaks. "The *kélong* is a weir composed of nets made of split bambu, fastened in an upright position, side by side, to posts fixed in the bed of the stream, or into the sand in the shallow water of a harbour. There are two long rows of these posts, with attached nets, one much longer than the other, which gradually converge into the deeper water, where a simple trap is constructed with a narrow entrance. The fish passing up or down stream, meeting with the obstruction, follow up the walls of the *kélong* and eventually enter the trap, whence they are removed at low water. . . . All sorts of fish are caught in this way, and alligators of some size are occasionally secured in them." (Treacher, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc. No. 20, p. 53.)

Mr. Whitehead thus describes the collecting of the fish out of one of these traps on the Padas River: "The natives were collecting their captives in the inner enclosure by means of a long piece of *Keelong* fence, which one of them by diving fixed to the bottom, close round the sides; then by gradually narrowing the space they were able to roll the fish up in the mat-like fencing and lift all out together: sometimes small sharks and crocodiles up to nine feet long get into these traps." (p. 30.)



